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LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA AS DEPICTED IN THE JAIN CANONS

(WITH COMMENTARIES)

AN ADMINISTRATIVE, ECONOMIC SOCIAL AND
GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF ANCIENT INDIA
BASED ON THE JAIN CANONS

BY
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To
ALL ORIENTAL SCHOLARS,
Who,
From East and West Drawn,
Have Fallen Under the Spell of OUR PAST,
This Work
Is In All Reverence
Dedicated

PREFACE

When I began to study the Jain canons way back in 1939, I had no idea of the difficulties that lay on my path. But at the very outset, I found that a large number of canonical texts were either out of print or were not easily available for study. For, whatever canons are available, are hardly adequately edited, and have no index. Very few canons have been translated into English, and some of the important ones are still in manuscript form. However, I plunged myself into the deep ocean of the Jain *Āgamas* and I struck at the waves of undiscovered knowledge. I completed the first reading of the canons, and found many difficult passages unintelligible due to corrupt texts.

About this time I paid a visit to the Jain Bhandars of Patan, North Gujarat, where I read out my notes on the subject to Muni Punyavijayaji, a renowned scholar of the Jain *Āgamas*. During my stay in Patan, Muniji helped me in all possible ways for which I shall ever remain grateful to him.

When my study was over, I was contemplating writing a thesis when the Freedom Struggle of 1942 started. The Government of India arrested people without discretion and I too was arrested, and taken away from a world of scholars to a world of detenus.

When I left the detenu camp, I found myself a totally changed man. There was left in me very little inclination for a serious work like the present one. However, at the instance of those whose wish is a command, I made up my mind to complete the work on the strength of which I got my degree from the University of Bombay in February, 1945. I have since been revising my thesis and checking up references. The title "Social Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons" has been changed into "Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jain Canons." The chapters on Geography, and Kings and Dynasties have been placed last, detailing only the important places and rulers. While revising the thesis more parallel references, particularly from the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Jātakas* and the *Āttakathās*, have been added.

The Jain *Āgamas* have been described 'as "dry as dust" by some scholars, and perhaps that is the reason why this literature has not received the attention of scholars that it deserves. It must be mentioned that in order to have a thorough understanding of Indian culture and civilisation, the study of the Jain *Āgamas* is as important as that of the Brahmanic and the Buddhist literatures.

So far, with reference to social life, no scholar has utilised the material reflected in the Jain canons. In the present work I have made an attempt to include all such available material for the first time. I acknowledge that in preparing this work I was, undoubtedly, guided by other scholars, who have been working in the field in the past. Particular mention may be made here of the *Cheda Sūtras*, which, although forming a part of the Jain canonical literature, yet remained hitherto unstudied. This literature is really very important from the point of view of social history of the ancient Indian people. In these *Sūtras* we come across various customs and usages prevalent in different parts of India, the study of which will be certainly helpful in writing the history of the development of the Jain ascetic order.

I am indebted to all the authors whose works I have utilised in the present work, and I would like to make special mention of Mr. Ratilal Mehta's *Pre-Buddhist India* which I have freely referred to.

While I was writing this thesis I had the good fortune to receive the able guidance of Dr. G. S. Ghurye, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Sociology, the School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay. I am grateful to him for his assistance.

I cannot adequately thank Dr. Motichand, M.A., Ph.D., the Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, for helping me in preparing this thesis. But for his valuable aid I would not have been able to complete my work. Dr. Motichand even went through the major portion of my manuscript before it was sent to the press. I particularly appreciate his endeavours to assist me despite the numerous calls on his time and I cannot easily forget his kindness. Dr. Vasudeva Sharan Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D., the Curator of the Central Museum, New Delhi, read over the geographical section of my book, for which I am grateful to him.

My sincere thanks are also due to Prof. F. D'Souza, M.A., Professor of English, Siddhartha College, Bombay, Prof. B. Miranda, M.A., Professor of English, Ramnarain Ruia College, Bombay, and Professor L. Rodrigues, M.A., Head of the Department of English, Siddhartha College, Bombay, for assisting me in reading the proofs and making useful suggestions.

I must also thank Sahu Shriyaas Prasadji Jain, Director of the Dalmia Cement Co., Ltd., Bombay, and Shri Harikrishnadasji Jain, Contractor, Bombay, for the help they gave me, and my daughter Chakresh for preparing the Index.

Mr. P. F. Taraporevala, the Director of the New Book Co., Ltd., Bombay, deserves my thanks for undertaking to publish my book, when many publishers in India had declined on the plea that the book failed to be a business proposition.

Miss S. A. Bliss, the Manager of the Examiner Press, Bombay, took personal interest in the printing of my Book. She really went out of her way to rush the print through the press and I am very grateful to her.

I am also indebted to the authorities of the Ramnarain Ruia College for allowing me to purchase the books for reference

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28, Shivaji Park, Bombay 28 }
October, 1947

JAGDISH CHANDRA JAIN

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Bhā.=Bhāṣya. Com.=Commentary. Cū.=Cūrṇi.
Nir.=Niryukti. Pī.=Pīṭhikā. Sū.=Sūtra. Vṛ.=Vṛtti.

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(1) Jain Canonical

Ācārāṅga=Ācā.

- Niryukti*, Bhadrabāhu.
—*Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1941.
—com., Śilāṅka, Surat, 1935.
—trans. H. Jacobi, S. B. E. XXII, 1884.

Antagaḍadasāo=Anta.

- com. Abhayadeva, Ed. by M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1932.
—Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1932.
—trans. L. D. Barnett, London, 1907.

Anuttaravavāiyadasāo=Anutta.

- com. Abhayadeva, Ed. by M. C. Modi, Ahmedabad, 1932.
—Ed. P. L. Vaidya, Poona, 1932.

Anuyogadāra=Anu.

- Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1928.
—com. Haribhadra, Rutlam, 1928.
—com. Malādhāri Hemacandra, Bhavnagar, 1939.

Avaiyaka=Āva.

—*Niryukti*, Bhadrabāhu.

—*Bhāṣya*.

—*Cūrṇi*, Jinadāsagani, Rutlam, 1928.

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Bhagavatī=Bhag.

—com. Abhavadeva, Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay, 1921 ;
Rutlam, 1937.

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Bhagvats, Ahmedabad. v. s. 1979-1988.

Bṛhatkalpa=Brh.

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Catuhśaraṇa=Catu.

—Avacūrṇi, Vī abhadra, Devacand Lalbhai.

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Dasaveyāliya=Das.

—*Niryukti*, Bhadrabāhu

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—com. Haribhadra, Bombay, 1918.

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Gacchācāra=Gacch.

—com. Vijayavimalagani, Ahmedabad, 1924.

Isibhāṣiya, Surat, 1927=Isi

Jambuddivapannatti=Jambu.

—com. Sāntīcandra, Bombay 1920.

Jītakalpa=Jīta.

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bad, v. s. 1914.

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Jivābhigama=Jīvā.

—com. Maḷayagiri, Bombay, 1919.

Kalpasūtra=Kalpa.

—com. Samayasundara, Bombay, 1939.

—trans. H. Jacobi, S. B. E., XXII, 1884.

Mahānīṣītha=Mahā. Nī.

Ed. W. Schubring. Berlin, 1918.

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Purātattva

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SECTION I

INTRODUCTION TO THE JAIN CANON

CHAPTER I THE HISTORY OF THE JAIN CHURCH

CHAPTER II THE CANONS OF THE JAINS

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORY OF THE JAIN CHURCH

According to the Jain tradition, Usabha or Rsabha was the first *Jina* and the first *Tīrthankara* who was born in a very primitive age when people were illiterate and did not know any art. In fact, it was Usabha who is said to have taught the arts of cooking, writing, pottery, painting and sculpture for the first time. At this time came into existence the institution of marriage, the ceremony of cremating the dead, building of the mounds (*thūbhas*) and the festivals in honour of Indra and the Nāgas. It is said that Usabha was born in Ikkhāgabdhūmi (Ayodhyā), the first capital of India, and is said to have lived for an immeasurable length of time. He attained *Nirvāṇa* on the mountain Atthāvaya (Kailāsa), where temples in his honour were built by his son, Bharata.¹

Then the traditional list is given of the twenty-three *Tīrthankaras*.² It is curious to note, however, that most of the *Tīrthankaras* have been assigned to the Ikṣvāku family and are said to have attained salvation at the mountain Sammeya (modern Parasnath Hill in Hazaribagh District). So far no historical evidences have come forth to warrant the historical existence of the first twenty-two *Tīrthankaras*, on the other hand, taking into consideration the long duration of their careers and the intermediate periods between each *Tīrthankara*, they appear to be legendary figures introduced perhaps to balance the number of *Jinas* with the number of the *Buddhas*.

PĀRSVANĀTHA—THE HISTORICAL PERSONALITY

Pāsa or Pārsvanātha, who was the immediate predecessor of Mahāvīra, is said to have flourished some 250 years before the advent of the latter. He was born in Vārānaśī (Benares) and was the son of the king Āsasena by his queen Vāmā. He lived thirty years as a lay man, and after leading a life of an ascetic for seventy years, attained salvation at the mountain Sammeya.³ Pārsvanātha is said to have visited a number of cities, the prominent among which were Ahicchattā⁴, Āmalakappā,⁵ Sāvattihī, Hatthināpura, Kampillapura, Sāgeya,⁶ Rāyagūha and Kosambī.⁷ He was known as *Purisād-iniya* (*purisājāniya* in Pali)⁸ or the distinguished man.⁹

¹ *Kalpa Sū* 7 206 228, *Jambū* 2 18 40

² Cf. The twenty-four *Buddhas*, who immediately preceded the last *Buddha*, *Buddhavamsa*, cf. also *Dīgh* II P 2 where the seven *Buddhas* are mentioned

³ *Kalpa Sū* 6 149 169

⁴ *Ācā* 20 335

⁵ *Nāyā* II p 222

⁶ *ibid*, p 229

⁷ *ibid*, p 230

⁸ *Purisājāniya* is mentioned in the *Anguttara* I 290, II, 115.

⁹ *Kalpa Sū* 6 149 also see Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jainas* p 24.

Pārśva and his disciples (*pāsāvaccijja*) are referred to in various Jain Canons. We learn from the *Ācārāṅga*¹⁰ that the parents of Mahāvīra followed the faith of Pārśva and were the adherents of the *Samanas*. The *Āvasyaka Cūṛṇi* mentions several ascetics of the Pārśva sect, who were present during the course of Mahāvīra's wanderings as an ascetic. Uppala was a *pāsāvaccijja*, who after giving up the monastic order had entered the house-holder's life (*pacchākaḍa*) and followed the profession of a fortune-teller (*nemitta*) in Atthiyagāma.¹¹ His two sisters named Somā and Jayantī had joined the order of Pārśva but being unable to continue the rigid ascetic life of his order they became *Parvrājikās* of the Brahmanic order. Later on, when Mahāvīra and Gosāla got into trouble in Corāya Sannivesa, they came to their rescue.¹² Then we meet therā Municanda, a follower of Pārśva, who dwelt in a potter's shop in Kumārāya Sannivesa in the company of his disciples. When questioned by Gosāla, Municanda replied that they were *Samana Nigganthas*. Gosāla asked as to how they could be called *Nigganthas* since they were possessed of so many personal assets, and he threatened to burn their place of residence (*paḍisaya*). Gosāla approached Mahāvīra and narrated this incident to him whereupon the latter remarked that these ascetics were the followers of Pārśva and he could do no harm to them.

These ascetics indulged in certain activities which according to the principles of Mahāvīra constituted preliminary sin (*sārambha*); they put on clothes (*sapariggaha*) and also practised *Jinakappa* (adopting the standard of *Jina*) towards the end of their life. We are told that therā Municanda placed his disciple at the head of the *gaccha* and went to practise *Jinakappa* outside the town. Good feeling towards all beings (*satta-bhāvanā*) and five kinds of meditations (*bhāvanā*) are prescribed for the ascetic who wanted to practise *Jinakappa*. The five meditations are penance (*tava*), fearlessness (*satta*), study of scriptures (*sutta*), concentration (*egatta*) and spiritual strength (*bala*) which should be practised inside and outside the monastery (*uvasaya*), a square road (*caukka*), a solitary house (*sunṇaghara*) or in a cemetery.¹³ Then we hear of Vijayā and Pagabbhā, the two female disciples of Pārśva (*pāsantevāsīnī*), who saved Mahāvīra and Gosāla in Kūviya Sannivesa.¹⁴

The *Bhagavati*¹⁵ records the discussion that took place between Mahāvīra and the samaṇa Gāṅgeya, a follower of Pārśva, in Vāṇiyagāma. Gāṅgeya gave up the *Caujjāmadhamma* (the doctrine of the four-fold restraint) and embraced the *Pañcamahavvaya* (the five greater vows) of Mahāvīra. Kālāsavesiyaputta was another follower of Pārśva who became a follower of Mahāvīra.¹⁶ Then the *Nāyādhammakahā*

¹⁰ II 3 401, p 389

¹¹ p 273.

¹² p 286

¹³ *Āva cū.* pp 285, 291, cf. also *Brh. Bhā.* 1. 1328-59.

¹⁴ *Āva cū.* p. 291

¹⁵ 9 32

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 1 9

refers to Puṇḍarīya who plucked out his hair and accepted the four vows.¹⁷ The city of Tungīya is stated to have been the centre of the *theras*, the followers of Pārśva, who moved in a congregation of five hundred monks. It is said that the lay adherents of the town went to attend to their religious sermons and were highly delighted. The names of the *theras* Kāliya-putta, Mehila, Ānandarakkhiya and Kāsava are particularly mentioned here.¹⁸ Further, the *Nāyādharmakahī*¹⁹ and the *Niryāvaliyāo*²⁰ refer to a number of lay women who joined the order of Pārśva. We hear of the renunciation ceremony of the old maiden (*vaddakumārī*), Kālī, who joined the ascetic order of Pārśva and was entrusted to Puppha-cūlā, the head of the nuns.²¹

Further, the *Sūyagadāṅga*²² mentions Udaya Pedhālappa, a *Nigantha* follower of Pārśva of the *Meyajja* (Skr. *Medārya*) *gotta*. There were religious discussions between him and Goyama Indabhūi, after which the latter took him to Mahāvīra, where he gave up the doctrine of four restraints and took up the five great vows, as ordained by the Teacher. The *Rāyapaseṇiya*²³ refers to a young monk (*kumārasamaṇa*)²⁴ named Kesī, who was a follower of Pārśva and knew fourteen *Pūrvas*. Once he visited the town of Sāvattthī in a congregation of five hundred monks. The charioteer Citta attended his religious sermons and invited him to Seyaviyā. In course of time, Kesī visited Seyaviyā where a discussion took place between him and king Paesi, and the latter being convinced of his opponent's doctrine became an adherent of the *Samanas*. Kesī is also referred to in the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* where an important historical meeting is recorded to have taken place between him and Goyama, the representatives and leaders of the two branches of the Jain Church, in Sāvattthī. In this council many important questions were discussed and finally Kesī accepted the five-fold vows preached by Mahāvīra.²⁵

It must be mentioned that the credit of proving the existence of the *Nigganthas* before Nātaputti Mahāvīra on the strength of references in Pālī literature belongs to Professor Jacob.²⁶ It is stated in the *Sāmaññaphala sutta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya* that a *Nigantha* is restrained with a four-fold restraint (*cātuyāma-samvara*). 'He is restrained as regards all water, restrained as regards all evil, all evil has he washed away, and he lives suffused with the sense of evil held at bay.'²⁷ Because of this

¹⁷ 19, p. 218.

¹⁸ *Bhag* 2. 5.

¹⁹ II 10.

²⁰ 4.

²¹ *Nāyā* II 1, p. 222 f.

²² II 7.

²³ *Sū* 147 f.

²⁴ Prof. Bagchi refers to the *Sūtra* of Pāṇinī (II 1 70) "*Āmārah Śramaṇādbhiḥ*" pointing out that the author might have had the followers of Pārśva in view. The historical beginning of Jainism, p. 74, *Sir Anantash Mookerjee Silver Jubilee*, Vol. III.

²⁵ 23.

²⁶ See *Jain Sūtras*, Vol. xiv, pp. xiv-xvi, cf. also Prof. P. C. Bagchi *op cit*, pp. 76-3.

²⁷ Cf. the corresponding four-fold restraint taught by Buddha which consisted of ouster, lying, the four precepts against injury, stealing, unchastity and lying (*Dīgha*, III, p. 181 f.).

four-fold restraint, he is called a *Nigantha* (free from bonds), *gatatta* (one whose heart has been in the attainment of his aim), *yatatta* (one whose heart is under command) and *thitatta* (one whose heart is fixed). The Pali texts contain the names of several disciples of Nātaputta, who are said to have entered into discussion with Buddha and at the end become his followers. Vappa, a *sākyan* king and an uncle of Buddha, was a disciple of the *Niganthas*, who, convinced of the superiority of Buddha's teachings, became his follower.²⁸ Similarly, could be cited the names of Asibandhakaputta,²⁹ Abhayarājakumāra,³⁰ Siha,³¹ Upālī,³² Dīghatapassi,³³ Saccaka,³⁴ Sīrigutta³⁵ and the women disciples such as Saccā, Lolā, Avavādakā, Patācarā³⁶ and others. The Devadaha Sutta in the *Majjhima Nikāya* contains a detailed analysis and criticism, attributed to Buddha, of the beliefs and teachings of the *Nāganthas*.³⁷

These literary evidences in Jain and Buddhist texts presuppose the existence of a *Nigantha* order founded by Pārśvanātha before the advent of Mahāvīra and there is much to be said in favour of the Jain tradition that Mahāvīra was no more than a reformer of an older *Nigantha* order.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF PĀRSVANĀTHA

Pārśvanātha flourished towards the end of the ninth century B C, 250 years before Mahāvīra. He was a powerful religious teacher, who fought against the Brāhmanic tyranny of caste system³⁸ and the merciless slaughter of animals³⁹ in the Vedic sacrifices. The religion of Pārśva was meant for one and all without any distinction of caste or creed. He was a well-wisher of women and gave them freedom by admitting them into his order.⁴⁰

²⁸ *Anguttara*, II, p 196 f, III, p 199

²⁹ *Samyutta*, IV, 317 ff

³⁰ *Majjhima*, I, Abhayarājakumāra Sutta.

³¹ *Mahāvagga*, VI, 31, *Anguttara*, IV, 180 ff

³² *Majjhima*, I, Upālī Sutta

³³ *ibid*

³⁴ *ibid.*, Cūlasaccaka and Mahāsaccaka Sutta.

³⁵ *Dhammapada A*, I, pp. 434 ff

³⁶ *Jātaka*, III, 1

³⁷ Also cf *Anguttara*, I 205 f where the *Niganthas* are condemned in ten respects; *Dhammapada A*, III, pp 200 f See also Chapter on Buddha and Niganthas, B C Law, *Historical Gleanings*

³⁸ Cf the Veda should not be recited in a village where a *Cūṇḍāla* lives (*Āpastamba* 1 3 9. 15); his ears shall be filled with (molten) tin or lac, if he listens intentionally to (a recitation) of the Veda, his tongue shall be cut out if he recites Vedic texts, his body shall be split in twain if he remembers them (*Gautama* XII 4 6), also cf *Mātanga Jātaka* (No 497, IV, p 376 where the daughter of a merchant washes her eyes with perfumed water after seeing a *Mātanga*

³⁹ Cf *Vishnu-smṛiti* (*The Institutes of Vishnu*, S B E, Vol VII, LI 61-63) where it is stated that the slaughter of beasts for a sacrifice is no slaughter and the animals destroyed for the purpose of sacrifice, obtain exaltation in another existence, also see *Gautama*, XVII, 37, *Vasistha*, (XI 46); *Manu* V 39.

⁴⁰ Cf *Āpastamba* (1 5 14) where purification is prescribed on touching a woman, they were also not allowed to perform religious sacrifices (11 6. 17), also cf *Bandhūyana* (1 5 11 7) where women are considered to have no business with the sacred texts Cf Buddha who after repeated refusals and with great reluctance allowed women to enter the *Saṅgha* and that too on the acknowledgement of their inferiority (*Cullavagga*, X, I)

Pārśva emphasised the doctrine of *Ahiṃsā*. Since he had to raise a protest against the Brāhmanic sacrifices which inculcated slaughter of animals, this step was quite essential⁴¹. Later on, he added three more precepts to this, viz. abstinence from telling lies (*musāvādo veramaṇa*; *musāvādā veramaṇī*, Pali), from stealing (*adinnādānāo veramaṇa*; *adinnādānā veramaṇī*, Pali) and from external possessions (*bahiddhāo veramaṇa*). These four precepts were called by the name of *Cāṇḍjāmadhamma*, which constituted an important feature of the immediate background of Mahāvīra's Jainism. Pārśvanātha also enjoined strict asceticism⁴² as the only way for the attainment of salvation. As a matter of fact, the fundamental principles of the two *Niggaṇṭha* orders were not at all different and the religion preached by one was substantially the same as preached by the other. The description of the rules of conduct of Kesi Kumāra, a disciple of Pārśva,⁴³ tallies *verbatim* with those of the disciples of Mahāvīra⁴⁴ with the difference that the former preached the four great vows, while the latter preached five. It is said that the first saints were simple but slow of understanding, the last were prevaricating and slow of understanding and those between the two were simple and wise, hence there were two forms of Law.⁴⁵ Another important difference between the doctrine of Pārśva and Mahāvīra was that the former allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttaro*) whereas the latter forbade clothing altogether.⁴⁶ Questioned by Kesi as to what caused this difference between the two law-givers pursuing the same end, Goyama replied that the various outward symbols were introduced because they were useful for religious life; as a matter of fact, knowledge, faith and right conduct, were the only true causes of liberation and not the outward symbols.⁴⁷ The order of Pārśva seems to have undergone some changes in the period between the death of Pārśvanātha and the advent of Mahāvīra and that might have been the cause of the latter's alienation.⁴⁸

Pārśvanātha founded the four orders (*ganas*) with their *Ganadharas*⁴⁹ which shows that possibly the arrangement for the organization of the Jain Church was the best which could be had in those early days. Reference has already been made to the ascetics belonging to the order of Pārśva moving about in a congregation during the course of Mahāvīra's ascetic life. Thus it is evident that Jainism was not a new phenomenon

⁴¹ Cf. however that even at the time of the Brāhmanas a section of people regarded *Ahiṃsā* as a great virtue and sacrifice a source of sin. See *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I. 11. 3. 6-9, I. 2. 5. 19; *Vasishtha*, 10. 2; also cf. *Kena Uṇ*, 1. 3, *Chāndogya*, 3. 17. 4, *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti*, P. 143-148, 174, 268-271, 274.

⁴² *Tāpas* is also praised in the Brāhmanic literature. See *Śatapatha Br.*, 9. 5. 1. 8; *Apaś-tamba*, 2. 9. 23. 1-6, also cf. *Chāndogya*, 3. 17. 4; *Jābāla* 6, *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti* P. 159, 251, 294.

⁴³ Cf. *Rāya Sū.*, 147.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Oṣā Sū.*, 16, p. 61.

⁴⁵ *Uttarā*, 23, 26.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 26, 29.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 32 f.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Jain Sūtras*, Vol. XIV, p. 122 n. 3; Prof. P. C. Bagchi, *op. cit.*, p. 81 f.

⁴⁹ *Kaṭha, Sū.*, 6, 160,

in the history of Indian religion of the sixth century B.C., as is popularly supposed, but it goes back to the period of Pārsvanātha, the 23rd *Tīrthaṅkara* of the Jains, as early as the ninth century B.C.

MAHĀVĪRA

After Pārśva Mahāvīra became the leader of the Jain community. He was born in Khatṭiyakundaggāma, a suburb of Vaisālī, in the house of king Siddhattha by his queen Tisālā. Mahāvīra retired from the world at the age of thirty and leading a life of severe asceticism, attained *kevalinship* on the bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā near the town of Jam-bhiyagāma. Mahāvīra roamed about as a *Tīrthaṅkara* for thirty years, and at the age of seventy-two, after two hundred and fifty years of Pārśva's death, died in Pāvā about 467 B.C.⁵⁰

During his *Tīrthaṅkara* career Mahāvīra travelled a number of places and ordained various kings, princes, tradesmen and high officials. Like Pārśva, he too divided his community (*saṅgha*) into four orders, viz., monks, nuns, lay men and lay women, each *saṅgha* consisting of a super-monk. Goyama Indabhūi and Candanā were Mahāvīra's first male and female disciples respectively. Mahāvīra exercised his influence in various royal families, and the kings Cetaka,⁵¹ Seṇiya,⁵² Kūṇiya,⁵³ Udayana,⁵⁴ Dadhivāhana,⁵⁵ Pajjoya⁵⁶ and others are said to have become his great devotees. Mahāvīra is also said to have ordained the kings Uddāyana⁵⁷ of Sindhuvovira, Siva⁵⁸ of Hatthunāpura, Sāla and Mahāsāla⁵⁹ of Pitthicampā, Cilāya⁶⁰ of Kodvarisa and others. Among women from the royal families, Jayanti⁶¹ and Miyāvai of Kosambī, eight queens of Pajjoya including Angāravati,⁶² and ten queens of Seṇiya including Kālī⁶³ are stated to be prominent. Among princes may be mentioned Mehakumāra,⁶⁴ Nandisena,⁶⁵ Abhayakumāra,⁶⁶ Halla, Vihalla⁶⁷ and others.

⁵⁰ According to Muni Kalyan Vyaya, Mahāvīra attained liberation in 528 B.C. after fourteen years of Buddha's *Parinirvāṇa*. For his learned article "Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat aur Kāl gaṇanā," see N. P. Patrikā, Vol. I, X-XI; also see Jacobi's article "Buddhas und Mahāvīras Nirvāṇa" etc. a Gujarati translation of which is published in the *Bhartiya Vidyā, Singhī Smāraka*, also Schubring, *op. cit.*, pp. 5, 30, also Keith's article in the *Bull. School of Or. Studies* 6, 859-866.

⁵¹ *Āva. Cū.* II, p. 164.

⁵² *Uttarā.* 20, *Dasā* 10, *Āva. Cū.* p. 114.

⁵³ *Qvā. Sū.* 12.

⁵⁴ *Bhag.* 12, 2.

⁵⁵ *Āva. Cū.* II, p. 207.

⁵⁶ *Āva. Cū.* p. 401.

⁵⁷ *Bhag.* 13, 6.

⁵⁸ *ibid.* 11, 9.

⁵⁹ *Uttarā. T.* 10, p. 153 a.

⁶⁰ *Āva. Nir.* 1305.

⁶¹ *Bhag.* 12, 2.

⁶² *Āva. Cū.* p. 91.

⁶³ *Antagaḍa.* 7, p. 44.

⁶⁴ *Nāyā.* 1.

⁶⁵ *Āva. Cū.* P. 559 f.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*, p. 115.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, II, p. 174.

During the life time of Mahāvīra, Jainism could make only a small headway and it does not seem to have spread beyond the boundaries of Aṅga and Magadha where the Teacher principally dwelt and preached but later on, after the death of Mahāvīra, his followers and successors succeeded in popularising the faith to a much greater degree, so that it did not fail to enjoin the support of kings as well as commoners.

ELEVEN GANADHARAS

Mahāvīra had eleven *Ganadharas* or heads of Schools (cf. *Gaṇācariya* in Pali). The eldest was Indabhūi, then followed Aggibhūi, Vāubhūi, Viyatta, Suhamma, Maṇḍiya, Moriyaputta, Akampiya, Avalabhiyā, Mejjā and Pabhāsa. The first three *Ganadharas* were brothers and belonged to the Goyama *gotta* and were residents of Gobbaragāma. The fourth belonged to the Bhāraddāya *gotta*, and was the resident of Kollāga sannivesa; the fifth belonged to the Aggivesāyana *gotta*, and was the resident of Kollāga sannivesa; the sixth belonged to the Vasitṭha *gotta*, and was the resident of Moriya sannivesa; the seventh belonged to the Kāsava *gotta*, and was the resident of Moriya sannivesa; the eighth belonged to the Goyama *gotta*, and was the resident of Mihilā; the ninth belonged to the Hariāyana *gotta*, and was the resident of Kosala; the tenth belonged to the Koḍinna *gotta* and was the resident of Tungiya sannivesa; the eleventh belonged to the same *gotta*, and was the resident of Rāyagiha. These *Ganadharas* were all Brāhmana teachers and all except Indabhūi and Suhamma, died during the life time of Mahāvīra. They are said to have been versed in the twelve Angas, the fourteen *Puṇvas*, and the whole *gaṇṇiḍaga* (the basket of the *Gaṇis*). They died in Rāyagiha after fasting for a month.⁶⁸ Goyama Indabhūi cut asunder the tie of friendship which he had for his Master and attained *kevalinship* the same night when Mahāvīra died.⁶⁹ He survived Mahāvīra for twelve years and finally achieved salvation at Rāyagiha at the age of ninety two.⁷⁰ The name of Suhamma, the fifth *Ganadhara* of Mahāvīra, we come across in the Jain Canons frequently. After Mahāvīra's death, he became the head of the Jain community and held that position for twenty years, till he attained *kevalinship*. He is said to have narrated the Jain Canons to his disciple Jambu in the manner he had heard from his Master. The *Niggantha samanas* of the present time are all spiritual descendants of the monk Ajja Suhamma, the rest of the *Ganadharas* left no descendants.⁷¹

THE SCHISMS

The following Schisms are mentioned in the Jain Church —

(1) Jamālī, who was Mahāvīra's sister's son and also his son-in-law, was the first man to start the schism in Sāvattī during the life time of

⁶⁸ See *Kalpa Sū.* 8. 1-4; *Āva. Nir.* 644 ff., 658 f.

⁶⁹ *Kalpa Sū.* 5. 127.

⁷⁰ *Āva. Nir.* 656.

⁷¹ *Kalpa Sū.* 8. 4.

Mahāvīra, after fourteen years of his attaining omniscience. Jamālī was a prince of Khatṭiyakundaggāma, who renounced the world and became a follower of Mahāvīra. Difference of opinion arose between him and his teacher over a slight matter whereupon Jamālī declared that before the accomplishment of the act its results begin bearing fruits ; the followers of Jamālī were known as *bahuvayas*. Piyadasanā, the daughter of Mahāvīra, first joined the schismatic order of her husband, but later on, she was enlightened and joined the order of Mahāvīra.

(2) The second schism was started by Tisagutta at Usabhapura (Rāyagīha), during Mahāvīra's life time after sixteen years of his attaining *keralahood*. Tisagutta was a disciple of ācārya Vasu, who was well-versed in the fourteen *Pūrvas*. His followers were called *jīvaśāśīyas* ; they controverted the view of Mahāvīra that the soul is permeated in all the constituent atoms of the body.

(3) The third schism was led by Āśādha at Seyaviyā after 214 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *avallīyas* and they held that there is no difference between gods, saints, kings and other beings.

(4) The fourth schism was started by Assamitta in Mihilā, after 220 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *samuccheiyas* and they held that since the end of all life will come some day the effects of good or bad deeds are immaterial.

(5) The fifth schism was started by Ganga at Ullukāūra after 228 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *dokīyas* and they held that the two opposite feelings such as cold and warmth could be experienced at the same time.

(6) The sixth schism arose in Antarañṇiyā and was started by Saḍḍilaya otherwise known as Rohagutta after 544 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. Saḍḍilaya is said to have been the author of the *Vaiśeṣika sūtras*. His followers were called *teṇḍīyas* and they held that between the life (*jīva*) and non-life (*ajīva*) there is a third state 'no-jīva.' According to the *Kalpasūtra*,⁷² the *teṇḍīyas* were founded by a disciple of Ajja Mahāgiri.

(7) The seventh schism was led by Gotṭhamahīla at Dasapura after 584 years of Mahāvīra's attaining salvation. His followers were called *abaddhiyas* and according to them the *jīva* is not bound by *Karman*.⁷³

THE ŚVETĀMBARAS AND DIGAMBARAS

'Then we come to the epoch-making schism between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects of the Jains. The Digambaras maintained that absolute nudity is a necessary condition of sainthood which the Śvetām-

⁷² 8, p. 228 a.

⁷³ *Thā* 587, *Ā. a. Nir* 779 ff, also *Bhā* 123 ff, *Ā. a. Cū.* p. 416 ff, *Uttarā. T.* 3, p. 68 a-75, *Opā. Sū.* 41, p. 197, also *Bhag.* 9 33, *Śama Sū.* 22, *Bhag.* 1. I, p. 41 f (Bechardas ed.).

baras denied and held that the use of clothes does not impede the highest sanctity. It may be noted that the history of the division in the Jain order into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras is traceable to an early period of Jain religion. We have seen as to how Pārśvanātha allowed his monks to wear an under and upper garment,⁷¹ whereas Mahāvīra preferred to go about naked, and this difference of opinion between the two *Jinas* probably developed into two great sects.

It is stated in the *Ācārāṅga*⁷⁵ that “a mendicant who moves about naked (*acēla*) and is firm in control, it will not occur to him ‘my clothes are torn, I shall beg new ones, I shall beg for thread, I shall beg for a needle, I shall mend them, I shall repair them’,” which shows that in the early days both kinds of monks, viz., *Jinakalpa* and *Sthavirakalpa*⁷⁶ were allowed to remain in the Jain *Saṅgha*, and there were no strict rules about one’s wearing clothes or going undressed. The injunction that “‘my clothes being torn, I shall soon go naked,’ or ‘I shall get new one’s’ such thoughts should not be entertained by a monk”⁷⁷ also testifies the above assertion. What we gather from the Jain texts Mahāvīra seems to be the first exponent of nudity, as a cult feature in the Jain Church, although as we have seen even the monks of the order of Pārśava practised *Jinakappa*. After Mahāvīra the name of Mahāgiri, a disciple of Thūlabhadda is cited who towards the end of his life entrusted the *gana* to Suhatthī and practised *Jinakappa* at Dasannapura⁷⁸. The practice of *Jinakappa* was also

¹⁴ Cf. the 'tecivara' of a Buddhist Bhikkhu consisted of an upper cloak (*uttarāsanga*), a waist cloth (*sanghāṭī*) and an under garment (*antaravāsaka*), all being oblong in shape (*Mahāvagga*, VIII, 14. 2)

76 6 3 182 trans by Jacobi, p 57

18 The *Juvalakpa* monks are of two kinds (1) Those who use the hollow of their hand for an alms-bowl (*pāṇipātra*) and (2) those who use alms-bowl (*paṭigrahaḥāṭṭī*). Each is further sub-divided into two (a) those who go without cloths (*abhūṇaṇa*) and (b) those who wear clothes (*saphīṭavaraṇa*). The former have the broom (*ajajoharāṇa*) and a piece of cloth before their mouth (*mukhaśastrikā*), whereas the latter have one, two or three garments (*kaḥḥa*) besides the *rajaḥharāṇa* and the *mukhaśastrikā*. Those who use the alms-bowls and go without clothes possess twelve religious articles as follows: *cātī*, *pāṭibamhika*, *paṇṭharāṇa*, *pāṭhakasika*, *patalaka*, *rajaśṭīṇa* and *gocchaka* and *ajajoharāṇa* and *mukhaśastrikā* and on two or three garments mentioned above (*Bṛh Bhā* 3, 3962 f). About the *Sū* *juvalakpa* monks it is said in the *lā* *Sū* (7 4 208 f) that a mendicant who possesses three robes and a bowl with mark should not think of begging a fourth robe. After the winter is gone and the monsoon has set in a monk should leave off the old garment, being clad with an upper and under garment (*santarutitāṇa*), or with the undermost garment (*omacele*) or with one or more than 2 *śāṭī* or without garments (*acele*) he should aspire for freedom from the bonds of *karma*. A mendicant who possesses two robes and a bowl as under and should not think of begging for the third robe, etc (*ibid* 7 5 213). A mendicant who possesses one robe and a bowl as second article should not think of begging the second robe, etc, (*ibid* 7 6 215). If a naked monk thinks that he can bear the pricking of grass, cold and heat, stinging of flies and mosquitoes or any other painful thing but cannot leave off the privates uncovered then he can cover his privates with *kaṭṭabamhika* (*ibid* 7 7 220), also see Scubing op cit p 103 f. It should be noted, however, that later on, the number of articles in a monk's equipment increased and as a result of which we notice in the *Bṛhakkalpa Bhāṣya* (3 3961 f) that *kaṭṭabamhika* is replaced by *colapullaka* and besides the above-mentioned twelve articles *māṭṭaka* was allowed to the monks.

According to the Digambaras, both *Jindalipika* and *Sihannakapika* monks must go about naked (see Devasena's *Bhūcasangraha* (119 33), also Kamatprasad Jai's article in the *Jang Antiquary*, Vol IX, No 11).

१७ *Utlarā Sū*

18 *Avā. Cū.* II, p. 155 f.

prevalent at the time of Ajja Rakkhiya. We learn from the *Āvāsya Cūṛṇī*⁷⁹ that when Ajja Rakkhiya initiated his family, his father was not willing to discard clothes due to modesty ; he felt shy to move about naked in the presence of his daughters and daughters-in-law. Later on, with great persuasion he accepted a *kadīpatta* which was replaced by a *colapatta* in course of time

Then we come to Sivabhūi, who is said to have led the *boḍḍiyas* after six hundred and nine years of Mahāvīra's death, in Rahavīrapura. It is said that Sivabhūi was in the service of the king of Rahavīrapura and he used to return home very late at night. One day his wife did not open the door of the house and Sivabhūi straight away went to the residence of the monks and asked for *pavvajjā*. The monks refused to ordain him thus, whereupon Sivabhūi by himself plucked out his hair and automatically he became a monk, and practised *Jinakappa*. His sister followed him by joining his order. Kōḍinna and Kottivīra are stated to be the first two disciples of Sivabhūi.⁸⁰

This is the legend about schism told by the Śvetāmbaras. The Digambaras relate another legend about the origin of the schism which differs from that of the Śvetāmbaras. According to this, during the reign of Candragupta in Ujjeni Bhadrabāhu predicted that there would be a terrible famine in the country which would last for twelve years. At this Viśākhācārya, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu led the Saṅgha to the Punnāta kingdom, while Rāmilla, Sthūlabhadra and Bhadrācārya, emigrated to the country of Sindh. In course of time when all of them returned to Ujjeni, there was still famine in the country, so they allowed the monks to wear a piece of garment (*ardhaphālakam purah krrtvā*) while going for alms. When the famine was over, however, the monks were asked to give up the use of the garment since it was not in pursuance of the strict requirement of Mahāvīra's order, but some monks would not follow their elders' advice. Thus came into existence the schism of the Digambara and śvetāmbaras in the Jain order.⁸¹

It may be stated that both these legends are of sufficiently late origin and hence cannot be relied upon fully. In fact, the division of Jains in śvetāmbara and Digambara community was a gradual process,⁸² and in the early history of Jainism the Church was not divided into sects. The Jain inscriptions of the first and second century A.D. found at the Kankālī Tilā Mathura also do not show any trace of schism in the Jain Church. We have already noticed that both practices wearing clothes or going undressed were allowed in the Jain Church although Mahāvīra himself went about naked. In course of time the difference regarding the question of a monk wearing clothes became more and more acute

⁷⁹ p. 406 f

⁸⁰ *Āia Bhā* 145 f, *Āia Cū* p. 427 f

⁸¹ *Bhāṭakathākośa* 131, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II (Revised), pp. 36 ff, also see *Bhāva-saṅgraha* of Devasena (Bombay, V S. 1978), pp. 35-9, *Bhadrabāhucarita* by Bhaṭṭāraka Ratna-nandi (Bombay 1912)

⁸² cf. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. G.

resulting gradually in innumerable unnecessary controversies⁸³ between the two communities. The history and development of these sects and the reason of their separation is really interesting and should form a subject of further research.

THE GREAT LEADERS ⁸⁴

During his life time Mahāvira was the head of the four orders in his community. After his death Suhamma succeeded him and continued to be the spiritual head for twenty years. Suhamma was followed by Jambu who was the last *Kevalin*, and after him the doors of final liberation and omniscience (*kevalinship*) were forever closed to men. Jambu was succeeded by Pabhava, Sejjambhava, Jasobhadda and Sambhūti-vijaya. Then came the famous Bhaddabāhu, during whose leadership Magadha was visited by a great famine. Bhaddabāhu was followed by Thūlabhadda, who is said to have been the son of Sagaḍāla, the prime-minister to the ninth Nanda. Thūlabhadda continued to be the leader of the Church for a long time. The six spiritual leaders from Jambu onwards are called *Śrutakevalins* and they are said to have been bound by common spiritual interest (*ekka-sambhogo*)⁸⁵. The next head of the community after Thūlabhadda was Mahāgiri, and as it has been pointed out, he revived the ideal practice of nudity, and himself practised *Ĵinakappa*. From the time of Mahāgiri the practice of *sambhoga* was discontinued. Mahāgiri was followed by Suhattī, who converted king Sampai, the grandson and successor of Asoka. Sampai was a great patron of Jainism and he worked hard for the spread of the Jain religion in non-Aryan countries. During the time of Mahāvira the Jain monks could move in a limited area, but now twenty five and a half countries were opened to them⁸⁶. Suhattī was followed by Sutthiya Sūri, Suppadibuddha and Indadinna. Then came the well-known Kālakācārya, who is said to have caused the defeat of king Gaddabhūlla with the assistance of Scythian kings.⁸⁷ Kālakācārya, who was a contemporary of king Sātavāhana, is particularly remembered in connection with changing the date of *Pajjūsana* (an annual feast).⁸⁸ The next spiritual leader of importance was Ajja Vaira, who is considered to be the last *Dasapūrvin* and contemporary of king Nahavāna. It is said that he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the king of Pātaliputra. During this period the country is said to have been visited by long famines twice, once in Uttarāpatha and once in Dakṣiṇāpatha. Towards the end of his life Ajja Vaira went to the mountain Rāhāvaya and died by giving up food and drink⁸⁹. Ajja Vaira was followed by Ajja Rakkhiya, who mastered

⁸³ Cf. *Yuktiṣrabodha* by Meghavijavagaṇi, Ratlam, V S 1984

⁸⁴ See *Kalpa Sū* 8 and its commentary by Samayasundaragaṇi

⁸⁵ *Nisī Cū* 5, p 437

⁸⁶ *Brh Bhū* 1 3263

⁸⁷ *Nisī. Cū.* 10, pp 571 ff

⁸⁸ *ibid*, pp 630 ff.

⁸⁹ *Āva Cū.*, pp 390-396, 404 f.

the nine *Pūrvas* and who ordained his whole family, as mentioned already.

Among the later exponents of Jain religion mention may be made of Umāsvāti, Kundakunda, Siddhasena Divākara, Samantabhadra, Haribhadra, Akalaka, Vidyānanda and Hemacandra. All of them were versatile writers and they supported the cause of Jainism by their most valuable writings. Hemacandra, otherwise known as *kalikāla-sarvajña*, was a versatile genius and became the head of the community in 1121 A.D. It was during this time that Kumārapāla embraced Jainism and under his patronage Jainism became the state religion of Gujrat. Since then Jainism went on declining and its star never shone brightly again.

Jainism passed through many storms and upheavals from time to time from its birth, and yet it could survive and did not disappear from the soil of India like its sister religion Buddhism. The chief cause of this seems to have been the inflexible conservatism of the Jains in holding fast to their original institutions and doctrines. This is the reason, as Prof. Jacobi has pointed out, that although a number of less vital rules concerning life and practices of the monks and lay men may have fallen into oblivion or disuse, yet the religious life of the Jain community even now is substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago.⁹⁰

⁹⁰ Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 169.

CHAPTER II

THE CANONS OF THE JAINS

CLASSIFICATION OF THE CANONS

Sūyanāna or scriptural knowledge, otherwise known as *Siddhānta* or *Āgama* consists of the twelve *Angas*, twelve *Upāṅgas*, ten *Painnas*, six *Cheda Sūtras*, *Nandi* and *Anuyoga* and four *Mūla Sūtras*¹. These scriptures form the canon of the Śvetāmbaras alone and are disowned by the Digambaras. Out of this subsidiary canonical literature with the exception of the *Angas*, the lists and the titles of the texts are not always uniform. The number of the *Painnās*, for instance, is very indefinite and varies to a great extent. Sometimes *Nandi*, *Anuyogadāra* and *Pañcakappa* are placed at the head of the *Painnās*. The traditional number of books in the *Siddhānta* is forty five (*Drstivāda* being lost), but the number of texts mentioned in various places varies between forty five and fifty.²

¹ (i) *The twelve Angas* (1) *Āvārāṅga Sutta* (*Ācārāṅga Sūtra*), (2) *Sūyagadāṅga* (*Sūtra-kṛtāṅga*), (3) *Thānāṅga* (*Sthānāṅga*), (4) *Samavāyāṅga*, (5) *Bhagavālī* or *Vīḥapannattī* (*Vyākhyāprajñaptī*), (6) *Nāyādhammakahāo* (*Jñātādharmakathāh*), (7) *Uvāsagadasāo* (*Upāsakadasāh*), (8) *Antagaḍadasāo* (*Antakṛddasāh*), (9) *Anuttarovavālyadasāo* (*Anuttaraupapātukadasāh*), (10) *Panhavāgarāṇām* (*Praśnavyākaraṇāṇi*), (11) *Vivāgasuyam* (*Vipākāśrutam*), (12) *Diṭṭhivāya* (*Drstivāda*)

(ii) *The twelve Upāṅgas* (*Upāṅgas*) or "secondary limbs" (1) *Ovāiya* or *Uvavāiya* (*Aupapāuka*), (2) *Rāyapaseṇaiya* or *Rāyapaseṇaiya* (*Rājaprasniya*), (3) *Jīvābhigama*, (4) *Pannavāḍa* (*Prajñāpanā*), (5) *Sūrapannattī* or *Sūriyapannattī* (*Sūriyaprajñaptī*), (6) *Jambudivapannattī* (*Jambudvipaprajñaptī*), (7) *Candapannattī* (*Candraprajñaptī*), (8) *Niryavālī*, (9) *Kappavaḍamsāo* (*Kālpavātamsikāh*), (10) *Pupphāsāo* (*Puspikāh*), (11) *Pupphacūlāsāo* (*Puspacūlikāh*), (12) *Vanhuḍasāo* (*Vṛśvidasāh*)

(iii) *The ten Painnās* (*Prakīrnas*) or "Scattered pieces" (1) *Causarāva* (*Catuḥśaraṇa*) by *Virabhadra*, (2) *Āurapaccakkhāṇa* (*Āturapratyākhyāna*), (3) *Bhattaparinnā* (*Bhaktaparijñā*), (4) *Samthara* (*Samstara*), (5) *Tandulavejālīya* (*Tandulavāntālika*), (6) *Candavijjhaya*, (7) *Devindattava* (*Devendrastava*), (8) *Ganivijjā* (*Ganividyā*), (9) *Mahāpaccakkhāṇa* (*Mahāpratyaḥkhyāna*), (10) *Viratthaa* (*Vīrastava*)

(iv) *The six Cheya suttas* (*Cheda Sūtras*) (1) *Nisīha* (*Nisītha*), (2) *Mahānisīha* (*Mahānisītha*), (3) *Vavahāra* (*Vyavahāra*), (4) *Āyatadasāo* (*Ācāradasāh*) or *Dasāsuyakkhandha* (*Dasāśrutaskandha*), (5) *Kappa* (*Kalpa* or *Bhātaka*), (6) *Pañcakappa* (*Pañcakalpa*)

Instead of the last-named the *Jīyakappa* (*Jītakalpa*) by *Jinabhadra* is also mentioned

(v) *Individual texts* (1) *Nandi* or *Nandi Sutta* (*Nandi Sūtra*), (2) *Anuogadāra* (*Anu-*

yogadvāra).

(vi) *The four Mūla Suttas* (*Mūla Sūtras*) (1) *Uttarajjhaya* (*Uttarādhīyāyā*) or *Uttarajjhayana* (*Uttarādhīyayana*), (2) *Āvassaya* (*Āvasyaka*), (3) *Dasavejālīya* (*Dasavaikālika*); (4) *Pinda Nijjuti* (*Piṇḍa Niryukti*). The third and fourth *Mūla Sūtras* are also sometimes given as *Oha Nijjuti* (*Ogha Niryukti*) and *Pakkhi* (*Pāksika Sūtra*), and sometimes the *Piṇḍa Nijjuti* and *Oha Nijjuti* appear in the list of the *Cheya Suttas* (vide Winternitz *History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p. 428ff). Cf also *Nandi* (Sū. 431) where the canonical works are divided into *Angas* and *Angabhūriyas* (texts standing outside the *Angas*) or *Angapavīṭha* (belonging to the *Angas*) and *Anangapavīṭha* (not belonging to the *Angas*). The former is further divided into twelve *Angas* or *Diḍasāṅga* also known as *Caṇḍīḍaga*. The latter is divided into *Āvassaya* and *Āvassayavarīṭta*. The former is sub divided into six whereas the latter into two, viz. (1) *Kāhya* and (2) *Ukkāhya*. The *Kāhya* and *Ukkāhya* have various divisions, out of which large number of works are not available at present.

² Cf the list of the eighty four *Āgamas* consisting of 11 *Angas*, 12 *Upāṅgas*, 5 *Cheya suttas*, 3 *Mūla suttas*, 30 *Painnagas*, 2 *Cūhya suttas*, *Pakkhya sutta*, *Khamāṇa sutta*, *Vandittu sutta*, *Isbhāsiya*, *Pajosanakappa*, *Jīyakappa*, *Jajīyakappa*, *Saddhājīyakappa*, 10 *Nijjutis*, *Piṇḍa Nijjuti*, *Samsatta Nijjuti* and *Visesāvassaya Bhāsa* (H. R. Kapadia, *The Canonical Literature of the Jains*, p. 38).

REDUCTION AND THE AGE OF THE JAIN CANON

According to the Jain tradition, the disciples of Mahāvīra, known as *Gaṇadharas* or heads of Schools, compiled the Master's words in the *Angas* and *Upāṅgas*. Regarding the antiquity and the authority of the Canon, the Śvetāmbara Jains have the following tradition :

The original doctrine was contained in the fourteen *Pūrvas* (*Pūrvas*) "old texts," which Mahāvīra himself had taught to his *Gaṇadharas*. The knowledge of the "old texts" was, however, soon lost. Only one of Mahāvīra's original disciples handed them down, and they were only preserved for six generations. Now in the second century after Mahāvīra's death, there was a terrible famine in Magadha which lasted for a long period. This seriously affected the study of the Jain monks who could hardly get sufficient alms for their maintenance. In fact, a number of monks, for want of food and drink, had to lose their precious lives. In course of time, when the famine was over, a council was convoked at Pāṭaliputra after about 160 years of Mahāvīra's death (i.e., about 307 B.C.) and the sacred lore which was in a state of decay, was put in order. We learn from the *Āvaśyaka Cūṛṇi*³ that during the period of a long terrible famine in Magadha the monks had left the country and had migrated to the sea-shore. After the end of the famine they assembled in Pāṭaliputra and by collecting a section (*uddesa*) from one and a portion (*khaṇḍa*) from another, compiled the eleven *Āṅgas*. But nobody remembered the *Ditthivāya*. Thereupon a couple (*sanghāḍā*) of monks were sent to Bhadrabāhu, who knew the fourteen *Pūrvas* and who had already retired to Nepala in order to undertake the *Mahāprāṇavṛata* (fast unto death). But Bhadrabāhu declined to teach *Ditthivāya* since he was engaged in meditation. The monks returned and reported the matter to the Jain *Saṅgha* of Pāṭaliputra; whereupon two other monks were deputed to Bhadrabāhu to ask him what penalty could be prescribed for disobeying the order of the *Saṅgha* since he had committed the same offence. Later on, being threatened with ex-communication, Bhadrabāhu agreed to teach *Ditthivāya* on certain conditions in seven instalments (*paṭipucchagāṇi*). Then five hundred monks were deputed to Nepala to learn *Ditthivāya*, but gradually all except Sthūlabhadra dropped out who succeeded in learning all the *Pūrvas*. But as penalty for some offence which he had committed towards his teacher, he was made to give his word of honour not to teach the last four *Pūrvas* to anybody. Thus the knowledge of the *Pūrvas* went into a state of oblivion from the time of Sthūlabhadra.⁴ This is known as the Pāṭaliputra version (*vācānā*) of the Jain Canons.

Then again in course of time, the sacred books of the Jains, again were reduced to a state of disorder and so between the year 827

³ II. pp. 187 f. also cf. *Tilthogālī patṇaya* quoted in the article 'Vira Nirvāṇa aur Jain Kāla gaṇanā,' by Kalyan Vijaya in the *Nāgarī Pracārīṇī Patṛikā*, Vols. X-XI, pp. 94-103.

⁴ For the loss of *Dṛṣṭvāda* see Weber's *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, pp. 54ff, reprinted from the *Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, 1893, and C. J. Shah's *Jainism in North India*, p. 230.

and 840 after the death of Mahāvīra (i.e., 360-373 A.D.) another council was summoned at Mathurā under the presidentship of Ārya Skandila. We read in the *Nandī Cūṛṇī* (p. 8) that during the time of terrible famine which lasted for a very long time it became difficult for the monks to obtain their alms, and so they were unable to continue the study of the scriptures and consequently a great portion of the canon was lost. In course of time, after the famine came to an end, a council was convened at Mathurā and whatever could be gathered from different monks, was collected and was fixed in the form of the Canon known as *Kālyasūya*. According to another tradition, however, no Canon was lost during this period, but except Ārya Skandila most of eminent monks, versed in the *Āgama* (*Anuyogadharāhī*) had lost their lives. This is known as the Māthurī version (*vācānā*) of the Canons.

Simultaneously, another council was summoned at Valabhī under the presidentship of Nāgārjuna Sūri in which the Canons were fixed and what was forgotten was compiled after careful edition.⁵ This fact is corroborated by the statement in the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Tīkā* (p. 41) where it is stated that in the time of Skandila there was a terrible famine when the Jain monks had to discontinue their studies. Later on, at the end of the famine, one *Saṅgha* met at in Valabhī and another at Mathurā. According to Malayagiri, the author of the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍaka Tīkā*, *Anuyogadvāra* and other Canons are based on the Māthurī version, whereas the *Jyotiṣkaraṇḍa* on the Valabhī. This is known as Valabhī version (*vācānā*) of the Canons.⁶

Unfortunately after redaction of the Canons in these councils, Ācārya Skandila and Nāgārjuna could not get an opportunity to see each other and hence the two different versions of the Canons remained unreconciled. After one hundred and fifty years, in the year 980 (or 993) of Mahāvīra's death (i.e., 513 or 526 A.D.) another council was convoked at Valabhī under the able presidentship of Devardhigaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa in which all the important works of the Jains then available were written down.⁷ In this council, as it has been pointed out, a serious attempt was made to reconcile the different readings of the two versions pertaining to the two councils. In cases where reconciliation was not possible, it was thought desirable to note the important variants either in the original *Āgamas* or in their commentaries. In this council, however, the entire Jain canonical literature was written down according to the version of the Mathurā council, introducing the important variants generally by the words '*vāyanāntare puṇa*' (according to another version) or '*Nāgārjunīyāstvevam vadanti*' (the disciples of Nāgārjuna say so).⁸

⁵ *Kathāvalī*, 298 after "Vir Niryāṇa" etc., pp. 1101

⁶ Cf. the Buddhist Councils held at Rājagaha, Vesālī and Pāṭaliputra in order to establish a Canon of the religion and of the discipline of the order, see H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 101ff. The last council was held in the reign of King Asoka in the third century B.C.

⁷ According to Hemacandra, however, the canons were actually written down in the form of books (*pustakāṇu nyastam*) in the last two councils (*yogasāstra* 3, p. 206 a).

⁸ See "Vir Niryāṇa" etc., pp. 112-118.

Thus we see that Devardhigaṇi was only a redactor and not the author of the Jain Canons, and the date of compilation of the *Āgamas* is much earlier than their redaction by Devardhigaṇi. To quote Prof. Jacobi, "Devardhi's position relative to the sacred literature of the Jainas appears therefore to us in a different light from what is generally believed to have been. He probably arranged the already existing manuscripts in a Canon, taking down from the mouth of learned theologians only such works of which manuscripts were not available. Of this Canon a great many copies were taken, in order to furnish every seminary with books which had become necessary by the newly introduced change in the method of religious instructions. Devardhi's edition of *Siddhānta* is therefore only a redaction of the sacred book which existed before his time in nearly the same form. Any single passage in sacred text may have been introduced by the editor, but the bulk of *Siddhānta* is certainly not of his making".⁹ Thus the Canon which Devardhigaṇi compiled and which has come down to us is the final result of a literary activity that must have started as soon as the Church was put on a sound footing. The earliest portion of the Canon may therefore quite possibly belong to the period of the first disciples of Mahāvīra himself, or at the latest to the second century after Mahāvīra's death, the period of Maurya Candragupta, when a council was summoned at Pāṭaliputra.¹⁰

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE CANONS

The Canonical books of the Jains are important for many reasons. They represent the teachings of Mahāvīra and the ancient historical traditions regarding the religion of the Jains. The *Kalpa Sūtra*, for example, records Mahāvīra's life including his itinerary during his ascetic life, his predecessors, his *Ganadharas* or heads of the Schools and the list of the Patriarchs (*Theravals*) together with their *gaṇas*, *kulas* and *śākhās*. The *Bhagavati Sūtra* in its different dialogues gives a vivid picture of the life and work of Mahāvīra, his relationship to his disciples and the contemporary kings and princes. It contains a presentation of the Jain dogmas in the form of questions and answers between Mahāvīra and his disciple Indrabhūti. The *Thānāṅga* records the names of the eight kings ordained by Mahāvīra and various other important points of interest. The *Uvāsagadasāo* contains chapters on the lives of ten lay disciples of Mahāvīra, and the stories of the *Nāyādharmakāhā* explain the teachings of the Lord. Further, the *Ācārāṅga*, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga* and the *Uttarādhyaṇa* contain the oldest part of the Canon from linguistic and literary points of view.¹¹ The last-mentioned Canon consists of valuable poems in the form of beautiful parables and similes, dialogues and ballads after the true manner of the ascetic poetry of ancient India. These poems have their parallels in the Buddhist and the Brahmanic literature and

⁹ *Jain Sūtras*, Vol. XXII, p. xxxix, also Winternitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 433f.

¹⁰ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 434f.

¹¹ See Jacobi, *op. cit.*, pp. xl-xlii; Winternitz; *op. cit.*, p. 431.

bear striking resemblance to the *Jātakas*, *Dhammapada*, *Suttanipāṭa* and the *Śāntiparva* of the *Mahābhārata*.¹² In the *Uttarādhyayana* we come across the story of king Nimi, one of the *Prateyaka Buddhas* in the Buddhist legends, in which the ideal of asceticism is preached. Then there is the legend of Harikṣa, the holy man of low caste, which bears an exact resemblance to the *Mātanga Jātaka*. Similarly the chapters on Citra and Sambhūta and Isukāra belong to the great cycle of tales of king Brahmadatta, forming remarkable parallels to the *Jātakas*, the *Cittasambhūta Jātaka* and *Haṭṭhupāla Jātaka*.¹³ Then the meeting between Keśi, a pupil of Pārśva, and Goyama, a pupil of Mahāvīra and their discussion on various points of ancient and contemporary creed throws a flood of light on the past history of Jainism and may be considered valuable document for the history of ancient Jain tenets.¹⁴ The *Rāyapaseṇiya* records a dialogue between Keśi and the king Pacsi which reminds us of the Pāyāsi Sutta of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. It records another statement saying that a Brāhmana who had committed certain crimes should be branded with the image of a dog (*sunaga*) or a *kundīya* pot on his forehead,¹⁵ which coincides with a similar statement in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*.¹⁶ This form of punishment, as has been remarked by Jarl Charpentier, does not occur in *Manu* and the later law-books, where corporal punishments on Brāhmanas are not permissible, which shows that the Jain Canons must be nearer to the time of Kautilya than that of the later *Dharmasāstras*. The *Rāyapaseṇiya* also contains various architectural and musical terms which are considerably old and are rarely found elsewhere. Then the *Ovāya* gives a beautiful description of king Kūṇiya and his pilgrimage to lord Mahāvīra in Campā. The *Niryāvalyāo* refers to the great battle between Kūṇiya and Cetaka when the eighteen confederate kings are stated to have sided with the latter. Lastly, the *Cheda sūtras* belong to the earliest portion of the Canon, prescribing the rules of life and conduct for the monks and nuns and the prescriptions for atonement of sins. Here we come across the rules about the entire discipline of the order, which bear resemblance to the *Vinaya* of the Buddhists.¹⁷

The *Bḥatkalpa Sūtra* (1.50) states that the monks and nuns may wander towards the east as far as Anga-Magadha, towards the south as far as Kosambī, towards the west as far as Thūnā, towards the north as far as Kunālā. This sermon is said to have been given by Mahāvīra to his disciples while he sojourned at the Subhūmibhāga garden at Sāketa, which apparently goes back to an old time when Jainism was

¹² See Winternitz, *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, the chapter on Ascetic literature in Ancient India, also *History of Indian Literature*, II, pp. 466-70, Jarl Charpentier, *Uttarā* pp. 44ff, also Prof. A. M. Ghatge's article 'A few parallels in Jain and Buddhist Works' in the *A. B. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, 1936.

¹³ A number of verses are also found in common in early Pali literature and Arhamaṅgadhi literature. Cf. for instance the verse 'dharatthu te pavokāmi' etc. in the *Dasaveyāhiya* (2.7) with the verse in the *Visavanta Jātaka* (I, No. 69), p. 311, also the verse 'khammu kugga' etc. in the *Dasaveyāhiya* (2.1) with the verse in the *Samyutta*, Nandana Vagga, Dukkaram, p. 7.

¹⁴ Jarl Charpentier, *op. cit.*, pp. 46f., see also *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. VI.

¹⁵ Sū. 184.

¹⁷ Cf. Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

¹⁶ Cf. p. 264.

in its infancy and existed only in a very limited part of India round about the country of Magadha and a part of United Provinces. As a matter of fact, as it has been stated, it was Samprati, who encouraged the propagation of Jainism throughout the length and breadth of the country after he had come to power. Further, the first section of the *Brhalkalpa Sūtra* which prescribes the eating of the broken or unbroken, raw and ripe palm-fruit (*tāla*) or the fibres (*palamba*) for the Jain monks and nuns, leads us to the olden days of terrible famine which visited Magadha and is said to have lasted for a long time, when Bhadrabāhu migrated to Nepala. These precepts indicate the hardest days through which the Jain monks and nuns had to pass and how they had to live on raw palm-fruits and fibres of the trees for their subsistence. Thus in the Jain Canon there are various traditions, historical or semi-historical presenting the political, administrative, social, economic and geographical conditions, throwing an immense light on ancient history and culture of India, which prove the antiquity of the Canons.

Lastly, a reference must be made to a large number of Inscriptions that have come to light. The Mathura Inscriptions belonging to the reign of Kaniṣka and his successors prove that the Jain community had attained a highly developed stage in the first century A.D. In these inscriptions are given the names of the Patriarchs belonging to different *ganas* (schools), *kulas* (families) and *sākhās* (branches), already referred to, which mostly coincide with the list of the teachers and the schools founded by those teachers as given in the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu.¹⁸ Thus we see that the tradition preserved in the Jain Canons is pretty old and contains much historicity and hence as Buddhist books have been used as materials for the history of Buddhism, there is no reason why we should distrust the Jain Canons as an authentic source of the Jain Church.

MODIFICATIONS IN THE JAIN CANONS AND THEIR AUTHENTICITY

It may be noted that there are references which go to show that the present Jain Canon is not the original Canon and has undergone considerable modifications. We have noticed that different names are ascribed to one and the same Canon¹⁹ and the number of the Canons varies considerably. The famous commentators Śīlāṅka, Malayagiri and Abhayadeva point out different versions (*vācanābheda*) in the Canons stating that a number of the *Sūtras* had become corrupt (*galitāni*) and a number of them were unintelligible (*durlakṣa*).²⁰ Then the contents

¹⁸ *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. III, plates xiii-xv; Buhler, *The Indian Sect of the Jains*, pp. 42-60, *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. III and IV, article by Buhler.

¹⁹ For example *Rājaprasaṅgiya* is rendered into Sanskrit by the names *Rājaprasaṅgiya* (Malayagiri), *Rājaprasaṅgiya* (Siddhasena Gaṇi) and *Rājaprasaṅgiya* (Munīcandra Śūri), Bechardas, *Rāja* Intro p. 8f.

²⁰ *Juā Tī* 9 257, p. 419a, *Sūya. Tī* II, 2, p. 335a, *Rāja Tī*, pp. 239, 259, 236, etc., Abhayadeva has recorded that it was most difficult for him to explain the texts faithfully since they were full of inaccuracies, traditions were lost and there were different versions (*Nāyā Pravastī* at the end of the text, *Thā. Tī* 10, p. 499a).

of the Canons do not correspond to the table of contents referred to in the *Thānāṅga*, *Samavāyāṅga* or *Nandi*.²¹ For instance, according to the *Nandi*,²² the *Nāyādhammakahā* contained three crores and a half *padas* (apparently an exaggeration), whereas at present it contains only twenty chapters. The commentator finding himself at a loss to explain this simply refers to some old tradition on the matter. The same thing can be said regarding the number of *padas* of the *Bhagavatī*.²³ Then the *Panhavāgarana* does not correspond either to the title of the work or to the table of contents as stated in the *Thānāṅga*²⁴ or the *Nandi*.²⁵ Like the *Panhavāgarana*, the *Antagadadasāo* and a major part of the *Anuttarovavāyadasāo* also seem to have lost their texts since their present contents do not tally with those recorded in the commentary on the *Thānāṅga*.²⁶ The names of the characters in the stories are quite different ; and its explanation given by Abhayadeva is the difference of *vācanā*. The same incongruity is recorded regarding the *Niryāvali Srutaskandha*.²⁷ Then, we are told about the *Jambuddivapannatti*, a portion of which is restored with the help of the *Jivābhigama* and other Canons.²⁸

✓ Besides these modifications and interpolations in the *Āgamas*, certain Canons or parts of the Canons have become totally obsolete, and perhaps there is no possibility of their being restored now. We have already seen that the *Ditthvāya* was missing from the time of Sthūlabhadra. Then *Mahāparinnā*, the seventh chapter of the *Ācārāṅga*, does not exist any more; *Dogiddhidāsā* and a portion of the remaining nine *Dasās* referred to in the *Thānāṅga*²⁹ are extinct now ; the *Pañcakappa* is not available and some works of *Kāliya* and *Ukkāliya Suya* referred to above are lost. Then some portion of *Mahānisiha* and of the *Pannās* is missing. Besides, we do not see any traditional chronological order in the Canons pertaining to priority or posteriority of their compilation. On the other hand, the references to the *Āgamas* which are considered of late origin are found in those which are said to belong to the early period. For instance, the *Sūyagadāṅga* refers to *Uvavāyīya*³⁰ and the *Bhagavatī* to *Pannavanā*,³¹ *Jivābhigama*,³² *Jambuddivapannatti*,³³ *Rāyapaseṇijja*,³⁴ *Uvavāyīya*,³⁵ *Nandi*,³⁶ and *Anuogadāna*.³⁷

²¹ Cf. the remark of Abhayadeva, *Bhag* I p 10, Bechardas ed., also see Akalanka's *Rājajātīrika*, p 51.

²² *Malaya Tī Sū*, 51, p 230a f.

²³ See Bechardas, *Bhag* IV, Introduction, p. 20.

²⁴ 10, p 484a.

²⁵ *Malaya Tī Sū* 55, p 233a f.

²⁶ 10, p 482a.

²⁷ *ibid*, p 485a.

²⁸ *Jambu* 2, p 117a.

²⁹ 10, 484a.

³⁰ II, 1 p. 275a.

³¹ 6 2.

³² 10 7.

³³ 9. 1.

³⁴ 8. 2.

³⁵ 9 6.

³⁶ 8. 2.

³⁷ 5. 4.

Thus we notice that the present Canons have undergone considerable changes and hence certainly cannot be claimed as the original texts of the Canons. But at the same time, it may be remarked that simply on this account the value of the canonical literature should not be minimised. As a matter of fact, the record of contradictory and inconsistent traditions and opinions in the Canons only prove that the Jains did not dare to make arbitrary changes in the texts, but handed them down as faithfully as they could.³⁸

THE DATE OF THE CANONS

It should be borne in mind that the Jain Canons collectively do not belong to one particular period. In fact, each part of the Canon should be judged on its own merit after going through its contents carefully. We notice that certain Jain texts are ascribed to later authors by traditions themselves. For instance, the *Pannavanā*, is ascribed to Ajja Sāma (Ārya śyāma) who is said to have lived 376 or 386 years after Mahāvira's death. The *Dasāśrutaskandha*, the *Pinḍa Nijjuttī* and the *Ogha Nijjuttī* are ascribed to Bhadrabāhu (second century after Mahāvira's death), the *Dasaveyāliya* to Sejjambhava (śayyambhava), who is counted as the fourth head of the Church after Mahāvira, and the *Nandī* to Devardhigani, the president of the Council of Valabhī in the tenth century after the death of Mahāvira (i.e. the beginning of the 6th century A.D.)

To sum up, the canonical works of the Jains have not originated at one period; their traditions can be traced back to Mahāvira and his disciples, or to say more correctly to the period of Candragupta when tradition places the council of Pāṭaliputra. But afterwards the sacred books of the Jains had to undergo considerable changes and as a result of which several works or portions of the works were added to them from time to time. Finally, the Canons were written down by Devardhigani in the sixth century A.D. which must be taken as the latest date of the *Siddhānta*.

THE EXEGETICAL LITERATURE OF THE CANONS

The exegetical literature on the Canons is very extensive. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to interpret the Canons without the support of the commentaries, and it is for this reason that the commentaries are included in the present thesis. On the whole the commentary literature seems to be quite trustworthy since the commentators have tried to preserve the old traditions and the stock of tales and legends current in those days. The commentators while illustrating the tenets of the Canon have referred to old compositions (*pūrvaprabandha*), ancient traditions (*vrddhasampradāya*) and ancient explanations (*vrddhavyākhyā*), which is

³⁸ Cf. Winternitz, *op cit*, p. 434.

an evidence to prove their authenticity. The commentators have frequently quoted the differences of opinions (*kecit*) and wherever they have failed to give satisfactory explanation of the texts they have had recourse to the authority of the older tradition (*sampradāyagamyā*) or the words of an omniscient being (*kevalin*).

The exegetical literature which includes some of the important commentaries such as the *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, and its *Vṛtti*, the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* and its *Vivaraṇa*, the *Nisītha Cūṛṇi*, the *Āvaśyaka Cūṛṇi*, and the commentaries on the *Āvaśyaka* and *Uttarādhyayana*, is undoubtedly a mine of rich treasure in itself. In these works we come across various customs and beliefs prevalent in those days in different parts of India, various feasts and festivals, religious sects, wandering ascetics, descriptions of famine, robbers and dacoits, the inaccessible roads, mountains and deserts, economic production, industry, trade-routes, dress, ornaments, food, and various other matters of importance, which have nothing to do with religion as such, but are of general interest to the man on the street. The commentary literature is also important from the point of view of the voluminous and comprehensive narrative literature that it contains. According to Dr. Winternitz, many a gem of the narrative art of ancient India has come down to us by way of the Jaina commentary and narrative literature, which would otherwise have been consigned to oblivion.³⁹ The commentary literature like the canonical literature is also important from the point of view of the history of Indian languages. The canonical literature and its earliest commentaries are written in Prakṛta language, which is very useful in tracing the history of the modern Indian vernaculars.

The commentarial literature on the Canons consists of four parts, viz., (1) *Nyjjuttī*, (2) *Bhāṣa*, (3) *Cūṛṇi*, and (4) *Tikā*; including the Canons this literature is known as *Pañcāṅgī* or consisting of the five parts.

(1) NIJJUTTI

The oldest explanatory literature on the sacred texts is represented by *Nyjjuttī* which consists of a very concise explanation in verses. These *Nyjjuttīs* contain a number of historical or legendary tales elucidating Jain doctrines and moral or disciplinary rules given in the Jain Canons. The *Nyjjuttīs* were probably memorial verses which were learnt by heart by the teachers who used them in their oral interpretation of the Canons.⁴⁰ It is suggested that since the *Nyjjuttīs* are absolutely unintelligible without the support of the commentary, there must have been an extensive commentary where all tales and legends referred to in *Nyjjuttīs* must have been told at length.⁴¹ But unfortunately we have no means of ascertaining the existence and nature of these hypothetical commentaries

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 487.

⁴⁰ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 483, cf. *Nirutti* in Pali, a work on exegesis, ascribed to Mahā Kaccāyana, and divided into two parts: *Cūla nirutti* and *Mahā nirutti*, Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, Vol. II, p. 79.

⁴¹ Jarl Charpentier, *op. cit.*, p. 50 f.

and how far they were epitomised in the present *Niryuktis*.⁴² The *Nijjuttis* served as the foundation for several other later commentaries. The following are the ten *Nijjuttis* : (1) *Āyārāṅga*, (2) *Sūyagaḍaṅga*, (3) *Sūriyapannatti*, (4) *Uttarājjhayana*, (5) *Āvassaya*, (6) *Dasaveyāliya*, (7) *Dasāsuyakkhandha*, (8) *Kappa*, (9) *Vavahāra* and (10) *Isbhāsiya*. The tradition is unanimous in attributing the authorship of the *Nijjuttis* to Bhadrabāhu, who seems to be different from Bhadrabāhu, the last *Śrutakevalin*, who died 170 years after Mahāvīra's death (i.e., 297 B.C.), and who was the author of the *Cheda Sūtras*.

When we study the contents of the *Nijjuttis* we notice that they refer to the later traditions. For instance, the *Uttarādhyaṇa Niryukti*⁴³ refers to the story of the Bhadrabāhu's four disciples, and ġakatāla and Sthūlabhadra, and the *Āvassaya Niryukti*⁴⁴ to Bhadrāgupta, Ārya Simhagiri, Vajraswāmin, Tosaliṣṭrācārya, Ārya Rakṣita, Phalgurakṣita and others, who were the successors of Bhadrabāhu. We also find a reference here to the origin of the Dīgambaras and the seven schisms in the Jain Church which undoubtedly represents the tradition much later than Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Cheda Sūtras*.⁴⁵

(2) Bhāsa

After *Nijjutti*, comes *Bhāsa*, the next chronological stage of development in the commentarial literature on the Jain Canons. Like *Nijjutti*, the *Bhāsas* were also written in Prākṛta verses. However, it should be noted, that a number of verses of *Nijjutti* and *Bhāsa* have so much intermingled with each other that it is difficult to distinguish them from one another. This is corroborated by the statement in the Commentary on the *Bṛhatkapla Bhāṣya*⁴⁶ by Malayagiri. Similarly, the verses of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Dasaveyāliya* have been incorporated in its *Niryukti*⁴⁷ and the same muddle is noticed regarding the verses of the *Bhāṣya* on the *Āvassaya sūta* and its *Nijjutti*.⁴⁸

The following eleven Āgamas seem to have contained their *Bhāsas* :—
(1) *Āvassaya*, (2) *Dasaveyāliya*, (3) *Uttarājjhayana* (4) *Kappa* (5) *Pañcakappa* (6) *Vavahāra* (7) *Nisīha* (8) *Pañcamāṅgalasuyakkhandha* (9) *Jīyakappa* (10) *Oha Nijjutti* and (11) *Pinda Nijjutti*.⁴⁹ The *Bhāsas* on the *Bṛhat-*

⁴² Prof. A. M. Ghatage's article "The Dasavaikālika Niryukti," p. 629, *I H Q*, Vol., XI 1935

⁴³ 91, 100.

⁴⁴ 764-776, also cf. *Uttarā. Niv.* 96f

⁴⁵ See Muni Punya Vijaya's learned article in the *Mahāvīra Jain Vidyālaya Rajata Mahotsava Smāraka Grantha*, 1915-40; Jarl Charpentier's *Introduction to the Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*, p. 49 f. Bhadrabāhu, the author of the *Nijjuttis* is placed in the fourth century A.D. (See Prof. Ghatage, *op. cit.*) However, according to Leumann, the *Nijjuttis* were compiled in about 80 A.D. (Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 60)

⁴⁶ *Pūṭhā*, p. 2.

⁴⁷ p. 278.

⁴⁸ See H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 172; Prof. A. M. Ghatage's article on *Sūtrakṛtāṅga Niryukti* in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XII, 1936, p. 270 ff.

⁴⁹ See H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

Kalpa Sūtra, *Vyavahāra Sūtra* and *Nisīha Sūtra* are very important as they contain most valuable information regarding various topics, particularly the life of monks and nuns and the society of those early days. The *Bhāṣya* on the *Brhatkalpa Sūtra* is written by Sanghadāsagaṇi Kṣamāsra-maṇa ;⁵⁰ most of the *Bhāṣas*, however, are anonymous.

(3) *Cuṇṇi*

After *Bhāsa* comes *Cuṇṇi*, an intermediate stage between the two periods, *Bhāsa* on one hand and the *Ṭikā* on the other. *Cuṇṇi* is an intermixture of prakṛt and Sanskrit languages pointing out an important era in the history of the Jain annals when by slow stages Sanskrit was taking the place of Prakṛt in the history of the Jain literature.

The following *Āgamas* contain *Cuṇṇis* :—

(1) *Āyāra*, (2) *Sūyagaḍa*, (3) *Vāḥapannatti*, (4) *Jivābhigama*, (5) *Jambuddivapannatti*, (6) *Nisīha*, (7) *Mahānisīha*, (8) *Vavahāra*, (9) *Dasāsuyakkhandha*, (10) *Kappa*, (11) *Pañcakappa*, (12) *Oha Nijjutt*, (13) *Pañcamangalasuyakkhandha*, (14) *Jīyakappa*, (15) *Uttarajjhayana*, (16) *Āvassaya*, (17) *Dasaveyāliya*, (18) *Nandi*, (19) *Anuogadāra* and (20) *Pakkhiya Sutta*⁵¹. Out of these a very few *Cuṇṇis* have seen the light of day so far. Some of them have been edited by Muni Ānandasagararaj from Rutlam. A cyclostyled copy of the *Nisīha Cuṇṇi* available in some of the Bhandaras and Libraries, has been edited by Ācārya Vijayaprema Sūrisvara, which is utilised in the present thesis. Most of the published *Cuṇṇis* are ascribed to Jinadāsagaṇi Mahattara.⁵² Out of the available *Cuṇṇis* the *Āvassaya* and *Nisīha* are most important as they contain a most valuable treasure of information from the point of view of Jain history and culture. The *Nisīha* refers to Ārya Kālaka, a contemporary of king Sāhivāhana of paitthāna, who proceeded to Persia (*Pārasakūla*) and returned with ninety kings (*Sāha*) to take revenge on king Gaddabhilla of Ujjeṇī, who is said to have abducted Kālaka's sister and kept her in his harem. The *Āvassaya Cuṇṇi* records a tradition of flood in Sāvithi after thirteen years of which Mahāvīra attained *kevalahood*⁵³. It also refers to important kings and princes contemporary to Mahāvīra and various other traditions. The *Cuṇṇis* are also important from the point of view of philological studies.

(4) *Ṭikā*

Haribhadra Sūri (705-775 A.D.) was a most distinguished and versatile writer, who is considered to have written for the first time

⁵⁰ This is edited with the *Vṛth* of Malayagiri and Kṣemakṛti in the *Ātmānanda Jain Granthamālā* by learned scholar Muni Punyavijayaji.

⁵¹ See H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁵² The *Āśvayaka Cuṇṇi*, according to Leuman, belongs to 600-650 A.D. (Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 60), of a verse from the *Manusmṛiti* (IV 85, also *Mahābhā.* XIII. 141. 19) is quoted in the *Āśvayaka Cuṇṇi* (p. 97), also from the *Pratyñāyaganadharāyana* (3 9) of *Bhāsa* (Poona, 1937) in the *Āśvayaka Cuṇṇi* II, p. 162).

⁵³ Cf. also the same tradition recorded in the *Maccha Jātaka* (Vol. I, No. 75).

the commentaries on the Canons in Sanskrit, retaining the Prākṛt narratives in their original form. He has written commentaries on *Āvassaya*, *Dasaveyāliya*, *Nandi* and *Anuyoga*. He is also said to have written a commentary on the *Pannazana*, which is now lost.⁵⁴ After Haribhadra comes Śilānka Sūri, who lived about a century later and wrote commentaries on the first two *Angas* with the help of Vāharigani in about 862 or 872 A.D. He is also said to have written commentaries on the remaining ten *Angas* which are lost now. Then we come to the commentators Vādivetāla Śānti Sūri and Devendragani, otherwise known as Nemicaṇḍra Sūri in the eleventh century. They wrote separate but exhaustive commentaries on the *Uttarajjayana* retaining the narratives in Prākṛt, in the manner of Haribhadra Sūri. The famous Abhayadeva Sūri also belongs to this period. He wrote commentaries on nine *Angas* (III-XI) and the *viṭṭya*. His commentaries on the latter and the *Nāyādhammakalā* were revised by great Dronācārya, the author of the commentary on the *Ogha Nirvyukti*. Then comes Maladhāri Hemacandra, a senior contemporary of Ācārya Hemacandra and a pupil of Abhayadeva, who commented on *Anuyogaśāstra Sūtra*. Malayagiri was another important author who wrote commentaries on six *Upāṅgas* (II-VII). His commentary on the *Jambuddhāpanamati* is said to have been lost, and that on the *Pannazana* is based on Haribhadra's. He also wrote commentaries on *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, *Pinda Nirvyukti*, *Avasyaka*, *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (incomplete) and *Nandi*. He completed his commentary on *Nandi* in 1235 A.D.⁵⁵ Kṛmākīra completed the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* in 1276 A.D. Then Vijayavimala wrote his commentaries on the *Tandilavyāliya* and *Gacchāḍāra* in 1578 A.D.; Śānticaṇḍra, a pupil of Hīravijaya on the *Jambuddhāpanamati* in 1594 A.D., and Samaya Sundaragani on the *Kalpa Sūtra* in the 17th century A.D.⁵⁶ Besides, a large number of *Dīpikās*, *Vivṛtis*, *īkās*, and *Atacūris* were written on the canonical literature of the Jains, several of which do not exist now. In the *īkā* literature, the commentaries on the *Āvassaya*, *Uttarajjayana*, *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*, *hānāṅga*, *Bhagavati*, *Jambudvīpaprājñāpti* and *Kalpa Sūtra* are most valuable since they have recorded various important traditions.

Thus the period of the Jain Canons and their commentaries extends from the second century B.C. to the seventeenth century A.D.

CONCLUSION

Before we enter into a detailed study of the Jain *Sūtras*, the following points must be borne in mind.

The object of presenting this thesis is simply to exhaust the social, political, economic, religious and geographical material presented in the

⁵⁴ The Commentary of Malayagiri on *Pannazana*, p. 611.

⁵⁵ Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

⁵⁶ For other commentaries on the *Kalpa Sūtra* see the Introduction to the *Kalpa Sūtra* by Prof. H. D. Velankar, Surat, 1939.

Jain *Sūtras*, and no chronological order of the *Āgamas* is claimed in the present work.

During the course of three recensions the present Jain *Sūtras* have undergone considerable changes, and so there is much confusion regarding the stock lists and other material presented in the *Sūtras*; moreover, the *Āgamas* have not been critically edited so far.

The commentary period should not be taken as one with the *Sūtra* period. The commentators belong to a much later period when many of the traditions belonging to the *Āgamas* had been lost.

In spite of the three recensions which the Jain texts had undergone and the consequent changes which were effected in the body of the texts from time to time it would not be an exaggeration to say that much of the material which they embody point to a much early civilization than the sixth century A D, when the final redaction of the texts was effected. Our comparison of the social material in the Jain *Sūtras* with the material of the same in the Buddhist *Tripitaka* which as pointed out by the scholars is definitely old. For instance, the reference to the architectural terms in the Jain *Sūtras* with their comparison with the architectural terms in the Pali *Suttas* should convince us of the truthfulness of our assertion. It is not the purpose of the present work to make a comparative study of the parallel features of the Jain and Buddhist *Sūtras* which should form a separate study by itself. But wherever possible such parallels have been pointed out.

Finally, one thing should be borne in mind, while studying the Jain *Sūtras* that the age of every part of it should be judged on its own merits with the help of other literature and when the converging evidence supports the genesis of the tradition, then alone its age could be approximately fixed.

SECTION II

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATION

CHAPTER I CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER II FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

CHAPTER III ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

CHAPTER IV MILITARY ORGANISATION

CHAPTER V LOCAL GOVERNMENT

INTRODUCTION

The Jain Canons, in the manner of the *Jātakas*, are not administrative manuals like the *Arthaśāstra* or the *Dharmasūtras* which can supply us with a full, connected and systematic account of the various aspects of administration. Whatever meagre account of the details of the administrative machinery is found in these texts is furnished by the stories which are told in quite an off-hand manner reflecting the normal life of the day. As a matter of fact, the Jains like the followers of other *Śramanic* religions concentrated more on the problems of penance and renunciation and they never showed lively interest in worldly affairs. In the following pages an attempt is made to arrange the meagre and isolated information supplied by the Jain Canons in a systematic order, supplementing it with the information available from other sources.

CHAPTER I

CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

I

KING AND KINGSHIP

According to Jain tradition, Usabha was the first king who ruled over Ikkhāgabdhūmi, the first capital of India. Before that there was no kingdom or king, punishment or punisher. It was a state when all people without exception pursued the path of *dharma* and conducted themselves towards one another in righteous manner. But in course of time, the people violated the laws laid by the *Kulakaras*, and yielded to all sorts of unhealthy feelings. At this time people approached Nābhi, the father of Usabha and the latter was anointed on the throne. It was Usabha who taught people for the first time various arts and crafts and promulgated the system of punishment by confinement of a criminal to a particular area (*maṇḍalabandha*).¹

In ancient India a king was absolutely necessary and was considered an essential factor for the well-being of the people. It is further stated, that a king engrossed in women, gambling, wine and hunting was considered unfit to look after the affairs of the State.² It is said that the maternal and paternal lineage of a king must be stainless, he must be satisfied with accepting one-tenth from his subjects, and must be well-versed in general customs (*lokācāra*), philosophical system (*Veda*) and politics.³ According to the *Ovāya*, king Kūṇika had all the qualifications of royalty, was honoured by people, belonged to a pure *Kṣatriya* family, was duly consecrated on the throne and was compassionate. He was a warden of the marchers (*śimankara*), upholder of peace (*khe-mandhara*), and protector of the *janapada* (*janavayapāla*). He was the master of palaces (*bhavana*), bed-rooms (*sayana*), seats (*āsana*), carriages (*jāna*) and vehicles (*vāhana*) in large quantity. His treasury was full of gold and silver, and his people had ample food. He was the master of slaves of both sexes, cows, buffaloes, oxen and sheep. His treasury (*kosa*), granaries (*koṭṭhāgāra*) and armouries (*āuhaghara*) were brimming to the full.⁴

¹ *Jambu Sū*, 2, 29; *Āva cū*, pp 153 157. Similar description is found in the *Mahā-bhārata* when the *Devas* became subjected to fear due to lawlessness (*arājakāṭā*) and approached Vishnu, who appointed Prthu as the first king of the earth, under whose rule the whole earth was tilled and cultivated with seventeen kinds of grains. At this time Brahmā composed a science for the social advancement and well-being of the world in hundred thousand chapters (*Mahābhā. Śānti* p. 1. viii).

² *Brh. Bhā.*, 1. 940. Cf. Woman, dice, hunting and drink, the four sins are reprehensible in a king; *Mahābhā.* III. 13. 7.

³ *Vya. Bhā.*, 1. p. 128af.

⁴ *Sū.* 6.

VICEROYALTY AND SUCCESSION

According to the *Jātakas*, kingship was generally hereditary in character. Normally if the prince was the only son of his father, he became the Viceroy, and after his father's death succeeded to the throne. But if he had one or more brothers or step-brothers, there was an outburst of jealousy⁵ after the death of the king which soon developed into bitter fratricidal wars. Ordinarily, if nothing untoward happened, after the death of his father, the eldest succeeded to the throne and the younger was anointed as Viceroy.⁶ The Jain texts mention two types of kings, viz., *sāvekkha* and *niravekkha*. The former established the crown-prince on the throne within his life time; this avoided civil war and other calamities. In the latter type the crown-prince succeeded after the death of the king.⁷ In the event of a king having more than two sons, usually, the king, if he was living, put them to test and selected one to be the Viceroy. The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to a king who put his three princes to test. He served them with a splendid dinner and while the princes were dining, he let loose furious dogs on them. The first prince left his dinner and ran away, the second stopped the dogs with sticks and finished his dinner, the third continued his dinner and also allowed the dogs to feed. The king was pleased with the last one and made him the heir-apparent.⁸

ABDICATION

Sometimes, after the death of the king, the elder son was overcome by a feeling of disgust for the kingdom and renounced the world. In that case the kingdom was offered to his younger brother.⁹ In some cases the elder brother, who had taken to asceticism came back and was tempted to seize the kingdom. We are told that Kuṇḍarīka and Puṇḍarīka were two princes of Sāgeya. The former joined the ascetic order, but after some time he returned and wanted his kingdom back. Puṇḍarīka, the younger prince retired in his favour and took to the ascetic life.¹⁰ Then there were instances of kings abdicating in favour of the heirs-apparent and of young princes prematurely following the path of renunciation and refusing consecration.¹¹

⁵ Cf a prince employed a shepherd and made his elder brother blind (*Uttarā* 71, 5, p. 103).

⁶ *P.B.I.*, pp 94f, 99.

⁷ *Vya Bhā.*, 2 327

⁸ 3.210, also cf 4 267. The *Pāṇḍya Jātaka* (11, 247) refers to a young prince who was told by the ministers that he would be consecrated only on satisfying certain tests which pertain to the administration of justice. But the prince was incapable of distinguishing between the two judgments, one correct and the other incorrect and consequently lost his chance to the kingship.

⁹ See *Uttarā*. 71, 18, P. 246.

¹⁰ *Nāyā.*, 19.

¹¹ Cf. the renunciation of Sāla and Mahāsāla, *Āra. ca.*, p. 381.

RELATION BETWEEN KINGS AND PRINCES

The whole problem of succession was complicated by ambitions, jealousies and the practice of renunciation.¹³ The *Vivāgasūya* refers to prince Nandivaddhaṇa of Mathurā, who wanted to take the life of his father and rule over the kingdom. But he was detected and was executed.¹³ Similarly, the prince Kūniya of Rāyagīha put his father into prison and was consecrated on the throne.¹⁴ Sometimes the king, out of fear, banished the unruly prince and asked him to live in another place. The *Āvasyaka Gūṇi* refers to the prince Seniya, who, being afraid of his father, fled away to Bennāyaḍa and lived there with a merchant.¹⁵ Then the princes Mūladeva and Agadadatta of Ujjeni and Sankhapura respectively are said to have been banished by their fathers.¹⁶

SUCCESSION BY PRIMOGENITURE

It has been pointed out that as a general custom, the kingdom descended directly to the king's eldest son and all was right if the king had an heir, but if he died heirless, it was a great problem for the ministers.¹⁷ Under such circumstances, finding no other alternative, the heirless kings were often advised by their ministers to beget sons through the medium of the monks. If the monks did not agree to the proposal they were brought to the palace under the pretext of hearing religious discourses or being asked to worship some holy image. Of the monks those who were full of youth and energies were forced to cohabit with the inmates of the palace under the threat of execution; those unwilling were even beheaded.¹⁸ The *Brhatkalpa Dhūṣya* refers to another interesting practice of succession. It is said that a certain king had three princes who joined the ascetic order. In course of time, the king died and it so happened that the three ascetic princes arrived in the city and sojourned in a garden. When the ministers came to learn of the arrival of the princes, they approached them along with the royal insignia and requested them to come back and accept the sceptre. The first prince succumb-

¹³ According to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (pp 32 ff) the king should guard himself against his own sons. Kautilya, quoting the opinions of Viśalakṣi and Parāśara, says that the unruly princes are constant danger to the king and they should be kept under guard in a definite place or fort.

¹⁴ 6, p 39

¹⁵ *Āva cū*, II, p 171, in the *Thūsa Jātaka* (No 338, III, p 122) a sixteen years old prince tries various expedients to kill his father.

¹⁶ p 546

¹⁷ *Uttarā Jī*, 4, p 83 a ff, 3, p 59 ff. In the *Succaja Jātaka* (III, No. 320, p. 67) a prince governor comes to the capital Benares, to pay his respects to his father. The latter thinks, "this fellow may do me wrong if he gets an opportunity." So he asks him to live somewhere else, and return at his death and rule the kingdom. The prince obeys and leaves Benares with his chief wife.

¹⁸ Cf. *Nāyaka*, 14, p. 153 f

¹⁹ *Brh. Bhā.*, 4. 4948, also cf. *Kusa Jātaka* (No. 531, V, 278 ff); also cf. the evil results a monk visiting the king's harem (*Anguttara*, V, p 81 ff).

ed to temptation as he could not stand the ascetic life, the second did not move from his resolve, whereas the third was concealed by his preceptor in some nunnery.¹⁹

SUCCESSION OF SISTER'S SON

Sometimes, in the absence of a son, the nephew succeeded to the throne. The commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇa* refers to Gaggali, the sister's son of Sāla and Mahāsāla of Piṭṭhicampā. They called upon Gaggali and after installing him on the throne joined the ascetic order.²⁰ Then the *Bhagavatī* refers to king Uddāyana of Viṃbhaya, who, although he had a son, anointed his sister's son on the throne and joined the order of Mahāvīra. It is said, that fearing that his son would become infatuated with royal power, and being thus addicted to human pleasure, would roam about in the endless ocean of this world, Uddāyana did not appoint him the heir-apparent.²¹

WOMEN AND SUCCESSION

When there was no heir to the king, who could succeed to the throne, sometimes, though very rarely his daughter succeeded him. The *Mahānisiha* alludes to a widowed daughter of a king, who, in order to save her family from blasphemy, wanted to commit Suttē. But since this custom was not prevalent in the family of the king, he stopped her from doing so. After some time the king died heirless and his widowed daughter was established on the throne.²²

CHOICE BY DIVINE WILL

There was another custom of choosing a successor to the vacant throne. It was the choice by the horse²³ which was made to roam about the town. The commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇa* refers to prince Mūladeva of Pāḍaliputta who was consecrated on the throne of Bennāyaḍa in this manner. It is said that when the king died heirless, the five divine articles (*kakuha*) were prepared and were taken out in a procession. At last the royal officers reached a place where Mūladeva was sitting under the shade of a tree. Seeing him there, the elephant trumpeted, the horse neighed, the pitcher sprinkled water, the chowries fanned and the parasol placed itself above him. Then the people pro-

¹⁹ 3. 3760-71, also cf *Vya Bhū*, 3 192, p 40

²⁰ 10. p. 153 f.

²¹ 13. 6.

²² P 30. It is stated in the *Jātaka* "infamous is the land which owns a woman's sway and rule, and infamous are the men who yield themselves to women's dominion" (*Kaṇḍina Jātaka*, I, No. 13, p 155), but sometimes we come across examples when women wielded the actual sovereignty. On Udaya's death no king was set up and we are told the commands of his widow Udayabhaddā were promulgated (*Udaya Jātaka* No. 458, IV, p. 105).

²³ In the *Kathakōśa* (trans. Tawney, p 4 and note) an elephant with a pitcher of water roams about for seven days and chooses a person.

nounced the cries of victory and Mūladeva was mounted on the elephant and was taken to the town where he was declared sovereign by the ministers and tributary kings (*mantasāmanta*).²⁴ Then we are told about the prince Karakaṇḍu who succeeded to the throne of Kañcānapura. In this case, the horse came as usual and after moving round the prince stopped in front of him. The citizens noticed specific marks on his body, the cries of victory were uttered and the musical instrument *nandi* was beaten. At this time the prince got up from his slumber and was taken to the town where he was consecrated on the throne.²⁵ Then the *Āvaśyaka Gūṇi* refers to Nṛhaviyadāsī Nanda, who sat on the throne of Pāḍaliputta. It is said that the horse turned his back (*paṭṭhum aḍḍeti*) towards him and he was declared sovereign.²⁶ Further we hear of the robber Mūladeva, who was being taken by the police officers for execution, but at this time, luckily the king died heirless and as customary the horse was taken around the town, which turned its back towards Mūladeva who succeeded to the throne.²⁷

CONSECRATION CEREMONY

The ceremony of consecration was an important function in ancient India. The *Jambuddivapaṇnatti* describes the consecration of Bharata, the Universal Monarch. He entered the consecration hall when various kings, the *senāpati*, the *purohita*, the eighteen guilds (*senipphasen*), the merchants and others sprinkled with fragrant water and hailed him with cries of victory. It is said that people placed a royal crown on his head, rubbed his body with soft and hairy clothes dyed with fragrant saffron (*pahmalasukumālagandhakāsāra*), put on a garland around his neck and adorned his body with various ornaments. On this occasion the citizens were exempted from taxes and a festival was declared lasting for a long period.²⁸ Then we hear of the coronation ceremony of Mahakumāra in the *Nāyādharmakahā*. It is said that before Mahakumāra renounced the world, at the request of his parents, he was installed on the throne for one single day. He was given a bath with eight hundred pitchers made of gold, silver and gems etc.; he was sprinkled over with water brought from various holy places and earth, flowers, perfumes,

²⁴ 3 p. 63 a The *Oṅṣ. Sū*, II, p. 44 mentions sword (*khagga*), umbrella (*chatta*), crown (*upphesa*), shoes (*vāhana*) and chowries (*vālavāṇa*), as the five insignia of a king, cf *Mūlindapañha*, p. 330

²⁵ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 9 p. 134

²⁶ II p. 180

²⁷ *Vya Bhā*, 4 169 In the *Darīmukha Jātaka* (III, No 378, p. 239) this ceremony is called the *phussaratha* or the festal car ceremony. Seven days after the death of an heirless king, the *Purohita* let a festal car, the *phussaratha*, be driven accompanied by four-fold army amidst the beating of many hundred drums. It was expected to go to man destined to be the king. The man whom the car singled out by stopping near him was made king, also *Mahā-anaka Jātaka* (No. 534, VI, p. 39), also see *Kathāsaritūṣāgarn*, Vol V, Ch. lxxv, pp. 175-7, note on *Pañcadvyādhuva*, *J A O S*, Vol 33, pp. 158-66.

²⁸ *Sū*, 3. 68, pp. 267a-270.

garlands, herbs, and mustard were cast over his head, and he was consecrated with all pomp and ceremony amidst the beating of the instrument *dundubhi*.²⁹

RESIDENCE PALACE

The palaces are described in the Jain Canons as seven-storyed, adorned with towers and pinnacles and supported by many columns. They are described as lofty, touching the sky and decorated with flags, banners, umbrellas and garlands. They had domes (*thūbhyā*) and their floors were richly studded with various gems and jewels.³⁰ The Jain texts mention several types of palaces. The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to the palaces of *Cakravartins*, *Vāsudevas*, *Māṇḍalikas* and ordinary persons. These palaces are described as one hundred and eight, sixty-four, thirty-two and sixteen hands high in succession.³¹ A distinction is made between a *prāsāda* and a *bhavana*; the former is said to have belonged to gods whereas the latter to kings. A *prāsāda* was usually high and its height was double its width, whereas the height of a *bhavana* was a little less than its width.³²

The harem (*anteura* : *oroḥa*) which was a part of the royal pomp,³³ played an important role in the inner and outer politics of the country. The king's harem consisted of three parts : *jinna-anteura*, *nava-anteura* and *kanna-anteura*. The first was inhabited by old women, whose youth had departed ; in the second lived young ladies, who were in their bloom of youth ; in the third lived the girls, who had not attained their prime of youth as yet.³⁴ The kings were fond of enriching their harem with beautiful women and girls without any distinction of caste. At times they being unmindful of public opinion did not mind capturing even married girls and beautiful nuns. The *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to the five hundred girls, who during a festival of Indra went out to worship the deity. A prince also had gone out to enjoy the festival. The prince asked his servants to take away the girls to the harem and keep them there. Later on, when the parents of the girls lodged a complaint with the king, they were asked, "do you not want to make my son your

²⁹ 1, p. 28f. The consecration ceremony is also described in the *Mahābhārata* (Sri P. 1XL), *Rāmīyaṇa* (II, 3; 6, 14; 15, IV, 2b 20ff), and the *Jātaka* (*Pañcaguru Jātaka*, I No 132, p. 470, *Ayogharā Jātaka*, IV, No 510, p. 492), when the subjects, headed by priests, came to see the prince with diverse kinds of auspicious articles ; the whole city was decorated, courtizans played and danced all round ; priests, generals, merchants and citizens, provincials—all thronged at the palace and made a holiday ; the town was decorated on a heavenly style, the prince was placed on a pile of jewels, he was sprinkled from the three conches and an umbrella with its festoons of gold was held over him.

³⁰ *Nāyā*, 1, p. 22 ; *Uttarā. Tī.*, 13, p. 189. For similar description in the *Jātaka*s, see P.B I, p. 107 f.

³¹ 9, 46f.

³² *Bhag. Tī.*, 5, 7 ; *Abhidhānārājendrakōṣa*, under 'pāsāya.'

³³ Cf. *Nāyā*, 16, p. 185

³⁴ *Nīti. Cū.*, 9, p. 508, according to the *Bandhana mokkha Jātaka* (I, 120, p. 437) a harem is said to have comprised of sixteen thousand dancing girls ; also see *Arthasāstra*, pp. 39-41 ; also *Rāmīyaṇa*, II, 10, 12f ; iv, 33, 19f.

son-in-law?" and the girls were married to the prince.³⁵ Similarly, a Brāhmana girl named Somā was kept in the harem of Kaṇha Vāsudeva to be married to his younger brother Gayasukumāla. Later on, however, Gayasukumāla did not marry and joined the monastic order of Aritthanemi.³⁶ The king even did not hesitate to lay hands upon the married women. The commentary on the *Kalpa sūtra* mentions king Sumukha of Kosambī, who kept Vanamālā the wife of Viraka in his harem.³⁷ Then we hear of king Vikkamajasa of Kañcanapura, who made the wife of a merchant his queen. The merchant was much grieved, he turned mad and died.³⁸ Further, the *Nisītha Cūrni* mentions king Gaddabhilla of Ujjenī who captured the nun-sister of Kālaka and kept her in his harem. Later on, however, in order to take revenge on him, Kālaka left for Persia from where he brought ninety six kings and waged war against Gaddabhilla.³⁹

The harem was a great source of danger to the king and was, therefore, carefully guarded by eunuchs⁴⁰ and old men. The eunuchs are mentioned in the *Brhatkalpa sūtra* and its *Bhāṣya*. They were excluded from the membership of the Jain *Sramana Sangha*. About the eunuchs it is said that their nature was womanish, their voice and colour were those of a woman, their penis was long and drooping, their speech was soft, and they passed urine with noise and it was foamy. They walked with a womanish gait looking to the right and the left and behind; they were soft skinned and their bodies were cold to the touch.⁴¹ The *Vivāgasūya* mentions a eunuch who was brought up by his parents to carry on the profession of a eunuch.⁴²

The Jain texts mention the following guards to keep watch over the inmates of the harem⁴³

1 A *kañchukin* or chamberlain had a free access to the king as well as the inmates of the harem.⁴⁴ He gave reports of the happenings in the harem to the king.⁴⁵

³⁵ 4, 5153 ³⁶ *Anta*, 3, p 16f ³⁷ 2, p 40a, also *Dṛṣṭi Gā*, 3, p 105

³⁸ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p 239, the *Manicora Jātaka* (II, No 194) describes a similar story of a king, who, seeing the beauty of Bodhisattva's wife, got enamoured of her. The king sent a man, who placed a jewelled crest in his cart. The royal officer, declared him to be a thief and took him to the execution ground, also *Dhammapadam A*, II, 2f

³⁹ 10, p 371

⁴⁰ According to Vātsyāyana, no man was allowed to enter into the royal harem except relatives and servants and in some provinces artisans, Brāhmanas were allowed to get into the harem for supplying flowers to the ladies, with whom they conversed separated by a screen, Chakradar, *Studies in the Kūmasūtra*, p 179

⁴¹ 4, 4, 5144 f. Fourteen classes of eunuchs are distinguished here. They are *Paṇḍaya*, *Vāṭiya*, *Kiṇa*, *Kumbhū*, *Isūluya*, *Saṇṇi*, *Takkammasa*, *Pakhyipakkhyi*, *Sogandhiya* and *Asitta* (*ibid*, 5160 f, also *Bhī*, 3, 213, also cf *Nītradi*, XII, 11 ff). On eunuchs see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol III, Appendix "Indian Eunuchs," pp. 319-329

⁴² 2, p 19

⁴³ Kauṭilya also speaks of the employment of old women and eunuchs in the harem, *Arthashastra*, p 40.

⁴⁴ *Nisī Cū*, 9, p 508, according to Vācaspati, a *kañchukin* has a free access in the harem, he is old, Brāhmana by caste, virtuous and clever in every thing (*Abhidhānarājendrakosa*, under 'kañchuki').

⁴⁵ *Rāya. Sū.*, Tī., 210

2 A *varisadhara* was another guard of the harem. It is said that his testicles were removed by surgical operation (*vaddhia*) since childhood.⁴⁶

3 A *mahattara* was an executive officer of the harem. He took the ladies of the harem to the king, told them stories after their menstruation bath, pacified their anger and reported the cause of the anger to the king.⁴⁷

4 A *daṇḍadhara* carried a staff in his hand and kept a watch over the harem.⁴⁸

5 A *dandārakkhiya*, with the permission of the king took a man or a woman into the harem.⁴⁹

6 A *dovāriya* sat at the entrance of the harem with a staff in his hand.⁵⁰

It is to be noted, however, that inspite of the strictest precautions, the women of the harem were often corrupt and immoral to a degree, and such affairs had serious repercussions on the affairs of the state. We come across ministers who had illicit connections with the queens.⁵¹ By bribing the servants the merchants could get entry into the harem. We are told that king Guṇacandra of Śrīnīlayanaṅgara punished a merchant for such an offence.⁵² We are told that when king Seniya of Rāyagiha could not get Sujetthā in marriage, he sent Abhayakumāra to Vesālī, who began to live near the royal harem, in the disguise of a merchant. There he established contact with the maid-servants of the harem and managed to kidnap Cellanā.⁵³ Then we are told that all inmates of king Pajjoṇa's harem except Sivā were violated by Mahissara.⁵⁴ The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to the girls of the king's harem who used to talk with outsiders from the windows; one day they escaped with their lovers unnoticed.⁵⁵ The prohibition of the monkeys in the harem also shows that the king used to take every precaution to guard the chastity of the inmates of the harem.⁵⁶

⁴⁶ *Bṛh Bhā*, 4 5167, *Nisī. cū*, 9. pp 508, 729, *Rāya Sū*, Tī., 210. The other methods of making impotent were rubbing the testicles with thumb, the fore-finger and the middle finger and making them ineffective by medicine (*apṭhya*), *Bṛh Bhā*, 4 5167

⁴⁷ *Nisī cū*, 9 p 508, *kañcukīyā* and *mahattarikā* are mentioned by Vātsyāyana, who were employed in the harems of kings. They were employed by the queens in sending messages accompanied by various presents to the king, Chakladar, *Studies in the Kāmasūtra*, p. 109

⁴⁸ *Abhidhānarūpajendrakosa*, under 'dandadhara'

⁴⁹ *Ibid* under 'dandārakkhiya'

⁵⁰ *Oṡā*, 7 p. 25 According to the *Mātanga Jātaka* (IV, No. 497, p. 382), the duty of a *dovāriya* was to thrash *candūlas* or similar vagabonds who wanted to peep at the palace, with sticks or bamboo posts, catch them by the throat and fling them on the ground.

⁵¹ See *Vivā*, 5 p 35 In the *Jātakas* a minister guilty of misconduct in the harem, is asked to leave the town. He migrates to Kosala and becomes a confidential advisor of the Kosalan king when he instigates border raids and a regular invasion against his old master (*Ghaṭa Jātaka*, No 355, III, p 168, also *Mahisūlāva Jātaka*, No. 51, I, p 262).

⁵² *Pinda Nir Tī*, 127, p 48 a

⁵³ *Āva cū*, II, p 165 f.

⁵⁴ *ibid*, II, p 176.

⁵⁵ l. 991 f.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, 5. 5923.

CO-WIVES

There were jealousies and rivalries among the co-wives in the harem and so the harem had its own internal politics. The *Vivāgasūya* refers to king Mahāseṇa of Supatṭha, who had one thousand queens. The prince Sīhaseṇa is said to have married five hundred girls, of whom Sāmā was the chief and the prince's favourite. The prince Sīhaseṇa who had become a king now, was so fond of Sāmā that he neither cared for nor took any notice of the other queens. When the mothers of the neglected queens came to learn of the unhappiness of their daughters they plotted among themselves to put queen Sāmā to death. When the king came to know of this he caused to be built a great mansion and issued invitations to the mothers of the neglected queens. After sometime the king shut all its doors and set fire to it.⁵⁷ Then we read about Revai, who was the chief among the thirteen wives of Mahāsāyaya of Rāyagiha. She could not enjoy fully the company of her husband owing to her twelve co-wives. So she is said to have disposed of six of them by means of weapons and the rest by means of poison.⁵⁸ The commentary on the *Uttarādhyāyana* mentions king Jīyasattu of Khipaitṭhiya, who married a painter's girl named Kanayamañjarī. The king had many other queens and he visited them by turns. Once it was the turn of Kanayamañjarī who told him nice stories, and detained him for six months. The king was very much pleased with her and exclusively devoting himself to the pleasure of love with her alone, he passed the time. Upon this her co-wives became enraged against Kanayamañjarī and sought for an opportunity to take revenge on her. One day the co-wives made a complaint to the king against Kanayamañjarī saying that she was working some evil spell against him. The king made inquiries and he was pleased with the prudence of his beloved. The king made her the mistress of the whole kingdom and invested her with a frontlet (*patla*).⁵⁹

Very often the queens were jealous of the sons of their co-wives. When king Gunacanda, after the death of his father, came to the throne of Sāketa, his step-mother felt suspicious of him and sent him a poison-smoked sweet-meat ball (*moyaga*) to eat. At that time Gunacandra's two step-brothers also were present there. He divided the *moyaga* in two and gave each of them. Soon after eating this the boys were affected by poison and the physicians were called for treatment.⁶⁰ Then we hear of the jealous step-mother of Kuṇāla who caused his step-son's eyes to be put out by her stratagem.⁶¹ We also come across instances when a king was poisoned by his own queen. We are told that when

⁵⁷ p. 51 f.

⁵⁸ *Uṭā.*, 8, p. 62.

⁵⁹ p. 141 a f., cf. also *Suṣṭa Jātaka* (No. 300), III, p. 21.

⁶⁰ *Āva. cū.*, p. 402 f.

⁶¹ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1, 3275.

king Paesī of Seyaviyā embraced the Jain faith, he did not attend to state affairs attentively. Thereupon his queen Suiyakantā is said to have poisoned him and established her son on the throne.⁶²

II

KINGS OFFICERS

THE CROWN-PRINCE OR YUVARAJA

Next to the king stood the crown-prince who was the brother or son or kinsman of the king. He was also known as *Isara* (*Īsvara*) and possessed eight virtues such as *aṇimā*, *mahimā*, etc.¹ After finishing his daily duties, he went to the assembly and attended the affairs of government.² A crown-prince was supposed to be efficient in seventy-two arts, eighteen provincial languages, music, dancing, and the art of fighting on horseback, elephant and chariot.³

PUROHITA

Like the crown-prince, *purohita* or the king's adviser in matters religious and secular as well, finds an important place in the king's assembly. He is enumerated along with the most important officers of administration and is counted among the seven jewels.⁴ The *Vivāgasūya* mentions the priest Mahesaradatta of king Jiyasattu, who performed sacrifice in order to avert the king's misfortunes. Sometimes the priest acted as a witch-doctor. It is said that when the king was engaged in some battle, the *purohita*, captured eight hundred boys from the four communities, viz., *Bambhaṇa*, *Khattiya*, *Vaissa* and *Sudda* and performed sacrifice (*santihoma*) with the flesh of their hearts (*hayaunḍaya*)⁵

⁶² *Rāya Sū.*, 203 f ; Kauṭilya gives some traditional names of queens who had conspired against their husbands and which had cost them their lives. Kauṭilya asks the king to guard himself from his queens. Armed women generally guarded palace and the king entered it if he was personally satisfied of the queen's purity. Hence it was necessary to wean her from the undue influence of ascetics, buffoons and public women, *Arthasāstra*, p. 40.

¹ *Anu. Cū.*, p. 11.

² *Vya. Bhā.*, 1, p. 120.

³ *Ōvā. Sū.*, 40, pp. 185 ff, the crown-prince is mentioned as one of the eighteen *turthas* in ancient Hindu literature. He was the right hand, right eye and right ear to the king. *Dakṣitar*, *H.A.I.*, pp. 106, 109 f.; also cf. the *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No 276, p 374) where the crown-prince is supposed to wait every evening on the king and receive the greetings of the people.

⁴ *Tiā.*, 7. 558, cf. *Milindapañha* (p. 114), which mentions *senāpati*, *purohita*, *akṣhadassa*, *bhaṇḍagārika*, *chattagāhaka* and *khaggagāhaka* as six important officers of the king.

⁵ *S.*, p. 33, the *Dhonaśūka Jātaka* (III, No. 353, p. 150), refers to an ambitious *purohita* who helps the king through a sacrificial ceremony to acquire a city which is difficult to conquer. He proposes to his lord to pluck out the eyes of the thousand captured kings, to rip up their bellies, take out the entrails and give a *bali*-offering to a god, see also Fick, *op. cit.*, ch. vii, 'The House Priest of the King.'

THE ROYAL COUNCIL AND THE MINISTER

The *parishad* or Council is an important limb of the central organisation and its origin can be traced to a very early period. The Jain texts describe five kinds of Council of a king : *pūraṇti*, *chattanti*, *buddhi*, *mantri* and *rahasīyā*. It is said that when the king went on tour, all the officials attended on him till he returned ; this council of officials was called *pūraṇti*. The members of the *chattanti* council had the privilege of holding the umbrella over the king and were permitted to go up to the outer assembly hall. The *buddhi parishat* consisted of members who were well-versed in general customs (*loka*), the Vedas and the scriptures (*samaya*). Various rumours and off-hand remarks current among the people were brought to their notice. The fourth council was the council of ministers. They were well-versed in politics (*rāyasattha*), were born in the family with no royal connections (*atakkuliya*), were sincere, old in age and bold ; the king counselled with them in a secret place. The last council was known as *rahasīyā*. The members of this council pacified the angry queen, carried the news of the dates of the purificatory bath after monthly course of various queens ; they also informed the king the names of his daughters who were eligible for marriage. They also informed him of the love-affairs of the queen and also talked with the king in private on various topics pertaining to his sexual life.⁶ The *mantri parishat* was an organised council of ministers who were concerned with the political affairs of the realm. It is said that a minister should always think of his country, city and the master and he should be efficient in law and administration.⁷ A minister or *amātya* had power to punish even a king, and we come across instances, although rare, when the ministers dismissed a king and appointed another king in his place. We are told that king Jiyasattu of Vasantapura loved his queen Suku-māhiyā excessively and as a result of this he neglected the affairs of the state. One day the ministers assembled together and after banishing the king and the queen put the prince on the throne.⁸ In order to protect the realm from internal disturbances and the invasion of the enemy, a minister is said to have employed a number of spies such as *sūcakas*, *anusūcakas*, *pratisūcakas* and *sarvasūcakas*, who supplied him all sorts of secret information. The *sūcakas* made friendship with the harem officers and found out internal secrets of the harem ; the *anusūcakas* were employed to detect the foreign spies in the city ; the *pratisūcakas* sat on the city gate apparently doing some menial work ; the *sarvasūcakas* gathered information through their assistants and reported it to the *amātya*. These spies were both males and females and they worked in frontier territories, their own country, cities and the royal harem.⁹ The ministers were

⁶ *Bṛh Bhā. Pī.*, 378-383

⁷ *Vya. Bhā.*, 1, pp. 129 f.

⁸ *Āva. cū.*, p. 534, for similar references see *Saccamkara Jātaka* (I, No. 73), p. 326.

⁹ *Vya. Bhā.*, 1, p. 130a f. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Śānti p. LXviii, 8-12) the employment and direction of spies is one of the prime duties of the king. They are to be set in cities, provinces, and the territories of feudatories, also see *Arthasāstra*, pp. 17-22.

helpful in attaining the objective of defeating the enemy by diplomatic machination. Their feigned dismissal was made and they were allowed to join the services of the opponent. We hear of the minister of Sālīvāhana of Paiṭṭhāna, who joined the king Nahavāhana as a minister and after exhausting his whole treasury informed his master, who invaded the enemy and captured his kingdom.¹⁰

Besides, there were other officers such as chieftains (*ganadāyaga*), head police officers (*daṇḍanāyaga*), knights (*talavara*),¹¹ heads of families (*koḍumbiya*), the head of a mercantile guild (*setṭhi*),¹² generals (*senāvarī*) and frontier guards (*sandhuāla*),¹³ who formed an assembly of king's officers.

¹⁰ *Avā cū*, II, pp 200 f; cf. the minister Vassakāra in Buddhist literature by whose tactful machination the unity of the Vajjian confederacy was broken (Com on the *Dīgha*, II, pp. 522 ff)

¹¹ They were invested with a *paṭṭa* given by the king, they possessed the same status as the king, the only difference was that they were without chowries.

¹² They are invested with a golden *paṭṭa* inscribed with the image of god

¹³ *May Sū.*, Tī. p 313; 148, p 285; *Nisī. cū.*, 9, p 506, *Bṛh. Bhā. Vṛ*, 3 3767, *Kalpa. Tī.*, 4, 62.

CHAPTER II

FISCAL ADMINISTRATION

SOURCES OF REVENUE

Revenue and taxation were the chief support of the State. Revenue in ancient India was derived partly from taxation and partly from sources other than taxation. The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* mentions one-sixth of the produce as legal tax,¹ but it seems that it varied according to the amount of the produce, the cost of cultivation, the condition of the market and the nature of the soil.² The commentary on the *Pṛaṇḍa Nirṇukta* speaks of a house-tax and mentions that a king should collect two *drammas* every year from each house.³ The *Niṣīṭha cūṛṇi* refers to a merchant who had twenty vessels, and he gave one as a royal tax.⁴

COMMERCE

Commerce was the largest contribution only next to that of land revenue. Taxes on commerce and industry were imposed in consideration of the difficulty or otherwise of purchase and sale of goods by merchants, their standard of life, family expenses and incidental charges on intermediaries and labour. The taxes were imposed by the king and it depended on him whether to levy taxes from a merchant or not. The *Nāyādharmakāṇḍa* refers to the sea-faring merchants of Campā who visited the king of Mihilā with the precious gift of a pair of ear-rings. The king was much pleased to receive the gifts and exempted the merchants from the tax.⁵ Then we hear of the merchant Ayala who returned from Pārasaula with a huge amount of wealth. He visited the ruler of Bennāyada with a plate (*thāla*) full of silver, gold and pearls and was exempted from tax.⁶

OTHER SOURCES OF INCOME

There were various other sources of income to the State. Eighteen kinds of taxes are mentioned in the Jain texts:—taxes from cows (*go*), buffaloes (*maḥiṣa*), camels (*uṭṭi*), cattle (*paṣu*), goats (*chagali*), grass (*tana*), *palāla* grass (*puvāl* in Hindi), chaff (*busa*), wood (*kaṭṭha*) coal (*aṅgāra*), plough (*sīyā*), threshold (*umbara*, com. *dehali*),⁷ pasture-ground (*jaṅghā* or *jaṅgā*), bullocks (*balivadda*), earthen pots (*ghaya*) hides and skins (*camma*),

¹ 1. p 128a.

² *Gautama* (X 24) speaks of three different rates, one-tenth, one eighth and one-sixth, to be taken from the land, see also *Manu*, VII, 130 ff.

³ 87. p. 32a

⁴ 20. p 1281.

⁵ 8. p. 102.

⁶ *Uttarā. Tt.*, 3. p. 64

⁷ This tax is also mentioned in the *Brh. Bhā.*, 3, 4770.

food (*cullaga*) and any other tax imposed by will (*uppatti*, com. *svecchayā-kalpita*).⁸ The tax collectors (*sunḥapāla*) are mentioned.⁹ Besides, there were other sources of income to the State. The *Nāyādharmakathā* mentions a jeweller of Rāyagiha who wanted to build a lake in the town. He visited the king with precious gifts and got his permission to do so.¹⁰ Then we hear of a goldsmith Kumāranandi of Campā, who wanted to go to the island of Pañcasela. He visited the king with a precious gift of gold and got his sanction for making an announcement to that effect.¹¹ Unclaimed property and treasure-trove were other sources of income to the king. We are told of the king Vijayasena of Candrakāntā, who, hearing the death of a certain merchant, deputed his officers and took possession of his property.¹² The *Nisūtha cūrṇi* refers to a certain king who punished a certain merchant and confiscated the treasure-trove which he had discovered. The same king is said to have honoured a Brāhmaṇa who discovered a similar treasure-trove.¹³ Fines and forfeitures formed another plentiful source of income. The commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to an imposition of a fine of eighty thousand *rūpaṇas* on one who raised his sword or any other weapon to kill another person. However, if a person attacked did not die of the stroke, the amount of fine varied from country to country. In Ānandapura, for example, for such an offence a person had to pay a sum of rupees five only; for a serious quarrel, however, a sum of rupees twelve and a half was fined.¹⁴

ASSESSMENT AND COLLECTION

Unfortunately, we have very little information regarding the administration of land-revenue and taxation and the different grades of officials connected with this work. The *Kalpa sūtra* refers to the *raj-juyasabhā*, which belonged to the king Hatthivāla of Pāvā, where Lord Mahāvīra passed the last few days of his life and attained salvation. A *rajjuva* was a survey-minister, who measured a *janapada* field by holding one end of the rope tied to a stick, the other end being held by the owner of the field, and is identical with the *rajjugāhaka amacca* of the *Jātakas* and the *rajuka* of Aśoka's Edicts.⁵ No other officials are mentioned.

⁸ *Āva. Nir.*, 1071 f. (Harī.) ; also Com. by Malayagiri, p. 596. The Brāhmanic literature mentions the taxes from the office of State goldsmith, the institution of prostitutes, building sites, guilds of artisans, handicrafts, religious and charitable endowments, water tax, income tax, flowers, fruits and vegetable gardens, game forests, timber and elephant forests, heads of cattle, asses, camels, horses, hides and skins, etc., Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

⁹ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 3. p. 71.

¹⁰ 13, p. 142.

¹¹ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 19. p. 251a.

¹² *Kalpa Tī.*, 1. p. 7, cf; *Vinaya*, iii, 11. 21; *Avadāna Śataka*, I, 3, p. 13; also *Mayhaka Jātaka* (No. 390), III, p. 299 f.

¹³ 20. p. 1281. Cf. *Gautama*, X. 44; *Tājñasvalkyā Smṛti* (II, 2.34 f), *Manu*, VII, 133

¹⁴ 4. 5104.

¹⁵ *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No. 276); Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-152, *P.B.I.*, pp. 142-44.

About the collection of taxes it may be mentioned that the collectors were very oppressive to the poor-folk. We are told of a king who invaded another king for non-payment of taxes (*kappaka*).¹⁶ The *Vivāgasūya* refers to a district-officer (*ratthakūḍa*) named Ikkāi who harassed the people of five hundred villages under his jurisdiction by means of various taxes (*kara*), custom duties (*bhara*), interest, bribe, insult, compulsory contribution (*dejja*), punitive taxes (*bhejja*), extortion of money at the point of the sword, by giving shelter to thieves, by setting fire and way-laying the travellers.¹⁷ The *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to the king of Sopārāya who demanded tax from the merchants (*negama*). They refused to pay and the king ordered his tax-collectors to burn down their houses.¹⁸

¹⁶ *Āvaśā*, II, p. 190

¹⁷ I. p. 8 f.

¹⁸ I. 2506 f. In the *Jātakas* the tax collectors are mentioned as hungry robbers stealing the poor earnings of the cultivator. We come across references when the subjects oppressed by taxation took their wives and families and wandered in the forest like wild beasts; where once stood villages, there now were none, and the people through the fear of the king's officers by day did not venture to dwell in their houses but fencing them about with thorn branches, as soon as the day broke, they disappeared into the forest (Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 120 f.).

CHAPTER III

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

I

JUDICIARY AND JUSTICE

In the ancient books of the Hindus it is repeatedly emphasised that a judge should deliver his judgment free from any prejudice, dispassionately and impartially.¹ In the *Jātaka*s it is said that punishment should be awarded with 'careful measure' to the nature and degree of the offence committed.² The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to a judge called *rūpadakkha* (*rūpadakkha* in Pali), who is described as well-versed in *Bhambhiya*, *Āsurukka*,³ *Nītisāstra* of Māthara and *Dandanīti* of Kauṇḍinya, who never accepted any bribe and did not show favour to any one while pronouncing his judgment.⁴ However, it should be noted that too much importance cannot be attached to ideals of justice preached in ancient India, and from what we gather from various stories we come to the conclusion that the judicial arrangements were not sound and efficient, but corrupt and oppressive to a degree. The kings were suspicious by nature and most severe punishments were inflicted on those who gave rise to the slightest mistrust in their mind. Very often an innocent person was arrested on a charge of robbery and brought before the court, whereas the offender was set at liberty.⁵

CASES

The term used for a law-suit in our texts is 'vavahāra'. Theft and robbery seem to have been most ordinary cases that came before the court for adjudication, but other cases were also not less in number.⁶

¹ Cf. *Mrechakatika*, Act IX, pp 256 f.

² Cf. *Rathalaṭṭhi Jātaka* (No. 332), III, p 105. The commentary on the *Dīgha*, II, p 519 gives an account of the administration of justice in Vesālī. When a criminal was brought before the rulers of the Vajjis, at first he was made over to the *Vimucchayamahāmallas*, who set him free if he was innocent, otherwise made him over to the *Vohārikas*. Then the *Vohārikas* made him over to the *Suttadharas*, if guilty, then to the *Atthakulas*, then to the *Senāpati*, then to the *Uparājan* and finally to the *Rājan*. The *Rājan* then investigated the case and set the accused free if he held him innocent, otherwise pronounced the judgment in accordance with the '*Pavaniyotthaka*,' the 'Book of Customs.'

³ *Āmbhurya* and *Āsurya* are mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 156).

⁴ I, p 132; cf. *rūpadakkha* in *Mūlindapañha*, p 344.

⁵ Cf. *Uttarā. Sū.*, 9. 30, also see *Jātaka* (IV, p 281), where an ascetic suspected of robbery at night is, after being reviled and beaten by the owners of the house, carried into the presence of the king and was impaled. Similarly, Cārudatta of *Mrechakatika* was charged with the murder of a woman and theft of her jewels though no confession of crime was elicited from him.

⁶ The topics which give rise to law-suits are grouped by *Manu* (VIII, 4-7) under eighteen titles, namely: (1) recovery of debts, (2) deposit and pledge, (3) sale without ownership, (4) concerns among partners, (5) resumption of gifts, (6) non-payment of wages, (7) non-performance of agreements, (8) rescission of sale and purchase, (9) disputes between owners of cattle and herdsmen, (10) disputes regarding boundaries, (11) assault, (12) defamation, (13) theft, (14) robbery and violence, (15) adultery, (16) duties of man and wife, (17) inheritance and partition, (18) gambling and betting.

We are told of a simple villager, who was going to trade with his bullock-cart loaded with corn and a partridge-cage tied to it. On his way he met some perfumers who enquired whether he wanted to sell his 'partridge-cage tied to the cart' (*sagaḍa-tūṭṭiri*) which could also mean 'the cart as well as the partridge.' The simpleton replied in the affirmative. The perfumers paid him a *kāhāvana* and taking his bullock-cart as well as the partridge made off. The poor villager went to the court, but lost his case. After sometime the villager visited the perfumers with his bullocks in exchange of two *pālis* of *sattu* provided their mother came to him nicely dressed and decked with ornaments with the offer. The perfumers agreed to the proposals and their mother approached the villager as desired by him. The villager succeeded in his stratagem and holding the woman by hand departed. In the meantime the people gathered there, and they heard the whole story. The villager got his bullock-cart back and allowed the woman to go.⁷

Then we hear of a murder case. Kappaka, who was a Brāhmaṇa by caste, once murdered a washerman and in wrath dyed his clothes with the latter's blood. The guild of the washerman (*seni*) went to the court (*vājakula*), but seeing Kappaka there conversing with the king, came home.⁸

Sometimes even for ordinary offences complaints were lodged with the king. We are told about a man of Lāṭa, who took away the umbrella of a Mahārāṣṭrian. The latter sued the former in the court, but he lost the case.⁹ Then we hear of a quarrel between Karakaṇḍu and a Brāhmaṇa over a staff (*danda*). Karakaṇḍu pleaded before the judges (*kāraṇikas*) that since that bamboo staff had grown in his cemetery, it belonged to him, the judges pronounced their judgments in favour of Karakaṇḍu.¹⁰

Sometimes even the Jain monks had to appear in the Law-Court. We are told that when Vaira was six months old he was taken by the Jain monks for ordination. In course of time, the mother of the child filed a suit in the court against the monks. The king sat to the east, the Jain *Sangha* to the south and the relatives and friends of Vaira on the left of the king. The whole town was on the side of the plaintiff. The mother tempted the child by showing various toys but the child would not come to her. The father of Vaira, who had taken to ascetic life, and who belonged to the opposite party, called out his child and asked him to take up the *rajjoharana* and the child obeyed. The mother lost the case and the child was given to the monks.¹¹ At times the Jain monks visited the king and complained against the prostitutes, who trespassed on their residence with the intention of distracting and seducing them.¹²

⁷ *Das cū*, p. 58, *Vasu*, p. 57, also cf. *Ita cū*, p. 119.

⁸ *Āva cū*, II, p. 181 f.

⁹ *Vya Bhā* 3, 345 f., p. 69.

¹⁰ *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p. 134.

¹¹ *Āva. cū*, p. 391 f.

¹² *Brh Bhā*, 4, 4923-25, also see *Uttarā*, 3, p. 72 a.

False testimony (*kūḍasakkha*) and falsification of documents (*kūḍaleha-karaṇa*) were common.¹³

II

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

ROBBERY

Various kinds of offences are mentioned in the Jain texts, amongst which robbery, adultery murder and non-execution of the king's order are the chief. Robbery was considered a regular art (*vijjā*) in ancient India.¹⁴ Various types of thieves are mentioned: thieves (*āmosa*), robbers (*lomahara*), cut-purses (*ganthibheya*) and burglars (*takkara*).¹⁵ The Jain canons describe a number of robbers of fame, who resided well-guarded in the robber-settlements known as *corapalli*. The *Vivāgasūya* gives a graphic description of a *corapalli* known as Sālādavī situated in the north of Purimatāla in a forest. The *corapalli* was located in an unapproachable mountain-ravine; it was further guarded by a wall and bamboo-hedges (*vamsyālī*) and surrounded by a trench (*pharīha*) formed by inaccessible water-falls (*pavāya*) of the mountain. It had one gate but there were many secret passages and it had its own water supply.¹⁶ Sihaguhā is mentioned as another *corapalli* in *Rāyagiha*.¹⁷

The elaborate description of the robbers given in Jain canons¹⁸ shows that they were very powerful and it was difficult even for the king to suppress them. There were regular fights between the king's army and the robbers which sometimes resulted in the defeat of the former. The robbers carried off the cows,¹⁹ horses, maid-servants, children,²⁰ even nuns,²¹ and set fire to the villages, towns, houses and forests. They destroyed the ships, extracted money at the point of the sword, made

¹³ *Uṭṭarā*, p. 10, also note 5, p. 215, *Āra Sū*, (IIarī), p. 820

¹⁴ Science of larceny is ascribed to various authors headed by Skanda, Kanakasakti, Bhāskarānandī and Yogācūya. Thieves were also called Skandaputra. Compare Greek Mercury and St. Nicholas of England. This God was the patron deity of thieves. Radhī Govind Basaka, *IHQ*, V, 1929 pp. 312 ff, also see *Kaṭhāsaritṣāgara* (Vol. II, pp. 181-4), note on 'Stealing'. Mūladeva is considered as the arch-thief of Hindu fiction, whom Bloomfield identifies with Kārṇisuta, Goniputraka, Gonikāputra or Gonikasuta. He is supposed to have written a famous manual of thieving entitled '*Śreyasāstrapāvatāka*' or *Śreyavūthapāvatāka*. Mūladeva is also mentioned in the com. on the *Dīgha* (I, 89), also see Dr. A. N. Upadhye's *Dhūrtakhyāna*, A critical Study, p. 23 and note.

¹⁵ *Uṭṭarā* Sū, 9, 28. For seven types of robbers and eighteen ways of encouraging robbery, see Panha, Tī 3, p. 58, cf. the types of *coras* in the Buddhist literature, Law, *India Described*, pp. 172 f.

¹⁶ 3, p. 20

¹⁷ *Nāyā*, 18, p. 209

¹⁸ Panha, 3, pp. 43a ff

¹⁹ Cf. also *Mahābhū*, I, 233, 5 ff

²⁰ See *Uṭṭarā* Sū, p. 174, cf. also *Mrechakatika* (IV, 6) which refers to children being robbed a way from the lap of the nurses

²¹ Cf. *Vya. Bhā.*, 7, p. 71a, *Brh. Bhā.*, 5, 6275.

forceful entry into the residence of monks and threatened them with death.²² The thieves were expert in making breaches in the wall. Various types of the breaches of the wall are mentioned, viz., the breach of the shape of a cornice (*kavisā*), jar (*kalasa*), fish (*nandīvatta*),²³ lotus and a human being. It is stated that once a burglar was caught in the breach he had excavated, by the owner of the house who took hold of his feet protruding from the breach. But the burglar's companions dragged him out from the other side of the wall. Caught in this position he was smashed by the cornice coming down.²⁴ The robbers came out at night and at times lived on half-burnt corpses, flesh of wild animals and roots.²⁵

The *Vvāgasūya* describes Vijaya of Sālādevi who was the ring-leader of the robbers who aimed at the object on hearing its sound (*saddavehi*) and was the foremost warrior in wielding the sword. He gave shelter to adulterers, pick-pockets, thieves and many other undesirable persons. He raided towns and villages, lifted cattle, took captives, waylaid travellers, terrorised people by breaking open their walls, tortured them, destroyed their property and extracted money from them by force.²⁶ Then we hear of Cilāya, a slave-boy (*dāsaceḍa*) of Dhanna of Rāyagūḍa. Being dismissed by his master from service he approached Vijaya, the leader of five hundred robbers of Sihaguhā and joined his gang. The leader of the robbers appointed him as his body-guard with a sword in his hand (*asīlatthuggaha*). Vijaya taught him various spells (*vijjā*) and incantations (*manā*) etc., in connection with the art of larceny. In course of time, Vijaya died and Cilāya was appointed in his place. Once Cilāya proposed to commit a dacoity in the house of Dhanna. The robbers got ready equipped themselves well with swords, bows, arrows and various other weapons and marched towards Rāyagūḍa, amidst the beating of drums, to invest the house of Dhanna. The robbers reached the city-gate, their ring-leader recited the spell which could open the locks (*ūluggahūḍanīyūjā*),²⁷ took out water from his waterbag (*udagabattā*) and sprinkled it over the doors. The doors were opened and Cilāya, along with his party rushed into the city. He challenged the citizens to stop him and along with huge amount of wealth, carried off Sumsumā, the daughter of Dhanna to the forest.²⁸

The commentary on the *Uttarādhyāyana* mentions another robber Mandiya by name. Mandiya tied a bandage round his knee and pretended that he was suffering from a festering boil (*duṭṭhagaṇḍa*). He worked as a tailor (*tunnā*) during the day time and robbed the people

²² *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 3, 3903 f., also cf. Cośa Sutta in the *Anguttara*, IV, p. 339.

²³ *Nandiyavatta* is the name of a huge fish (the com. on the *Anguttara* (S.II.B), I, p. 205 after Malalasekara, *op cit.*, II, p. 29).

²⁴ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 4, p. 80a f.

²⁵ *Paṇḍa*, 3, p. 45a.

²⁶ 3, p. 20, also *Nāyā*, 18, p. 208 f.

²⁷ Thieves also carried *āgneyakīṣa* to extinguish the lamps; Radha Govind Basaka *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, 1929, p. 313, see *Dasakumāracarita*, p. 77, Kale, Bombay, 1925.

²⁸ *Nāyā*, 18, p. 209 ff.

at night. The robber had an underground cell and whatever wealth he brought was kept in this cell. The robber also had a sister. It was the practice of the robber to get the stolen property carried by a man, who was seated near the well built in the middle of the underground cell and his sister under the pretext of washing his feet, hurled him into the well where he died. When Mūladeva was appointed as sovereign of Bennāyada, he tried to catch the robber but could not succeed. Once Mūladeva (clad in the dress of a *Kārpāṭka*) hid himself at a certain place at night. Mandiya passed that way and promised Mūladeva to make him rich. Mūladeva was made to carry the stolen goods. But while washing the feet of Mūladeva, Mandiya's sister made him a sign to flee away and Mūladeva escaped. Later on, Mūladeva married Mandiya's sister and impaled the robber.²⁹

Punishments for robbery were of various kinds, amongst which imprisonment, mutilation and death penalty were the chief. We are told that when the robber Vijaya carried off the daughter of the merchant Dhanna, the latter approached the city police (*nagaragutthiya*) with large presents and lodged a complaint. The police officers, clad in mail coats, duly armed with bow, arms and weapons, started in search of the robber. They reached an old garden and discovered the corpse of the girl in a well. Following the foot-marks of the robber the police reached the *mālukā* thicket and put the robber under arrest. They showered blows on him with fists, elbows, knees and sticks, tied his hands behind his neck, suspended the ornaments of the deceased girl on his neck and brought him to the town. They marched him on the roads beating him with thong, cane and whip (*kasa-laya-chuva*), throwing over him ashes, dust and filth proclaiming to the citizens his crime of murdering the child. They then put him into prison where his feet were tied in a wooden frame (*hadibandhana*), deprived him of food and drink and beat him with lashes thrice a day. The robber died in course of time.³⁰ Then we hear another robber-chief named Abhaggasena of Purimatāla. The king of Purimatāla raided the robber-settlement with a huge army but before the king's army reached the settlement, Abhaggasena was informed by his spies about the intended attack. He marched against the enemy and routed his army. After some time the king decided to win over the robber by conciliation (*sāma*) and by creating confidence in him. He declared a ten days' festival in the town in which Abhaggasena was invited along with his friends and relatives. He was entertained by the king lavishly and one day when the robber was engrossed in merry-making he was put under arrest and was executed.³¹ We are told about a certain priest, who robbed the purse of a merchant containing one thousand (*sahasso nauko*). The merchant demanded the purse but

²⁹ 4, p. 94a f, also cf. *Bhuyanṅama cora* (Uttarā Tī, 4, pp. 87 ff), *Rauhineya cora* (Vya. Bhā., 2, 304; also *Yogaśāstra*, com pp. 116a ff by H. Macandra, J.A.O.S., Vol. 44, 1-10, article by H. M. Johnson, also cf. *Tājñavalkya-smṛti*, II, 23, 273.

³⁰ *Nāyā*, 2, pp. 53 f.

³¹ *Viṇā*, 3, pp. 24 f.

the priest would not return it. At last the merchant sued in the court and the priest lost the case. The king ordered the priest either to be given one hundred lashes or to swallow human excreta (*gū*). The culprit preferred the former. But after receiving a few lashes he was tired and he preferred to take excreta. After taking it a little he refused to take any more and he asked for the lashes again. Thus the culprit had to undergo both punishments and his whole property was confiscated.³²

Even women were punished for their offences although the severity of punishment to women-folk was not the same as those to men. Pregnant women, for example, were exempted from torturous punishments. We read of a certain girl who was banished by her parents. She got a job in the house of a wine-merchant. The girl was pregnant and in order to fulfil her pregnancy-longing she used to steal money from her master's shop. One day she was caught and the merchant reported to the king, who handed over the girl to be executed after delivery. After delivery however, the girl escaped and her son was brought up by the king.³³

ADULTERY

Like robbery, adultery also was punished severely with death, imprisonment, mutilation and banishment. We are told that a person who committed adultery was censured and beaten, his head was shaved and his penis mutilated.³⁴ Ujjhiya was a merchant's son of Vāṇiyagāma who used to visit a courtesan named Kāmajjhayā. It so happened that the king also loved the same courtesan. One day, finding Ujjhiya in her house, the king turned him out and kept the courtesan as his mistress. After some time Ujjhiya succeeded in visiting Kāmajjhayā secretly. He was caught and was belaboured by the royal officers. His hands were tightly bound behind his back, his nose and ears were mutilated, his body was besmeared with oil, he wore a pair of rough rags, round his neck was thrown a garland of red flowers, red dust was sprinkled over his body, he was made to eat the small pieces of his flesh, his offence being proclaimed at every square with the beat of a broken drum and thus he was led away to the place of execution.³⁵ A similar story is told about Sagada, who secretly visited the courtesan Sudāmsanā, a keep of the king's minister. Sagada was charged with adultery and was brought before the king, who ordered him to be executed along with the courtesan. Sagada was made to embrace a red-hot iron image of a woman till he died.³⁶ Then Bahassadatta, a minister of king Udayana, was impaled for a similar offence along

³² *Āu cū*, 2, p. 65

³³ *Gacchū Vr*, 30

³⁴ *Nisī cū*, 15, p. 1002, cf. *Manu*, VIII, 374

³⁵ *Vivā*, 2, p. 18 f. For a similar description see *Kaṇavīra Jātaka*, III, No. 318, *Sulasā Jātaka*, III, (No. 419), also cf. *Tājñavalkyaśmṛiti* (III, 5, 232 f.), *Manu*, VIII, 372 f.

³⁶ *Vivā*, 4, p. 31.

with the queen.³⁷ Similarly, a merchant of *gr̥nīlayanagara* is said to have been ordered to be executed for an offence of living in adultery with the queens of the harem. In this case it is said that not only the offender but even his friends and admirers were put to death.³⁸

Then the commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇa* refers to two brothers, named *Kamaṭha* and *Marubhūi* of *Poyanapura*. The former lived in adultery with the latter's wife and was brought to the notice of the latter by the former's wife. *Marubhūi* left his house and returned after some time in the disguise of a *Kārpātika*. He found his wife and his brother together and reported the matter to the king, who ordered *Kamaṭha* to be arrested, and accompanied with the music of *haish* sounding drums with a garland of earthenware vessels (*sarāva*) around his neck, mounted on an ass,³⁹ he was led throughout the city and in the end was banished from the town.⁴⁰

It seems that the *Brāhmanas* were awarded a lighter punishment for the same offence. We are told that a certain *Brāhmaṇa* committed adultery with his daughter-in-law and as a punishment he was asked to touch the four *Vedas* and that was considered enough to expiate his sin.⁴¹

MURDER

Murder was another crime which was punished with the death penalty, public execution and fines. We hear of the prince, *Mandivaddhana* of *Mahurā* who wanted to kill his father and rule over the kingdom. He employed a barber and asked him to cut his father's throat with the razor. The barber was frightened at the conspiracy and reported the matter to the king. The king ordered the prince to be executed publicly. He was led away by the police-officers to a square road where he was made to sit on a red-hot iron throne and was sprinkled over with hot water, etc. The officers put a red-hot necklace around his neck, fastened a badge (*paṭṭa*) to his forehead, and placed a crown on his head and thus he was executed.⁴² Even women were not spared and were severely punished. *Devadattā*, the queen of *Pūsanandī*, was jealous of her mother-in-law, whom she killed with a red-hot iron staff (*lohadaṇḍa*). When *Pūsanandī* came to know of this, he ordered *Devadattā* to be put under arrest by the police-officers, her hands were tied to her back, her nose and ears were mutilated and she was impaled publicly.⁴³

³⁷ *Ibid*, 5, p. 35.

³⁸ *Pinḍa Nir*, 127.

³⁹ Even women were awarded this kind of punishment (*Manu*, VIII, 370).

⁴⁰ 23, p. 285 f. Cf. *Gaṇapati Jātaka* (II, No 199), p. 131 f.

⁴¹ *Vya Bhā. Pī*, 17, p. 10, cf. *Gautama*, XII, 1, a *sūdra* who intentionally reviles twice-born men by criminal abuse or criminally assaults them with blows, shall be deprived of the limb with which he offends, also VIII. 12 f.

³⁹ *Vivā.*, 8, pp. 36-39.

⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 49, 55.

NON-EXECUTION OF THE KING'S ORDER

Non-execution of the king's order was another offence which was dealt with very severely. Generally the king was an absolute monarch in those days, and as a rule it was absolutely necessary to carry out his orders. It is said that the persons who disobeyed the king's commands were thrown into salt (*kharantaka*) where within a very short time—its duration being calculated by the time that was taken in milking a cow—their bodies were reduced to skeletons.⁴⁴ Four kinds of assemblies (*parisā*) are referred to in the Jain texts, viz., *Khathya*, *Gāhāva*, *Māhana* and *Isi*.⁴⁵ It is said that an offender from the *Khathya* assembly was punished with cutting off his hands or feet, he was beheaded, impaled, killed by one stroke of the sword and was thrown away. The offender from the *Gāhāva* assembly was burnt to death on a pile of bark, husk or chaff, the offender from the *Māhana* assembly was taunted in disagreeable terms and was branded with a mark of a pot (*kundhya*) or a dog (*sunaga*) or was banished;⁴⁶ and the offender from the *Isi* assembly was admonished mildly.⁴⁷

People giving rise to the slightest degree of suspicion in the minds of the kings, were punished heavily and often were deprived of their life. We hear of Kappaya, the minister of Nanda, who was once preparing for the wedding feast of his son. The ex-minister of Nanda, who was a rival of Kappaya, informed the king that Kappaya was making preparations to establish his son on the royal seat. The king, without making much inquiry, is said to have ordered Kappaya and his whole family to be cast into a well.⁴⁸ The same plot was devised by Vararuci against his rival Sagadāla, the minister of the ninth Nanda. When Sagadāla came to know that he was suspected by the king and being anxious to prevent the ruin of his whole family, he persuaded his son to put him (Sagadāla) to death.⁴⁹ Cānakya too is said to have met the same fate at the hands of his master. It is said that once Subandhu, who was jealous of Cānakya, approached the king and reported that the latter had killed his (king's) mother.⁵⁰ The king inquired of the maid-servant, who confirmed the report. Next day when Cānakya visited his master, he did not receive him properly. Cānakya felt that now his life was drawing to its close. So being indifferent to worldly interests,

⁴⁴ *Āci cū*, p. 38

⁴⁵ Cf. the eight assemblies in the *Anguttara*, IV, p. 307 f.

⁴⁶ Cf. *Arthasāstra*, p. 250, *Tūyāntakyaśmṛiti*, II, 23, 270

⁴⁷ *Rāya*, 184

⁴⁸ *Āci cū*, II, p. 182

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 184

⁵⁰ It is said once Durdharī, the queen of Candragupta, who was pregnant was dining with the king. On Cānakya's order the food of the king was mixed with very minute doses of poison so that the king may gain immunity from poison. Now observing that the poison almost instantly killed the queen, Cānakya ripped open her womb and extracted the child; *Sihavivāhi carita* (8 377-411), cf. also Buddhist tradition about Bindusāra, *Malalasekara*, *op cit*, Vol. II, under 'Bindusāra'.

he retired to the jungle to starve himself to death, and was consumed in the flames.⁵¹

Then we are told about Sālivāhana of Paiṭṭhāna who once ordered his commander-in-chief to go and conquer Mahurā. The commander-in-chief could not understand as to which Mahurā was to be conquered, southern or northern. He marched with his army and succeeded in conquering both. When the king learned of his victory, he felt extremely happy. At the same time he also got news of the birth of a son and the find of a treasure-trove. The king's pleasure knew no bounds and in an excitement he started striking at his beds, pillars, buildings, etc. Now, in order to bring the king back to his senses his minister started destroying the pillars, the furniture and the buildings of the palace himself and declared that it was the act of the king. When the king heard of this he was seized with wrath and he ordered the minister to be executed. However, the minister was concealed by the officers and was saved.⁵² We read almost a similar story about king Sankha of Vārānasi, who, at some slight fault of his minister ordered his execution secretly.⁵³ About Candragupta it is said that when he occupied the throne of Pādaliṣṭha, the Kṣatriyas taking him to be a son of peacock-tamers, did not obey his commands. Candragupta was enraged at this and he ordered the whole village to be burnt to ashes.⁵⁴

It seems that even for ordinary offences the kings did not hesitate to inflict severe punishments. The commentary on the *Uthādhyāyana* tells us that once during the time of the Indra festival, the king made a proclamation that the citizens should leave the town and go out to celebrate the festival. A priest's son, unmindful of the king's order, remained in the house of a hailot; the king ordered him to be executed. The priest offered his whole property to save his son, but he could not save him from the gallows.⁵⁵ On another occasion, king Ratnaśekhara announced the celebration of moon-lit night (*kaumudīpracāra*) and asked the citizens to leave the town in the company of their wives. The six sons of a layman did not care for the royal command and stayed at home. Later on, at the request of the layman, only one son was saved and the rest were executed.⁵⁶

There are instances when the autocrat kings acted wantonly. It is said that king Kumbhaga of Mihilā banished the guild of the goldsmiths simply because they could not repair his ear-rings.⁵⁷ A physician was put to death by a king simply because he could not cure the prince.⁵⁸ We are told that the prince Malladīna ordered a painter to be executed for no fault of his.⁵⁹

⁵¹ *Das, cū.*, p. 81 f. In the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* (v. 229 ff) we come across a king who stripped his five ministers of all their property, and disgracing them in various ways, by fastening their hair into five locks, by putting them into fetters and chains, and by sprinkling cowdung over them, he drove them out of his kingdom.

⁵² *Uttarā Tī*, 13, p. 185a.

⁵³ *Sūya Tī.*, II, 7, p. 413.

⁵⁴ *Brh Bhā*, 1, 2489.

⁵⁵ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 105.

⁵⁶ *Nāyā*, 7, p. 107.

⁵⁷ *Brh Bhā*, 6, 6244-6249.

⁵⁸ 4, p. 82 a.

⁵⁹ *Brh Bhā*, 3, 3250 f.

The offenders were also sentenced to great humiliation as their relatives were ordered to live in the *Cāṇḍāla* settlement.⁶⁰

Besides, the following types of punishments are mentioned specifically :—putting in irons (*adyabandhana*),⁶¹ in fetters, in stocks (*haḍibandhana*), into prison, screwing up hands and feet in a pair of shackles and breaking them, cutting off hands and feet, or ears or nose or lips or head or throat-glands (*munavā*), piercing the organ (*veyagachahya* ?)⁶², body (*angachahya*), the sides, tearing out eyes, teeth, testicles, or tongue, hanging, brushing, whirling round, impaling, lacerating, pouring acids (in wounds), belabouring with a leather strap, twisting the organ like a lion's tail (*sīhapucchya*),⁶³ like a bull's tail, burning in a wood fire and exposing the offender to be devoured by crows and vultures.⁶⁴

PRISONS

There were regular prisons in those days,⁶⁵ although we do not know what kinds of offenders were imprisoned and for what period. But it seems that the general conditions of the prison were not good. The prisoners were severely tortured in the prison and frequently they died. The *Vivāgasūya* gives a vivid description of a well-equipped prison in Sīhapura. Dujjohana was the jailor who provided jails with various kinds of instruments of torture. There were a number of iron-jars filled with copper, tin, lead, lime-water (*kalakala*) and oil cooked with alkaline ingredients (*khāratella*) always kept on fire. There were jars containing urine of various animals; handcuffs (*hatthandūya*), fetters (*pāyandūya*), wooden frames to fasten the feet (*haḍi*), and iron chains; various kinds of whips, stones, sticks, clubs, ropes, traps, swords, saws, razors, iron-nails, leather-straps, needles, hatchets, nail-cutters, and *darbha* grass. The criminals were made to lie on their backs, their mouths were opened by means of an iron-staff, a red-hot copper etc. and the urine was poured into their mouth; they were tortured by various instruments.⁶⁶ The plight of the prisoners was miserable. They suffered from hunger, thirst, heat, cold, cough and leprosy. Their nails, hair,

⁶⁰ *Uttarā Tī.*, p. 190a

⁶¹ This is also mentioned in the com. on the *Udāna*, p. 149.

⁶² This meaning is given in the *Pāyāsaddamāhanna*, p. 1020, Abhayadeva, however, gives a variant, 'ūṭṭakacchachūṇaga' and renders as 'uttarāsaṅgaṇṇayena vidāritah' (*Orā. Sū.*, 38, p. 164).

⁶³ Also refer to the commentary for explanation.

⁶⁴ *Sūya* II, 2 35, *Orā Sū.*, 38, p. 162 f. *Panha*, 3, 52a ff., also cf. *Mūlindapañha*, p. 197, *Majjhima*, I, 87.

⁶⁵ According to Jain tradition during the first era the punishment was of a mild character. The first two *Kulakaras* established the 'hakkāra' (expression of regret), then came 'makkāra' (prohibition), then was established the punishment of 'dhikkāra' (reproach)—*dhūḍaṇḍa* and *vāḍaṇḍa* are also mentioned in the *Lāṅkāvalkya-smṛti*, I, 13, 367. Then it is said that Kaabha-deva, the first *Tirthnkara* introduced the punishment of confinement to a particular area (*unayalabandha*). After that Bharata is said to have introduced *caraka* or imprisonment and *chavucchaya* or mutilation of hand, foot and nose etc. (*Jambu. Sū.*, 2, 29; *Thā.*, 7. 557).

⁶⁶ b, pp. 36 ff.

beard and moustaches were allowed to grow unattended; they lay in their own excrement and urine and died in prisons only. They were dragged by the feet and were thrown away in ditches where they were devoured by wolves, dogs, jackals, big rats (*kola*), cats, and birds.⁶⁷

Another reference to prison is made in the *Nāyādharmakāhā*. It is mentioned that once for some slight fault, the merchant Dhanna of Rāyagiha, referred to above, was arrested and was put into prison where the robber Vijaya was undergoing imprisonment. Both were put together and their feet were bound in the same wooden frame. The wife of the merchant used to send her husband a sealed tiffin box (*bhoyana-piḍaga*) every day through her servant. Vijaya requested Dhanna to share his food with him but the latter always refused saying that as he had murdered his daughter he preferred giving it to crows and dogs or he would throw away on dung-hills but he would never share it with a murderer of his own child. Once Dhanna wanted to go to attend the call of nature. He asked Vijaya to accompany him to a place where he could be at ease. But Vijaya refused saying that he had taken plenty of food and drink and hence it was natural for him to go for excretion whereas he had nothing to eat. The merchant again requested the robber and ultimately agreed to share his food with him. In course of time, through the influence of his relatives and friends, and after paying money to the king, Dhanna was released from prison. He immediately left for a hair cutting saloon (*alanakāriyasabhā*), he bathed in a lake and having offered oblations (*balikamma*) to the deities, he came home. The robber Vijaya, however, died in the prison and never came out.⁶⁸ We are told about the imprisonment of king Seniya who was given hundred lashes every morning and evening; neither food and drink was allowed, nor anybody was permitted to interview the king. Later on, his queen Cellanā was allowed to see him, she concealed food in her hair and offered it to her husband.⁶⁹

On certain special occasions, such as the birth of a child, coronation ceremony or festivals general release of prisoners was declared by the king.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ *Panha*, 3, p. 54.

⁶⁸ *Nāyā*, 2, p. 54 ff. Compare the *Jātaka* where the life of the prisoner is described very hard. The sad and miserable plight of a released prisoner is taken as a standard of comparison for a person who had not bathed for days together, nor rinsed his mouth nor performed any bodily ablution (*PBI*, p. 159).

⁶⁹ *Āśaśāstra*, II, p. 171.

⁷⁰ Cf. *Nāyā*, I, p. 20, cf. also *Arthashastra*, p. 165.

CHAPTER IV

MILITARY ORGANISATION

I

THE FOUR-FOLD ARMY

As wars and frontier troubles were very common in those days, the state had necessarily to keep and maintain a well-equipped and organised military force always at its command. The four-fold army constituting chariots (*raha*), elephants (*gaya*), cavalry (*haya*) and infantry (*pāyatta*)¹ played an important part in warfare in ancient India.

CHARIOTS

A chariot was a very important means of conveyance in olden days. Unfortunately, no details as to its construction are given in Jain literature. We are told that a chariot was equipped with umbrella, standards, bells, flags, ornamental arches (*torana*), a musical instrument (*nandighosa*) and with a net of small bells; it was made of *tinisa* wood growing in the Himālaya, decorated with many patterns and inlaid with gold. Its spokes and axles (*dhurā*) were firm and its felly (*nemi*) was of iron. Excellent horses were yoked to it and it was provided with an accomplished charioteer. It was furnished with quivers each containing hundred arrows, armours, helmets, bows, and other weapons.²

Two varieties of chariots are mentioned, namely, *yānaratha* and *saṅgrāmaratha*. The former was an ordinary chariot whereas the latter had a wooden seat looking like a sedan-chair (*phalaka*).³ The king's chariot's bore special names. For instance, the chariot of Pajjoa was called *Aggibhūru* (fire-proof) and was considered one of the four jewels.⁴

ELEPHANTS

The elephant had an honourable place in the army and on other royal occasions. The elephant was considered so important in the Mauryan period that the killing of an elephant was visited even with capital punishment.⁵ The *Uttarādhyayana* refers to an elephant of sixty

¹ *Uttarā Sū.* 18 2

² *Olā sū.* 31, p 132, *Āva cū.* p 188, also see *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 22 13 ff, *Mahābhārata*, V, 94. 18 ff.

³ *Anu. Tī.* p 146 In the Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (p 156) there are mentioned no less than seven different sizes of chariots. There are also mentioned six varieties of chariots for different purpose. The *devaratha* was the chariot for the idols, the *pūṣkaratha* was the festal chariot, the *saṅgrāmika* the war chariot, the *pariyānika* that was used ordinarily for travelling. There was another class of war-chariots called the *staraṣurābhyaṇika*. Then there was the *paṇṇika* of chariot used in the period of training.

⁴ *Āva cū.* II, p. 160.

⁵ *Arthaśāstra*, p. 49.

years (*satthihāyana*),⁶ which shows that it was a long-lived animal. The *Thāṇḍaṅga* mentions four varieties of elephants, viz., *bhadda*, *manda*, *mya* and *sankinna*. They are classified according to their seasonal uses, physical strength, sharp or slow intelligence and their ability to lead attacks, etc.⁷ The kings were very fond of elephants; and the state-elephants bore special names. We hear of the elephant Secanaka over which a great battle was fought between Kūnika and Halla and Vihalla. It is said that this elephant was born in a hermitage and used to water the groves with its trunk in the company of the ascetic princes and hence its appellation *Secanaka* (Sprinkler). When this elephant grew up, it killed the leader of the herd and destroyed the hermitage. The ascetics were angry with the elephant and handed it over to king Seniya of Rāyagiha.⁸ Later on, it is said that once Secanaka went to a river where he was caught by a crocodile. A merchant's son rescued it whereupon Seniya was so much pleased with him that he gave him his daughter in marriage.⁹ Another battle is recorded which took place between Nami and Candajasa over an elephant.¹⁰ The *Bhagavatī* refers to two other elephants of Kūnika, viz., Udāyin and Bhutananda.¹¹ Nalagiri was another elephant which belonged to Pajjoya and was considered one of his four precious possessions.¹² Bhadravati belonged to Udayana, who successfully carried off Vāsavadattā on its back from Ujjenī to Kosambi.¹³ Vijaya Gandhahatthi¹⁴ was an elephant of Kanha Vāsudeva.¹⁵

The elephants were equipped with armours, cruppers, bells, neck-ornament (*gevejja*), head-picce (*uttarakañcujja*), flags, standards, garlands, weapons and other ornaments.¹⁶

There were special trainers (*hatthidamaga*) of elephants.¹⁷ King Udayana was an adept in the art of winning over elephants by his music.¹⁸ The mahauts (*hatthuvāua*: *mūṭha*) were armed with hooks¹⁹ (*ankusa*); housing (*uccūla* mod. *jhūl*) is mentioned.²⁰ The elephants were tied to a post (*ālāna*) and their feet were secured with a rope.²¹ The elephant stables (*jaḍḍasālā*) are referred to.²² The wooden seat on the back of the elephant was known as *gullī*²³ the equivalent of modern *ambāri*.

⁶ 11 18, also cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 229, *Rāmāyana*, II, 67 20, *Mahābhārata*, II, 83. 24

⁷ For their characteristics, see 4 281, also see *Nāyā*, I, p. 39, also cf. Hastilaksanam (66) a chapter in the *Bṛhat Samhitā*, *Arthaśāstra*, pp. 151 f. The *Sammoha Vinodanī* (p. 397) mentions ten species of elephants *kālāvaka*, *gangeyya*, *pañḍara*, *iamba*, *paṅgala*, *gandhā*, *mangala*, *hema*, *uposatha* and *chaddanta*. See also *Rāmāyana*, I, 6. 25.

⁸ *Āva. cū*, II, p. 170 f.

¹⁰ *Uttarā*, *Ṭi* 9 p. 140 f.

¹² *Āva. cū*, II, p. 180

¹⁴ A *gandhahastin* or 'the scent elephant' was the best type of elephant. It was the leader of its herd and it survived even if fallen in a cave. An *ācārya* is compared with a *gandhahastin* (*Bṛh. Bhā*, I. 2010)

¹⁵ *Nāyā*, 5, p. 70.

¹⁶ *Vivā.*, 2, p. 13, *Ovā*, 30, p. 117, 31, p. 132. Also see *Rāmāyana*, I, 53. 18.

¹⁷ *Nisī. cū*, 8, p. 522.

¹⁸ *Āva. cū*, II, p. 161.

²⁰ *Ovā.*, 30, p. 117.

²³ *Vya. Bhā.*, 10. 484.

⁹ *Ibid*, 468.

¹¹ 7. 9

¹³ *Ibid*, pp. 161 f.

¹⁹ *Das sū*, 2. 10, *Uttarā. Ṭi.*, 4, p. 85.

²¹ *Uttarā. Ṭi.*, 4, p. 85.

²² *Rāya. sū.*, 3.

CAVALRY

The third constituent of the four-fold army was the cavalry. The great value of the horses at the time of Kautilya lay in their quick movement and they were regarded as specially useful for guarding advanced positions, for protecting the treasury and commissariat, for cutting off the enemy's supply, for delivering attacks against the enemy's forces and for pursuing a retreating foe.²⁴

Three varieties of horses are mentioned, viz., *aśva*, *aśvataṛa*, *ghoṭaka*.²⁵ An *aśva* was a well-bred horse from Pakkhalī (vālhika according to Haribhadra); it was a clean animal²⁶; an *aśvataṛa* or a mule was born of a different species other than its own; such mules came from Dilavāliya; the ill-bred horses were known as *ākīṛṇa*.²⁷ *Kanīhaka* was another variety of horses found in Kamboja whom no noise frightened and who exceeded all other horses in speed.²⁸ The *Thāṇḍāṅga* mentions four varieties of *kanthaka*.²⁹ The mares which foaled horses every year,³⁰ were known as *thāṇī* (*thānī* in Marāṭhi.)

The horses were equipped with armour and horse-carpet; the crests imparted them a grim look and their waist was decorated with small mirrors (*thāsaga*). The saddle of the horse was known as *thilli*. The horsemen were armed with weapons.³¹

Horses were trained. Haribhadra refers to the training of Bahali horses.³² *Vāhiyāli* was the place for training horses.³³ The horse-trainers (*assamaddaya*) are mentioned; they trained the horses by using different kinds of muzzles for mouth, ears, nose, hair, hoofs and thighs, by bit of a bridle (*khaliṇa*), tying with a rope to the post (*ahilāṇa*), by saddling (*paḍiyāṇa*), brandishing (*aikana*), caning (*vittappahāra*), beating with sticks (*layappahāra*), whips (*kasa*), lashes (*chiwa*),³⁴ goad and thongs (*tottajutta*).³⁵

Riding (*assavāhanayā*) was a luxury.³⁶ Jumping (*laṅghaṇa*), circular movement (*vaggana*), gallop (*dhorana*) and other forms of riding are mentioned.³⁷ Horses were kept in the stables (*assasālā*).³⁸ Meadow-grass (*javasa*) and husk (*tusa*) were given as fodder to horses.³⁹

²⁴ *Arthasāstra*, p. 398 f.

²⁵ *Daśa*, 6, p. 213

²⁶ *Jambu*, 2, p. 110, f., also *Rāmāyana*, I, 6, 22.

²⁷ *Uttarā sū*, 11, 16, *Thā*, 4, 327, for eight defects of a horse see *Kaṭhaka Sūtra*, *Angulāra*, IV, p. 190 f.

²⁸ *Uttarā sū*, 11, 16 and the com.

²⁹ Com. 4, 327. *Kanīhaka* is also mentioned in the *Dharmapada* I, 1, p. 125.

³⁰ *Brh Bha*, 3, 3059 f.

³¹ *Vuā*, 2, p. 13, *Orā* 31, p. 132

³² *Āva Tī*, p. 261, also *Rāya Sū*, 161.

³³ *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p. 141.

³⁴ *Nāyā*, 17, p. 205, also cf. *Majjhima*, I, p. 446.

³⁵ *Uttarā*, 19, 56

³⁶ *Ibid*, *Tī*, 5, p. 103.

³⁷ *Orā sū*, 31, p. 132; cf. *Arthasāstra* (p. 148) where these terms are explained

³⁸ *Vya Bhā*, 10, 484.

³⁹ *Uttarā Tī*, 4, p. 96.

INFANTRY

The foot-soldier (*pāyāṇa*) constituted the main portion of the army. Kauṭilya classifies them as regulars (*maula*), hired soldiers (*bhṛta*), those supplied by fighting corporations (*śreni*), those recruited from the enemies' country, those recruited from the country of an ally, and lastly, those recruited from amongst wild tribes.⁴⁰

The foot-soldiers carried various weapons noticeable among them being swords, javelins, spears and bows.⁴¹ They were clad in mail-coats in order to protect themselves from the attacks of the sharp arrows and other missiles (*sannaddhabaddhavammyakavaya*).⁴²

The whole army administration was under the control of the commander-in-chief (*balavādya*) also known as *senāvai*.⁴³ It was his duty to attend to the training and efficient organisation of the army and the enforcement of proper discipline among the soldiers.

II

ETHICS OF WAR

The ancients realised the terrible loss in men and money to both parties in war, and hence they tried to avoid war in general. They first tried the four diplomatic means, viz., *sāma*, *dāma*, *danḍa* and *bheda*, failing which they had to declare war. Before the two parties actually entered into the war, a *dūta* or a courier, who conveyed the royal proclamation to the opposite party, was deputed with the message. We learn that before entering into war with Cēḍaga, Kūṇiya sent his *dūta* to his opponent thrice, finally giving him orders to place his left foot on the foot-stool of the enemy (in a spirit of defiance) and deliver him the letter keeping it on the edge of the spear.⁴⁴ Then the king Paṇḍibuddhi and his five fellow-kings deputed their envoys to king Kumbhaga asking him either to give his daughter in marriage or prepare for war.⁴⁵

WARFARE

The art of warfare together with its various tactics, stratagems and practices, was well known in those days. The *Uttarādhyayana cūṛṇi* mentions vehicles, chariots, horses, elephants, foot-soldiers, shields (*dharaṇa*), weapons, tact (*kusalatta*), diplomacy, competency, perseverance, good physique and health as necessary for carrying on a war.⁴⁶ Camps (*khandhāvānivesa*) were an important adjunct of warfare.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ *Arthaśāstra*, p. 156

⁴¹ *Ōvā*, 31, p. 132.

⁴² *Vivā*, 2, p. 13.

⁴³ *Ōvā sū.*, 29

⁴⁴ *Niryā*, 1.

⁴⁵ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 97 ff. A *dūta* ought not to be slain (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 30); for qualifications of a *dūta*, see *Manu* (VII, 64 f.).

⁴⁶ 3, p. 93. The *Arthaśāstra* (p. 309) refers to three kinds of warfare, viz., open, treacherous and silent (i.e., killing an enemy by employing spies when there is no talk of battle at all); also see p. 156.

⁴⁷ Cf. *Nāyā*, 8, p. 111; 16, p. 190. Also see *Maṭṭbhārata*, V, 152.

A distinction is made between *juddha* and *saṅgāma*. In the former there was no order in fighting, while in the latter battle formations were used (*vūha*).⁴⁸ The *sagadavūha* (waggon array) and *garuḍavūha* (eagle array) are mentioned in the *Niryavalīyā*. The army of Cēḍaḡa formed the former while that of Kūṇiya the latter.⁴⁹ The *cakka*, *dāṇḍa* and *sūci vūhas* are also mentioned.⁵⁰ Two types of battles are mentioned: (1) battles in which war-engines were employed (*mahāśīlākantaka*),⁵¹ (2) battles in which chariots and pestles were used (*rahamusala*). It is said that in these battles a huge number of people were killed.⁵²

Siege-warfare was the usual practice. The aggressive king would besiege the neighbour's state and challenge him either to surrender or to prepare for the battle. Sometimes the siege continued for a considerable time. Kūṇika is said to have besieged the city of Vesālī for a long period.⁵³ King Sāhivāhana used to lay siege to Bhārūyakaccha every year.⁵⁴ It is stated that when Jīyasattu and other kings besieged Mihilā, king Kumbhaga closed the city gates and the citizens could not move out.⁵⁵ It is for this reason that the cities of those days were strongly fortified. The fortifications consisted of walls (*pāḡāra*), battlements (*gopura*), towers (*a'tāḷaga*), moats and trenches (*ussūḷaga*, com. *khādūkā*) and *sayagghī* for defending a town.⁵⁶

Strategy and diplomacy played an important part in this type of warfare. Men of shrewd commonsense and profound wisdom brought into play their endless manoeuvres and novel tactics to cause the other party to surrender. We are told as to how Abhayakumāra, by a clever subterfuge which consisted of burying the counterfeit coins in the enemy's camp, created suspicion in the mind of Pajjoḡa about the fidelity of his soldiers and thus foiled his attack on Rāyagīha.⁵⁷ A regular system of espionage was another feature of siege-warfare. Spies were regularly employed to watch the activities of the enemy. They joined the enemy's people and found out their secrets. We have seen how Kūṇika employed hermit Kūlavāḷaya to cause the citizens of Vesālī to destroy the mound and secured victory over Cēḍaḡa.⁵⁸

⁴⁸ *Jambu*, 77, 2, 24.

⁴⁹ I, p. 28. Kautilya mentions details of various battle arrays which also include *garuḍa* and *sakāṣa vyūha*. It is called an eagle-like array when, having formed the wings, the front is made to bulge out, when it consists of two lines in front and has its wings arranged as in the staff-like array, it is called a cart like array (*Arthaśāstra*, pp. 403 f; also see *Mam*, VII, 187 f, *Mahābhā*, VI, 56, 75, also Date, *The Art of War in Ancient India*, p. 72 f).

⁵⁰ *Oḡā*, 40, p. 186, *Panha*, 3, p. 44.

⁵¹ According to Monier William's *Sanskrit Dictionary*, *Mahāśīlā* is a kind of weapon (a *śataghit* with iron nails).

⁵² According to Abhayadeva, however, *Mahāśīlākantaka* is so called because in this battle even a thorn (*kantaka*) acted like a big stone (*mahāśīlā*), *Rahamusala* was so called because a single chariot equipped with a mace (*musala*) moved about which effected a great execution of men (*Bhag*, 7, 9). Also see *Harivamsa*, II, 42, 21, II, 39, 75.

⁵³ *Āra cū*, II, p. 173.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 200 f.

⁵⁵ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 112.

⁵⁶ *Uttarā*, 9, 18, *Oḡā*, 1, p. 6.

⁵⁷ *Āra cū*, II, p. 159.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 174.

CAUSES OF WAR

The causes of war in ancient India could be classified under the following heads :—(1) It was the age of chivalry, and what worthier cause could there be than rescuing a damsel in distress or a maiden whom the knight-errant loved but who was to be married to others. Any insult to the women, however, had also to be avenged and this led to wars. The *Panḥavāgarāṇa* mentions Sītā,⁵⁹ Dovaī,⁶⁰ Ruppini,⁶¹ Paumāvai, Tārā,⁶² Kāñcanā,⁶³ Rattasubhaddā,⁶⁴ Ahinnikā, Suvannaguliya,⁶⁵ Kinnari, Surūpā, Vijjumaī and Rohini,⁶⁶ who were the causes of wars. Similar wars took place for Mallī⁶⁷ and Miyaṇvati.⁶⁸ (2) The second cause of war was the aggressive spirit of certain rulers. The cause if analysed was not so trivial as the wish to possess certain jewels, etc., which found expression in forcing the weaker side to accept the will of the stronger side. There was a fight between Pajjōya and Dummūha over a diadem,⁶⁹ between Nami and Candajasa over an elephant,⁷⁰ between Kūniya and Cēdaga over an elephant and the necklace.⁷¹ (3) The boundary dispute or the rise of a neighbouring state sometimes brought about war. (4) The war of Cakravartins, however, was fought not for aggrandisement but for the strength of the central government.

WEAPONS

Various kinds of weapons were used in ancient times for offensive and defensive purposes. The *Panḥavāgarāṇa* mentions the following weapons : *muggara* (Indian club), *musandhi* (octagonal club),⁷² *karakaya* (saw), *satti* (spear), *hala* (plough), *gadā* (mace or heavy club), *musala* (pestle), *cakka* (discus), *kunta* (lance), *tomora* (javelin), *sūla* (trident spit), *lauḍa* (light club), *bhiṇḍipāla* (crooked club), *savvala* (an iron spear), *paṭṭisa* (battle-axe), *cammettha* (stone covered with leather), *duhaṇa* (hat-chet), *muṭṭhiya* (dagger), *asikheḍaga* (sword with a shield), *khagga* (sword),

⁵⁹ The story of Sītā is narrated in the *Paumacariya*.

⁶⁰ Dovaī's account is given in the *Nāyādharmakāhā* (16).

⁶¹ The war caused by carrying away of Ruppini and Paumāvai by Kṛṣṇa is described in the *Triṣaṣṭisālākāpuruṣacarita* (8. 6).

⁶² The fight over Tārā is narrated in the *Triṣaṣṭi* (7. 6). Also cf *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 16.

⁶³ The stories of Kāñcanā, Ahinnikā, Kinnari, Surūpā and Vijjumaī, says Abhayadeva, are not known; however, Weber identified Ahinnikā with Ahalyā, the Indra's mistress in the *Mahābhārata*.

⁶⁴ The war caused by the abduction by Arjuna of Subhadrā is narrated in the *Triṣaṣṭi* (8. 6).

⁶⁵ The story of the war on the slave-girl Suvannaguliya is narrated in the *Uttarādhyaṇa Commentary* (16, p. 253 ff).

⁶⁶ The story of the fight over Rohini, the mother of Balarāma and the wife of Vasudeva, is narrated in *Triṣaṣṭi* (8. 4), Amulyacandra Sen, *A Critical Introduction to the Panḥavāgarāṇam*, p. 49 f.

⁶⁷ *Nāyā*, 8.

⁶⁸ *Āva cū.*, p. 80.

⁶⁹ *Uttarā Ṭi.*, 9, 135 f.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 9, 140 f.

⁷¹ *Āva cū.*, II, p. 172 ff.

⁷² *Musandhi* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 70. 34).

cāpa (bow), *nārāca* (iron-tipped arrow), *kanaka* (arrow), *kappinī* (a kind of scissors), *vāsi* (adze), *parasu* (axe)⁷³ and *sayagghī*.⁷⁴ Defensive armours are mentioned. We are told that Kūnika used an impregnable coat of mail while fighting with Ceḍaga.⁷⁵

Besides, magical missiles are mentioned. *nāgabāṇa*, *tāmasabāṇa*, *paumabāṇa*, *vahnibāṇa*, etc., are described as great weapons. It is said that the serpent missiles when set on the bow went forth like an arrow, then they transmuted into snakes and acted like a lasso; the missiles of darkness filled the battle-field with darkness.⁷⁶

Flags, drums and trumpets roused the spirit of the warriors in ancient India. The warriors from either side tried to cut off the banners with arrows and they captured the flag and the battle was lost to the party which lost the flag.⁷⁷ The *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to four types of drums of Kanha Vāsudeva, viz., *Komudikā*,⁷⁸ *Saṅgāmiyā*, *Dubbhuyā*, and *Asivopasaminī*; it is said that they all were made of sandal wood. The drums were also imbued with medicinal properties. It is said that *asivopasaminī* when beaten banished the diseases for the period of six months.⁷⁹ Kṛṣṇa possessed another drum named *Sannāhya*.⁸⁰ Hearing the beating of this drum the warriors gathered together and marched against the king Paumanābha.⁸¹

⁷³ pp. 17a, 44, *Uttarā*, 19, 51, 55, 58, 61 f, see also *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (3 446-451); *Arthaśāstra* (p 110 f); *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 22, 20 ff, Pusalkar, *Bhāṣa—A Study*, ch xvi, p. 414; Banerjee, *op cit*, p. 204 ff, Mehta, *P B I*, p 171, Date, G T, *The Art of War in Ancient India*; Oppert Gustav, *Weapons and Armoury Organisation*

⁷⁴ *Uttarā*, 9, 18, also *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 6, 11, according to the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 110), it was a big pillar with immense number of sharp points on its surface and situated on the top of a fort wall. *Śataghni* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* III, 291, 24; it was ornamented with bells and was bright and hollow, it was flung by hand and like a sword or a spear, was split to pieces, by arrows, Hopkins, *J A.O.S.*, Vol 13, p 300

⁷⁵ *Bhag.*, 7, 9

⁷⁶ *Jivā*, 3, p 152a f, *Jambu Sū Ti*, 21, p 124 a. Also see *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 27, 56.

⁷⁷ cf *Bhag.*, 7, 9, for the description of a flag see *Kalpa*, 3, 40. cf. also *Rāmāyaṇa* III, 27, 15; *Mahābhārata*, VI, 83, 46 ff.

⁷⁸ In the *Mahābhārata*, *Kaunudikī* is mentioned as a mace of Kṛṣṇa; it was capable of slaying every *daiṭya*, *Mahābhārata*, I, 251, 28

⁷⁹ *Pi.*, 356

⁸⁰ *Sannāhikī bhenī* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 244, 38)

⁸¹ *Nāyā*, 16, p. 190.

CHAPTER V'

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In India the village or a *gāma* formed the unit of administration. The bulk of the people as in present days lived in the villages,¹ which are described as lying within easy reach of the village cocks (*kukkuṭa-saṇḍeya-gāmapāura*),² and where one had to pay the eighteen kinds of taxes referred to above. A *gāma* was the generic term for an inhabited settlement, not possessing the fortifications of a *nagara* or a *rājadhānī*. A large number of families were reckoned as constituting a village.³ We are told that ninety six villages were attached to the town of Mahurā.⁴ An interesting discussion is given on what constitutes a village in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya*. (i) It is said that the limit of a village is the distance to which the cows go to graze. But this assertion is contested on the ground that the cows proceeded to other villages as well ; (ii) then it is stated that the distance which a grass-cutter or a wood-cutter, getting up early morning covers and after doing his work returns at sunset to his own place is called a village ; (iii) a village has its own boundary ; (iv) its extent could also be determined by the situation of the village garden at the end ; (v) or the village-well ; (vi) or the extent to which the children go to play ; (vii) the nucleus of the village is formed by the erection of *devakulā*.

The *sabhā* or assembly hall was situated in the centre of the village.⁵ Different types of villages are mentioned such as *uttānakamallakākāra*, *avānimukhamallakākāra*, *sampitamallakākāra*, *khaṇḍamallakākāra* and others.⁶ The majority of villages probably contained a heterogeneous population, but there were others inhabited exclusively or mainly by members of a single caste or followers of a single occupation. For example, the city of Vaisālī had three important suburbs, namely, Bambhaṇagāma, Khattiya-Kuṇḍaggāma and Vāṇiyagāma, inhabited by Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the merchants in succession. Then there were villages inhabited by peacock-tamers (*mayūraposaga*),⁷ acrobats⁸ and robbers (*coraṇḍallī*).⁹ There were border villages (*paccantagāma*) which were in a very insecure condition.¹⁰

¹ *Bhag. Tī.*, 1. 1.

² *Rāyā. Sū.*, I. p. 4.

³ *Das. cū.*, p. 373. According to the *Nāyā. Tī.* (1, p. 43) a village constituted ten thousand families ; cf. *Arthaśāstra*, p. 45.

⁴ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1. 1776.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1. 1096 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 1. 1103-8.

⁷ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 3, p. 57.

⁸ *Āva. cū.*, p. 544.

⁹ *Vivā.*, 3, p. 20 etc.

¹⁰ See *Āva. cū.*, II, p. 198 ; cf. *Gullānārada Jātaka* (No. 477), IV, p. 220.

Unfortunately, we do not get much information regarding the internal administration of a village. We are told that the villages were under their headmen known as *bhoiya*, *bhojika*¹¹ or *mayahara*,¹² and the meetings of the villages were held in a hall (*sabhā*).¹³ The leader of a *maḍamba* which consisted of eighteen thousand villages was known as *māḍambiya*.¹⁴ The guild or corporation (*seni*) was a powerful factor in the economic and social life of the people of the village, about which we shall see further.

¹¹ *Vya. Bhā.*, 7. 459; cf. *gāmahojika* in the *Dhammapada A.*, I, p. 69; also see Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, p. 208.

¹² *Uttarā. Tī.*, 3, p. 57; 9, p. 142a; 18, p. 250.

¹³ *Rājā. Sū.*, 21.

¹⁴ *Vya. Bhā. Tī.*, 4. 52.

SECTION III

ECONOMIC ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I PRODUCTION

CHAPTER II DISTRIBUTION

CHAPTER III EXCHANGE

CHAPTER IV CONSUMPTION

INTRODUCTION

Economic factors have been the main guiding factors in the history of the world from time immemorial. Unfortunately, the material at our disposal representing the economic conditions in India is fragmentary and hence it is not possible to present a systematic account of every fact relating to the economic life of the ancient Indian people. Nevertheless, whatever meagre account we could gather is given here in the hope it will prove valuable.

CHAPTER I

PRODUCTION

I

LAND

Every activity which results in creation of wealth is to be regarded as productive. The productive agents of material wealth are Land, Labour, Capital and Organisation, which are called Factors of Production in Economics.

The rural economy of India was based chiefly on a system of village communities of landowners or what is known as peasant proprietorship.¹ The common occupation of the villagers was agriculture or farming.

AGRICULTURE . METHODS OF PLOUGHING

Around the *gāma* lay its *khetta* or pastures, and its woodland or un-cleared jungle. *Khetta* or agricultural land is considered among ten kinds of external possessions, the rest being buildings, gold etc., seeds of grains, collection of wood-fuel and grass, friends and relatives, conveyance, furniture such as bed, sofa etc., male and female slaves and utensils.² A *khetta* is divided into *setu* and *ketu*; the former being irrigated by Persian wheels (*arahatta*) etc., and the latter by rainfall.³ Various methods of irrigation were adopted in different countries. For example, in the country of *Lāta* the fields received their moisture from rainfall, in *Sindhu* from rivers, in *Draviḍa* from ponds, in *Uttarāpatha* from wells and in *Dimbharelaka* from floods.⁴

Agriculture was carried on by ploughing. It is said that ploughing (*kisikamma*) being done at the right time yields plenty of fruit.⁵ The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to the festival in honour of the ploughing deity (*Sītā-janna*).⁶ *Phoḍikamma* is mentioned as a ploughman's profession dealing in ploughing the field.⁷ In a prosperous country the lands were ploughed with hundreds and thousands of ploughshares, and sugar-cane, barley and rice were cultivated by shrewd (*pannatta*) farmers (*karisaya*).⁸ We read of the *gāhāvai* Ānanda who limited the cultivable

¹ Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1, p. 198.

² *Bṛh. Bha.*, 1. 825.

³ *ibid.*, 1. 826.

⁴ *ibid.*, 1. 1239.

⁵ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 1 p. 10a.

⁶ 3. 3647. Cf. the *Grhya Sūtras* (e.g. *Gobhila*, IV 4 281, S. B. 1. vol xxx) where the goddess *Sītā* is the rustic deity of the furrows and sacrifice may be offered to her anywhere but preferably on a field of rice or barley (N. M. Apte, *Social and Religious Life in the Grhya Sūtras*, X, p. 129). In the *Mahābhārata* (VII, 105 19) *Sītā* is a goddess of harvest. The legend of the birth of *Sītā* is mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (I, 86 14f), and it is by furrowing the earth with a plough that Janaka gives birth to *Sītā* (Sylvan Levi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, pp. 8-15).

⁷ *Uvā.*, 1, p. 11.

⁸ *Uvā.*, 1, p. 2; *Āva. Tī.*, (Har.), 947, p. 420a.

land to five hundred ploughshares, each one ploughing one hundred acres (*niyatana*) of land.⁹ Three types of ploughshares are mentioned, viz., *hala*, *kuliya* and *nangala*;¹⁰ spade (*kudāla*) was known.¹¹ The fields were guarded by fences.¹² *Samvāha* is mentioned as a place situated in a mountain or any other place of safety where the farmers used to store their corn.¹³

FIELD-CROPS

The predominant grain harvest was that of rice of different varieties. *Kalamasāli*, a variety of rice, which was cultivated in the eastern part of India, is referred to;¹⁴ *raktasāli*, *mahāsāli* and *gandhasāli* are mentioned as other varieties.¹⁵ The paddy was sown during the rains, and when ripe, the crops were harvested with newly sharpened sickles (*narapajjana chim asiehim*), thrashed, winnowed and then taken to the granary where they were filled in new jars which were sealed and kept in a corner.¹⁶

The piles of the rings (*valaya*) were made of straws and leaves known as *kaṭapalla* and *tanapalla*, which served as receptacles for grains. The inside floor space was coated with cow-dung.¹⁷ The round heap of grains was called *puñja*; if it was slightly oblong, it was called *nāsi*; a heap of grains was pressed close to the wall; besmeared with ashes (*lāñchita*); sealed with cow-dung and kept in the required places, screening it with a screen of straw and bamboos.¹⁸ In the rainy season the grains were stored in a granary made of earth (*ko'tha*), of straw and bamboos (*palla*), a granary standing on pillars (*mañca*), the upper storey of the house (*mālā*), covered with a lid coated with cow-dung (*olitta*), coated with mud all over (*litta*), closed (*pihita*), sealed with earthen seals (*muddiya*) by making lines etc. (*lañchitya*).¹⁹ *Kumbhī*, *karabhi*,²⁰ *pallaga*,²¹ *muttolī*, *mukha*, *idura*, *alindaa* and *ocāra* (*apacāri*)²² are mentioned as other forms of storage. In *gaijasālā* various kinds of corns were pounded.²³ A wooden mortar (*udūkhala*) for cleansing rice and a threshing floor (*khalaya*) were known.²⁴ Then mention is made of a cattle-feeding-basket (*gokilāñja*) and winnowing sieve (*suppakattana*).²⁵

⁹ *Uṇ.* 1, p. 7. *Aturata* is mentioned by Baudhāyana; it was an area of land sufficient to support one man from its produce, (S. K. Das. *The Economic History of Ancient Ind.*, p. 190).

¹⁰ *Ā. a.* 2, p. 81.

¹¹ *Uṇ.* 2, p. 23.

¹² *Abhidharmasamuccaya*, under *Viṅga*.

¹³ *Brh. Bhā.* 1, 1092.

¹⁴ *Uṇ.* 1, p. 81. cf. *Turayana* (S. 205) where corn fields of Magadha are described as such.

¹⁵ *Brh. Bhā.* 2, 3301-3307. Also see *Caraka*, ch. 27, p. 734.

¹⁶ *Nyā.* 7, p. 86.

¹⁷ *Brh. Bhā.* 2, 3295.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* 2, 3311 f.

¹⁹ *Brh. Sū.* 2, 3 and *Brh.* 2, 3301-9.

²⁰ *Brh. Sū.* 2, 10. Also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, II, 91, 71.

²¹ *Ā. a. Tī.* (Hari.) p. 75 a. *Mutoli* is also mentioned in the *Mayjhima* I, p. 57.

²² *Anu. Sū.* 131.

²³ *Nist. Cū.* 9, p. 511.

²⁴ *Vjā. Bhā.* 10, 28, *Sū.* 4, 2, 12.

²⁵ *Uṇ.* 2, p. 23, *Sū.* 4, 7, 12.

Seventeen kinds of grains are mentioned :—rice (*vr̥hi*), barley (*yava*), masūra (*Ervum Hirsutum*), wheat (*godhūma*), mudga (*Phaseolus*), sesame (*tila*), gram (*canaka*), anu (*Panicum Mitaceum*), priyangu (panic seeds), kodrava, (*Paspalum Scrobiculatum*), akusthaka (mod. *kutū*), rice (*sālī*),²⁶ a pulse (*āḍhaki*), kalaya (leguminous seeds), kulattha (*Dolichos Uniflorus*) and sana (*Linum Usitatissimum*).²⁷ Amongst other field grain crops are mentioned mūsa, (*Phaseolus Radialis*), mpphava,²⁸ āḷsanāga,²⁹ saḍina, palimanthaka,³⁰ atasi (linseed), kusumba (safflower), kangu (millet), rāḷaga, (the resin of *Shorea Rubusta*), tuvarī (tūvar in Hindi), kodūsā (or kodrava) and mustard (*sarīsava*).³¹ The storers of crores and crores of kumbhas of these grains in their granary were called *nayatikas*.³²

Among the spices mention is made of fresh ginger (*śingavera*),³³ dry ginger (*suntha*), cloves (*lavanga*), turmeric (*haridrā*), cumin (*vesana*, com. *jī-raka*),³⁴ pepper (*marīya*), pipphala (long pepper) and mustard (*sarīsavatthi ga*).³⁵

Sugar-cane (*ucchu*) seems to have been a common crop. A sugar-cane storc-house (*ucchughara*) is mentioned in Dasapura.³⁶ The sugar-cane press (*mahājanta kolluka*)³⁷ is also mentioned. Theic weic sheds for pressing sugar-cane (*jantasālā*).³⁸ *Jantapīlana* was a profession that dealt in crushing sugar-cane, sesamum and other articles by machines.³⁹ Puṇḍravardhana was noted for sugar-cane's crop.⁴⁰ Three varieties of sugar are mentioned, viz., *maccandikā*, *pupphottara* and *paumuttara*.⁴¹ Gourds were grown⁴² and were used by the ascetics.⁴³

²⁶ *Sālī* was a high quality of rice, cf *Pāṇini Nir*, 162-5

²⁷ *Bṛh Bhā*, 1 828, *Sūtra*, 2 1, also *Paṇṇa* 1 23-40. Instead of *anu*, *priyangu*, *akusthaka*, *āḍhaki* and *kalāya* the *Vyākhyāna Bhā* (1, p 132) gives *rāḷaga*, *mūsa*, *caḷaṇi*, *tuvanī* and *mṣpāva*, (also *Das cu* p 212, cf *Arthasāstra* p 128f, also *Milindapañha*, p 267, *Māhābhārata* p. 244).

²⁸ It is also called *ulla* (a kind of wheat, Monier Williams *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*) and it produced intoxication (*Bṛh Bhā*, 5 6049). Jacobus renders it as *Dolichos Sinensis*, *Jain Sūtras*, xiv, p 374.

²⁹ According to Weber it was a grain coming from Alexandria, and hence points to commercial intercourse with that country, *Sacred Literature of the Jains*, p 38.

³⁰ *Bhag* 21. 2

³¹ *ibid*, 21 3, also *Uttarā Tī* 3 p 58a. *Koradūḷaka* is mentioned as a best corn in the *Mahābhārata* (III 193 19).

³² *Vya. Bhā* 1, p 131a

³³ *Bhag* 8 3, *Paṇṇa*, 1 23 31, 43-4

³⁴ *Pāṇini Nir*, 54

³⁵ *Ācā. II*, 1 8 268.

³⁶ *Uttarā Tī* 2, p 23

³⁷ *Uttarā Sū* 19 53, *Bṛh Bhā* pī 575

³⁸ *Vya Bhā* 10 484

³⁹ *Uṇā* 1, p. 11, *Jambū Tī* 3, p 193a

⁴⁰ *Tandula Tī*, p. 2 a. In Penglal there were two kinds of sugar-cane, the pale-yellow or *puṇḍra* and the dark purple or black called *kajālī* or *kajolī*. The former gave its name to the province of Pundriadesa to the east of the Ganges, and latter to Kajolaka, or the province to the west of the Ganges, *Arch. Survey of India* (Rebert 1879-80, *Bihar and Bengal*), Vol XV, 1882, p 28.

⁴¹ *Nītyā*, 17, p 203. *Paṇṇa Sū* 17 227. *Matsyaṇḍika* and *khandaśarkarā* are mentioned, in the *Arthasāstra* (p 100) and the *Canaka*, ch 27, p 795, and are rendered as *granulated sugar* and *sugar-candy* respectively. *Pupphottara* is mentioned in the *Vandiyakasaḍha Sindhū* and is rendered by *Puṣpaśarkarā*, which is perhaps the same as *'phūsākar'* in Gujarati. *Padmottara* probably was prepared from lotus (Bechardas, *Bhag. ācā Mahāvira nī dharmakathā*, p. 249f). It is translated as *Carthamus Tinctorius* by Monier Williams.

⁴² *Uttarā Tī*, 5, p 103.

⁴³ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1 2886.

Among fibre-yielding plants cotton (*kappāsa*) was the most important ⁴⁴ Among other kinds of fabrics silk, wool (*unniya*), linen (*khoma*) and hemp (*sana*) may be mentioned. ⁴⁵ *Sāli* or *sālmali* trees which yielded a silky fibre were known. ⁴⁶

Probably indigo (*gulya*) ⁴⁷ and such other chemical dyes were produced; the mention of a variety of colours ⁴⁸ leads us to believe in their existence.

Betel (*tambola*) ⁴⁹ and arecca-nut (*pūyaphli*) ⁵⁰ were known. A large number of vegetables were grown Brinjal, cucumber, radish, *pālanka* (mod. *pālak*), *karella* (mod. *karelā*), tuber roots (*āluga*), water-nuts (*śrngālika*, mod. *siṅghodā*), onion, garlic ⁵¹ and gourd ⁵² may be mentioned Vegetable-gardens (*kaccha*) were known where radish, cucumber etc., were grown ⁵³.

Despite these precautions, famines occurred mainly on account of scarcity of rain. We have referred to a long famine which broke out in Pādāliputta during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. Uttarāpatha was visited by another famine during the time of Vairasāmī ⁵⁴ Still another famine is mentioned in Dakkhināvaha which is said to have lasted for a long time. ⁵⁵ The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* preserves a tradition of still another famine in Kosala when a certain *śrāvaka*, who had hoarded plenty of gram, did not allow the five hundred Jain monks to leave the country during the famine. Later on, however, when the prices of grain went up he sold his grain and the *sādhus* for want of food committed suicide and were devoured by vultures ⁵⁶ During famine people even sold their children ⁵⁷

The failure of crops or scarcity of food was also due to floods which caused severe distress to the people. The *Tittihogālī* gives a graphic description of the flood in Pādāliputta which created havoc. ⁵⁸ The flood in Kāncanapura is recorded in the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* ⁵⁹. The destruction of Śrāvastī due to frequent overflowing of Acirāvati is mentioned ⁶⁰.

⁴⁴ Cf. *Uttarā Tī* 4 p. 78a

⁴⁵ See infra, chapter on Dress

⁴⁶ *Panna* 1 23 30, *Uttarā* 10 52, *Sūya*, 6 18.

⁴⁷ *Nāyā*, 1, p. 10

⁴⁸ *Kiṇha*, *nīla*, *lohiya* *halāda* and *sukilla* are mentioned (*Rāya*, 3, p. 20)

⁴⁹ *Uvā*, 1, p. 9

⁵⁰ *Panna*, 1. 23 35

⁵¹ *ibid*, 1 23 18-9, 26ff, 37-8, 43ff, *Uttarā Sū*, 36 90 ff

⁵² *Nāyā*, 10, p. 163

⁵³ *Ācā* II 3 3 350

⁵⁴ *Āva* *ā*, p. 396

⁵⁵ *ibid*, p. 404

⁵⁶ *Vya Bhā*, 10 557-60

⁵⁷ *Mahā Nī*, p. 28

⁵⁸ Kalyan Vijaya Vira Nirvāṇa, p. 42. ff

⁵⁹ 10. 450

⁶⁰ See infra, Section V under Kuṇālī.

HORTICULTURE

Horticulture was in a much developed state. We get descriptions of gardens and parks (*ārama: ujjāna· nījāna*)⁶¹ and a large variety of garden-produce both fruits and flowers; almost every big city preserved one or more gardens. Various kinds of creepers (*layā: valli*) are mentioned; the chief amongst them being *pauma*, *nāga*, *asoga*, *campaga*, *cūya*, *rāvaṇī*, *amuttaya*, *kunda* and *sāma*.⁶² Among flowers most important being *navamālikā*, *korantaka*, *bandhujīvaka*, *kaṇṇa*, *jālī*, *mogara*, *yūthikā*, *mallikā*, *vāsantī*, *mrgadantikā*, *campaka*, *kunda* and others.⁶³

Among fruits mention may be made of mango, fig, plantain, date, wood-apple, citron, bread-fruit, pomegranate, grapes, cocoanut, and others⁶⁴. Mango-groves consisting of one thousand mango trees were also known.⁶⁵

Kottaka was a drying place for fruits, people used to gather fruits from jungles and store them at this place; they carried them in waggons, bundles etc. to cities for sale.⁶⁶ Four methods of ripening fruits are mentioned. Some fruits such as mango etc. were ripened by covering them with husk or straw (*indhana*). *Tinduka* (a fruit of the ebony tree) and other fruits were ripened by subjecting them to a heating process. The process was that first a hollow was made in which the cow-dung fire was lit; around this other hollows were made which were filled with raw fruits. Those hollows were connected with the central hollow by means of holes and thus the fruits ripened by the heat of the fire (*dhūma*). Then cucumber (*cirbhata*) and citron (*bijapūra*) etc. ripened by mixing them with ripe fruits (*gandha*). Lastly, the fruits ripened in their natural way on trees (*vaccha*).⁶⁷

It is said that the people of Konkana were fond of fruits and flowers and they maintained themselves by selling them.⁶⁸ Flower-houses were made during festivals.⁶⁹

Among the miscellaneous products mention may be made of saffron (*kumkuma*), camphor (*kappūra*), cloves (*lavanga*), lac, sandal,⁷⁰ honey (*mahu*)⁷¹ and others.

Then we have waste lands which may be classified into cremation or burial grounds, forests and pastures, mining and river tracts.

⁶¹ See *Bhag. Tī*, 67, *Rāya Tī Sū*, 1, p. 5, *Bṛh Bhā Vr*, 4, 4522; 1, 3170f; *Anu cū*, p. 53 *Nisī cū*, 8, p. 494

⁶² *Rāya. Sū*, 3, p. 18, *Nāyā* 1, p. 10

⁶³ *Panna*, 1, 23-23-5. For the flower and plants see *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 94, 8ff; also S. K. Das, *op. cit.* pp. 104f, 206-7

⁶⁴ *Panna*, I, 23-12-7, *Ācā* II, 1, 8-280

⁶⁵ *Uvā* 7, p. 47 for similar references in the *Jātaka* see S. K. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 207f.

⁶⁶ *Bṛh Bhā* 1, 872

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, 1, 841f

⁶⁸ *ibid.*, 1, 1230

⁶⁹ *Nāyā*, 8, pp. 93, 95, 103.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, 1, pp. 3, 10

⁷¹ Three varieties of honey are mentioned, viz *macchya*, *kutrya* and *bhāmara* (*Āsa. cū*, II, p. 319); also see *Caraka*, ch. 27, p. 796.

The pasture grounds (*daviya*)⁷² were very useful where herds of cattle and goats were grazed. *Davaggi* is mentioned as a profession that dealt in burning grass and protecting the fields.⁷³ The cowherds (*govālaka*) and shepherds (*ayāpāla: chāgaliya*) were employed, who led the herds to these grounds for grazing. We hear of a shepherd who was very good at shooting and used to make holes in the leaves of a banyan tree with his tiny bow (*dhanukiyā*).⁷⁴

REARING OF LIVE STOCK AND DAIRY FARMING

Cattle were a highly esteemed form of wealth in ancient India, and cows, buffaloes, oxen and sheep were included among the precious possessions of a king.⁷⁵ *Vaya (vraja)* also known as *sangilla*⁷⁶, or a herd of cattle is mentioned; each *vraja* consisting of ten thousand cows.⁷⁷ It is said that king Karakandu was very fond of the herds of cattle (*gokula*) and possessed a number of herds of kine.⁷⁸

Breeding and rearing of cattle was an essential concern of the people. The *Ābhīras* (mod. *Ahīr*), who tended the cows, are mentioned. We are told of an *Ābhīra* woman of Mathurā, who used to supply milk and curds to a perfumer. Once upon a time at the wedding of her son she invited the perfumer and his wife. The perfumer could not attend the ceremony in person but he sent various clothes and ornaments for the bride and the bridegroom as a gift. The *Ābhīras* were much pleased at this and in return they presented two strong-bodied bull-calves to the perfumer.⁷⁹

Cattle were supplied with necessary grass and water (*tanapāniya*). There were large cow-pens (*gomaṇḍava*) where the herds of cows, bulls and calves were kept. A cattle-lifter (*kūdaggāha*) is mentioned, who used to go to the cow-pen and rob the cattle at night.⁸⁰ Quarrels among cowherds are frequently referred to. The cows of various colours such as black, blue, red, white, and brindled were known; cows were often attacked and devoured by lions and tigers in the jungle.⁸¹

Dairy farming was in an advanced state and the supply of milk and its four products (*gorasa*), viz., curds, butter-milk, butter and *ghee*, was abundant and so people could get highly nutritious food. The milk of cow, buffalo, camel, goat and sheep is mentioned.⁸² *Khīraghara* was known as a place where products of milk were available in plenty.⁸³ The cattle

⁷² *Ācā.* II, 3. 2. 350.

⁷³ *Uvā*, 1, p. 11.

⁷⁴ *Uttarā. Tī.* 5, p. 103.

⁷⁵ *Opā Sū.*, 6, also *Āva Tī.* (Hār), p. 128 For the list of cattle see *Paṇṇa* 1. 34

⁷⁶ *Yja Bhā* 2. 23.

⁷⁷ *Uvā.*, 1, p. 6, also *Brh Bhā*, 3. 4268

⁷⁸ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 9, p. 134a.

⁷⁹ *Āva. Nir.*, 471; *Āva cū*, p. 280 f.

⁸⁰ *Vivā.* 2, p. 14 f.

⁸¹ *Āva. cū.*, p. 44.

⁸² *ibid.* II, p. 319.

⁸³ *Nisī. cū.*, 9, p. 511.

were also utilised for the production of hide, bones, ivory nails and hair.⁸⁴ Slaughter houses (*sūnā*) were known. A slaughter house is mentioned where five hundred buffaloes were slaughtered every day.⁸⁶

Then we had flocks of sheep and goats confined in an enclosure (*vāḍaga*).⁸⁶ They were utilised for wool-production. The brooms (*rayaharaṇa*) and blankets were made of sheep wool.⁸⁷ People used to kill sheep and eat their flesh seasoned with salt, oil and pepper.⁸⁸ Mention is made of a young ram which was fed on rice and grass till it was fattened and was killed on the arrival of the guest.⁸⁹ Veterinary science was also in a developed stage.⁹⁰

ARBORICULTURE

Coming to the forest lands,⁹¹ India seems to have been rich in forest tracts. A forest (*aḍavī*) of eighteen *yojanas* is mentioned near Rāyagiha.⁹² Almost the whole country was covered with a large variety of trees. Many species of trees covered with fruits and flowers, are mentioned : *nimba*, *āmra*, *jambu*, *sāla*, *ankola*, *bakula*, *palāsa*, *putraññiva*, *bibhītaka*, *śmīśapā*, *śrīparṇī*, *asoka*, *tinduka*, *kapūṭha*, *mātuliṅga*, *bilva*, *āmalaga*, *phanasa*, *dāḍima*, *aśvattha*, *udumbara*, *vata*, *nandī*, *tilaka*, *surīṣa*, *saptaparna*, *lodhra*, *candana*, *arjuna*, *tālatamāla* and others.⁹³

The trees provided the country with materials for the construction of houses, vehicles etc. Various kinds of bamboos,⁹⁴ creepers,⁹⁵ grass,⁹⁶ medicinal herbs and roots⁹⁷ were to be found in plenty. *Vanakamma* is mentioned as a profession dealing in wood, which included the felling of trees. *Ingālakamma* was another profession that dealt in charcoal by preparing it from fire wood; it also included brick-making according to the commentator.⁹⁸

There were wood-gatherers (*katthahāraṇa*), leaf-gatherers (*paññahāraṇa*) and grass-cutters (*taṇahāraṇa*) whom we meet frequently roaming about in the forest.⁹⁹

⁸⁴ *Piṇḍa*, 50

⁸⁵ *Āva. cū.*, II, p. 169.

⁸⁶ *Vivā.*, 4, p. 30.

⁸⁷ *Bṛh. Sū.*, 2, 25, *Bhā.* 3, 3914.

⁸⁸ *Sūya* II, 6, 37.

⁸⁹ *Uttarā*, 7, 1 ff.

⁹⁰ *Nisī cū*, 19, p. 1244.

⁹¹ Various terms are mentioned to denote a forest; *vana*, *śākhakhaṇḍa* *taṇarūṇi* and *kānana*, for explanation see *Bhag. Tī.*, 6 7, *Anu. cū.*, p. 53.

⁹² *Uttarā*, 7, 8, p. 125

⁹³ *Panna* 1 23 12 ff, 35f *Rāya* 3, p 12 *Thā.* 10., 736 For useful trees in the *Atharvavāṇḍa* see S K Das, *op cit*, pp 98-103, also pp. 105-8, 204-9, *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 15.15 ff; IV.1 76 ff, *Mahābhārata* II, 57 44 ff.

⁹⁴ *Vamsa*, *venu* and *kanaka* are mentioned as varieties of bamboo (*Panna. I.*, 23, 32).

⁹⁵ For various kinds of *lauś* and *vallis* see *ibid.*, 1, 23, 25 f.

⁹⁶ For various kinds of grass see *ibid.*, 1, 23 33f

⁹⁷ For various kind of herbs etc. see *ibid.*, 1 23.40

⁹⁸ *Uṇ.* 1, p. 11, also cf. *Vya. Bhā.* 3, 89, *Ācā* II, 2 303.

⁹⁹ *Nāyā*, 13, p. 143, *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 1, 1097, *Anu. Sū.*, 130.

HUNTING

Then we come to hunting. As flesh-eating was common in those days, hunting had its great value. The kings used to go for hunting with a large retinue. We are told about king Sañjaya who chased the deer on horseback in the Kesara garden.¹⁰⁰ Hunting (*miyavaha*) is referred to in the *Bhagavati*;¹⁰¹ there were regular hunters (*migatuddhaya*) whose occupation was to capture or kill the animals and earn their living by selling them. Hunting with hounds is also mentioned.¹⁰² Such hunters were called *soniya* (*śaunika*); others who captured animals by snare were known as *vāgurika*.¹⁰³ Snares and traps (*kūḍajāla*) are mentioned.¹⁰⁴ Even elephants were hunted.¹⁰⁵

POULTRY

Another industry was that of bird-catching and fowling. We meet the fowlers (*saṇṇiya*) with bow and arrow aiming at partridges, ducks, quails, pigeons, monkeys and francoline partridges (*kapinjala*).¹⁰⁶ Birds were caught with hawks (*vidamsiya*), trapped in nets (*jāla*) and captured with the help of bird-lime (*leppa*).¹⁰⁷ With spades and bamboos, baskets in their hands, the fowlers (*aṇḍāvaniya*) went in search of eggs of female crow, owl, pigeon, *tittabhi*, crane, pea-hen and hen, which were cooked in baking-pans and were sold.¹⁰⁸ Peacock-tamers (*posaga*) were also known.¹⁰⁹ Cuckoos,¹¹⁰ partridges,¹¹¹ parrots, *madana sālīkās*¹¹² (the female of the cuckoo) and other birds were tamed.

FISHERIES

Fishing formed another occupation. Various ways of catching fish¹¹³ were known. Fish were caught with hooks (*jāla*) and in bow-net (*maggara-jāla*) and then cleaned and killed.¹¹⁴ A settlement of fishermen (*macchanḍhvāḍaga*) is mentioned, where a large number of fishermen

¹⁰⁰ *Uttarā. Sū.*, 18. 2f.

¹⁰¹ 1. 8.

¹⁰² *Sūya. II.*, 2. 31.

¹⁰³ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 2766; *Vya. Bhā.* 3. p. 20a.

¹⁰⁴ *Uttarā.* 19. 63.

¹⁰⁵ *Sūya. II.*, 6; 9 2.

¹⁰⁶ *ibid.* II. 2. 31f. For the list of birds see *Panna.* 1. 35, *Rājyā. sū.* 3.

¹⁰⁷ *Uttarā.* 19. 65.

¹⁰⁸ *Vitrā.* 3. p. 22.

¹⁰⁹ *Vya. Bhā.* 3. p. 20a; *Nāyā* 3. p. 62.

¹¹⁰ *Ogha.*, p. 126.

¹¹¹ *Yasu.*, p. 57.

¹¹² *Āva. sū.*, p. 558.

¹¹³ For various species of fish see *Panna.* 1. 33. For similar reference in the *Jātaka*s see S. K. Das, *op. cit.* p. 212.

¹¹⁴ *Uttarā.* 19. 64; cf. *Vitrā* (8, p. 47), which mentions twenty two ways of catching fish. *dahagalaṇa, dahamalaṇa, dahamahana, dahavahana, dahapavana, ayampula, pañacapula, macchapaṇḍhala, macchapuccha, jambhā tisirā, bhisirā, dvisarā, visrā, hūhri, jhūtiri, jāla, gāla, kūḍajāla, vaktabandha, suttabandha and cūlabandha.*

was employed. They went to the river Jaunā, filled their boats with fish, dried them, cooked them and sold them in the market.¹¹⁵ Tortoises were also caught for purposes of food.¹¹⁶

MANUFACTURES

TEXTILES—SPINNING AND WEAVING

Now we come to the various manufacturing industries prevalent in those days. Next to agriculture, spinning and weaving was the most important industry. The cloth makers (*nantikka* : *kolra*) are described as one of the five important craftsmen, others being the potters, the carpenters, the black-smiths and the barbers.¹¹⁷ Mention is made of dealers in *dussa* (*dosiya*), yarn (*sottiya*) and cotton (*kappāsiya*). Then there were tailors (*tunnāga*), weavers (*tantuvāya*) and makers of silken cloth (*pattakūla*).¹¹⁸ The *sivaga* (tailor) and *chimpāya* (calico printers, *chimpi* in Hindi) were included among important craftsmen.¹¹⁹

Carding is mentioned. The *seduga* cotton after the seeds were removed were carded (*pinjiya*) and from this slivers (*pelu*) were prepared.¹²⁰ Spinning of cotton¹²¹ and that of the bark of *dugulla* tree¹²² and grass¹²³ (*vaccaka*, *muñjam*) was also known.

Weaving sheds (*tantuvāyasālā*) are mentioned; one such shed was situated outside the suburb of Nā'āndā,¹²⁴ Various kinds of cloths were known and regular trade was carried on in cloths.

Then there was the washing and dyeing industry. Washermen were included among eighteen corporations. *Soda* (*sajjiyākhāra*) is mentioned as washing material. The clothes were moistened with it and heated on fire and then washed with clean water.¹²⁵ Thrashing against stone,¹²⁶ brushing (*ghattha*), rubbing (*mattha*), and perfuming (*sampādhūmiya*) of clothes was known.¹²⁷ Mention is also made of laundries (*rayagasālā*).¹²⁸

Clothes such as towels etc. were dyed in saffron.¹²⁹ Clothes dyed in red colour (*kāsāl*) were worn in hot weather.¹³⁰ The *parivrājakas* used

¹¹⁵ *Vuā.* 8, p. 46 f; *Vya.* *Bhā* 3 p. 20a

¹¹⁶ *Nāyā.* 4.

¹¹⁷ *Āva.* *cū.*, p. 156, *Āva.* *Tī*, (Hart.), 947, p. 426a

¹¹⁸ *Panna.* 1. 37.

¹¹⁹ *Jambu.* *Tī*, 3, p. 193a.

¹²⁰ *Brh.* *Bhā.*, 1. 2996.

¹²¹ *Sūya* *Tī* II., 6. p. 388.

¹²² *Nisī* *cū*, 7, p. 407.

¹²³ *Brh.* *Bhā.*, 2. 3675.

¹²⁴ *Āva.* *cū.*, p. 282.

¹²⁵ *Nāyā.*, 5, p. 74; also *Āva.* *cū* II. p. 61.

¹²⁶ *Pinda* *Nir* 34.

¹²⁷ *Ācā* II 5. 1. 367; *Brh.* *Sū*, 1. 45.

¹²⁸ *Vya.* *Bhā.*, 10.484.

¹²⁹ *Nāyā* 1, p. 7.

¹³⁰ *Brh.* *Bhā.* *Pī.*, 613.

to wear clothes dyed in red ochre (*geruya*).¹³¹ The profession of a *rajaka*, washerman, combined with itself the profession of a dyer as well.

MINING AND METALLURGY

India was rich in mineral wealth and so in ancient India mining was an important industry. The principle kinds of ores obtained from mines were iron, copper, tin, lead, silver (*hiranna* or *ruppa*), gold (*suvanna*) and diamond.¹³² Kāliyadīva possessed rich mines of gold, jewels and diamond.¹³³ Iron and other metals were obtained by fusion.¹³⁴

Besides metals there were hundreds of mineral substances such as salt (*loṇa*), soda (*ūsa*), yellow orpiment (*haryāla*), vermilion (*himgulaya*), arsenic (*manosila*), mercury (*sāsaga*), antimony (*añjana*) and others.¹³⁵

In those days Indians and specially women-folk were as fond of ornaments as they are now. So gold-smiths (*suvannakāra*) had a flourishing trade.¹³⁶ Kumāranandi is mentioned as a rich gold-smith of Campā,¹³⁷ Musiyadārāya was another gold-smith (*kalāya*) of Teyalipura.¹³⁸

Fourteen kinds of ornaments are mentioned : a chain of eighteen strings of pearls (*hāra*), a chain of nine strings of pearls (*addahāra*), a single string of pearls (*egāvali*), a necklace of gold and gems (*kanagāvali*), a necklace of jewels (*rayanāvali*), a necklace of pearls (*muttāvali*), an armlet for upper arm (*keūra*), a bracelet (*kadaya*), an armlet (*tudīya*), finger ring (*myddā*), ear-rings (*kundala*), a chain round the chest (*urasutta*), chest-jewel (*cūlamani*) and ornament worn between the eye-brows on the forehead (*tilaya*).¹³⁹

The ornaments *hāra*, *addahāra*, *tisaraya* (a chain of three strings of pearls), *palamba* (a pearl pendant), *kaḍisutta* (waist band), *geviya* (neck-chain), *angulejjaya* (rings), *kayābharana* (ornaments of the hair), *kaḍaga*, *tudīya*, *muddā*, *kundala*, *mauḍa* (diadem), *valaga* (bracelets),¹⁴⁰ *angaya* (bracelets worn on the upper arm), *paṇḍapalamba* (ornament reaching the feet),¹⁴¹ *vatthasutta* (ornament string for the waist) and *māṇavi*¹⁴² were worn by males. The ornaments for ladies were *neura* (anklets), *nehalā* (girdle), *hāra*, *kaḍaga*, *khudḍaya* (a ring), *valaya*, *kundala*, *rayana* (jewels)¹⁴³ and *dināramālā* (a necklace of jewels with a string of *dināra*).¹⁴⁴

131 *Nisī. cū*, 13. p. 865.

132 *ibid.* 5, p. 412 *Panna*. 1 15; *Thū.* 4 349

133 *Nāyā.* 17, p. 202, *Uttarā* 36.73

134 *Brh. Bhā.* 1. 1090

135 *Uttarā. Sū* 36 74, *Sūja* II 3 61, *Panna* 1 15

136 It is said that the ornaments of Viśākhā were made in four months with five hundred gold-smiths working day and night. (*Dhammapada* A. I. pp 384 ff)

137 *Avā. cū* p. 397.

138 *Nāyā.*, 14.

139 *Jambu. Tī Sū*, 3, p. 216f, *Nisī cū*, p. 465

140 *Orū. Sū*, 31, p. 122, *Kalpa. Sū*, 4. 62.

141 *Nāyā*, 1. p. 30.

142 *Rāya. Sū.*, 137.

143 *Nāyā*, 1. p. 11.

144 *Kalpa. Sū.*, 3. 36; also see *Dhammapada* A. I. p. 394.

A golden frontier measuring four fingers (*patta*)¹⁴⁵ and signet rings (*nāmamuddā*) were common.¹⁴⁶

The elephants and horses were decorated with ornaments. The elephants are described as fitted with armours and decorated with neck-ornaments made of various gems and jewels and upper garment. The horses also were gaily caprisoned with armour and decorated with small mirrors (*hāṣaga*) on their waists and chowries.¹⁴⁷ *Mayūṇāḡacūlikās* are referred to as ornaments of cows.¹⁴⁸

Then the rich and the kings used golden vessels for eating and drinking. The chair, bed-steads, thrones and royal cars used by kings inlaid with gold.¹⁴⁹ Golden vases (*bhūṅāra*) were not unknown.¹⁵⁰

Silver (*rajata*) was used frequently. Silver vessels are mentioned freely.¹⁵¹

Among precious metals and jewellery mention may be made of precious stones, jewels, pearls, conchies, corals, rubies,¹⁵² *gomedaya* (zircon), *rucaka*, *anka*, *sphatikā* (quartz) *lohitaḡka*, *marakata* (emerald), *masāragalla*,¹⁵³ *bhujagamocaka* (serpentine), *indranīla* (sapphire), *hamsagarbha* (a variety of rock-crystal), *pulaka*, *sāṅgandhika* (a ruby), *candāprabhā*, *vaīḡūrya* (cat's eye), *jalakānta* or *candakānta* (moon-stone) and *sūryakānta*¹⁵⁴ (sun-stone).

Nanda is mentioned as a rich jeweller of Rāyagīha.¹⁵⁵

Bhaṇḡāgāra was known as a treasury where sixteen kinds of jewels were preserved.¹⁵⁶ We also hear often of expert stringers (*muttis*).¹⁵⁷

WORKERS IN METALS

The smiths (*kammūā*) had a flourishing trade. They supplied agriculture with ploughshares, spades and other implements. Iron sticks, chains and various other instruments are mentioned.¹⁵⁸ Domestic vessels such as pots, pans and bowls were prepared from iron (*aya*), tin (*taua*), copper (*tamba*), zinc (*jasada*) and lead (*śisaga*).¹⁵⁹

¹⁴⁵ *Nīṣī cū* 7, p. 163

¹⁴⁶ *Vicā* 2 p. 13

¹⁴⁷ Cf the list of *Pūṭidāna* in *Nīyā*. Ti., 1, p. 42a

¹⁴⁸ *ibid*, 1, p. 26.

¹⁴⁹ *ibid* cf p. 12a

¹⁵⁰ *Kalpa*, Sū 4 89

¹⁵¹ Also mentioned in the *Pāma awa* III 43 28, Mahabhā VII 16 66 *Masāragalla* stones were obtained from Masāra hill (Rhyas Davids, *Milinda, Trans* 177 a b) According to *Samnaha Vinodini* (p. 61) it is *kebarammi*. According to Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol II (1939-40), however, *Masāragalla* is of Chinese origin

¹⁵² *Uttarā*, Sū 36 751, *Paṇṇa* 1 17, also cf *Bṛhatsamhitā* (79, 4 f), *Dvīyācādāna* (XVIII, p. 229), *Milindapañṇa*, p. 118 The *Paramatthadāpani*, the com. on the *Udana*, p. 103 mentions the following gems *Vajra*, *maṇḡmā*, *indanīla*, *marakata*, *veluriya*, *padumavaga*, *phusarāga*, *kakkatana*, *phulaka*, *amala*, *lohitaṅka*, *phalika*, *paṇḡla*, *jotiravaga*, *gommāka*, *gameda*, *sogandhika*, *muttā*, *sanīha*, *anjanamūla*, *rājāratṇa*, *amatabbāka*, *piyaka* and *brāhmīpi*. also see Agastamat's list in the *Les Lapidaires Indiens*, p. 137 by Louis Finot, Paris, 1896.

¹⁵³ *Nāyā* 13 p. 141

¹⁵⁴ *Nīṣī Cū*, 9, p. 511.

¹⁵⁵ *Āra. Tī* (Hau), 947. p. 420a.

¹⁵⁶ See Supra.

¹⁵⁷ *O.ā. Śū*, 38. p. 173. The com. adds. *kācavanṇaṅga* (?), *vaṭṭaloha*, *kāṇḡaloha*, *hārapuṭaka* and *rūṭṭā*.

¹⁴⁶ *Āra. Tī* (Hau), p. 700.

¹⁴⁸ *Vja. Bha.* 3 35.

Among other vessels we had plates (*thāla*), small plates (*pāi*), cistern (*thāsaga*, *tāsā* in Hindi), cups (*mallaga*), spoons (*kaivya*), *avaeja* (*tāpikāhastā*, com. ?), frying pans (*avapakka*), and bowls (*karoḍiā*, *katorī* in Hindi).¹⁶⁰ Among cooking utensils mention is made of various pans or kettle-pans such as *tavaya*, (round iron plate), *karallī* (*khapaḍā* in Hindi), *kanduya* (saucepan), etc.¹⁶¹ *Candālaga* (cylindrical cistern, *kaṇḍāl* in Hindi) is mentioned as a copper vessel.¹⁶²

Iron was converted into steel and various tools and weapons, and coats of mail, already referred to, were prepared on a large scale. Then knives (*pippalaga*), needles (*su · ārya*), nail-cutters (*nakkhaccam*) and surgical boxes (*sattihakosa*) were also¹⁶³ fashioned.

Smith shops (*kammāśālā aggikamma*)¹⁶⁴ are mentioned. There was one such shop in Vesālī.¹⁶⁵ Smith's shops were also known as *samara*¹⁶⁶ or *āesa*.¹⁶⁷ Iron furnaces (*gyakottha*) are referred to which were filled with ore and a man handled it with tongs (*saṇḍasī*), then it was taken and put on the anvil (*ahikaranī*).¹⁶⁸ Iron was malleated, cut, torn, filed and was moulded by black-smiths.¹⁶⁹

Bronziers (*kamsakāra*) are included among the nine *kārus*.¹⁷⁰ Copper plates were often used for inscribing messages.¹⁷¹

IVORY WORK

Ivory work (*dantavāṇijya*) was still another industry. Money was awarded to *pulindas*, who killed elephants and brought tusks.¹⁷² People killed elephants for the sale of ivory.¹⁷³ Images of ivory were known.¹⁷⁴ Ivory workers are mentioned among important artisans (*śilpa-ārya*).¹⁷⁵ Work in bone, horn, conch-shell is mentioned. Necklaces were made from the bones of monkey and were put round the neck of children. Necklaces from ivory and cowries were also common.¹⁷⁶

POTTERY

The potters (*kumbhakāra*) made various kinds of pots, jars, bowls and vessels. *Saddālaputta* is mentioned as a well-known potter of Polāsapura,

¹⁶⁰ See marriage gifts mentioned in the Com. on the *Nāyā* 1, p. 42a

¹⁶¹ *Viā.* 3, p. 22, *Bhag.* 11. 9.

¹⁶² *Sūya* 4. 2. 13

¹⁶³ *Bh.* 2. 1. 2833f

¹⁶⁴ *Vya.* *Bhā* 10. 484

¹⁶⁵ *Āva.* *cū.* p. 292.

¹⁶⁶ *Uttarā.* *Sū.* 1. 26

¹⁶⁷ *Ācā.* II, 2. 303

¹⁶⁸ *Bhag.* 16. 1

¹⁶⁹ *Uttarā.* *Sū.* 19. 67.

¹⁷⁰ *Jambu* 3, p. 193a.

¹⁷¹ *Āva.* *Ti.*, (Harī), p. 683.

¹⁷² *Āva.* *cū.* II, p. 296.

¹⁷³ *ibid.* p. 169.

¹⁷⁴ *Brh.* *Bhā*, 1. 2469.

¹⁷⁵ *Pann2.* 1. 37.

¹⁷⁶ *Nisī.* *Cū.*, 7, p. 464.

who owned five hundred shops outside the city, where a number of servants was employed. The usual way of making the wares was thus: lumps of clay (*mattiyā*) were kneaded with water and mixed with ashes (*chāra*) and dung (*karisa*); the mixture was placed on a wheel (*cakka*) and by rotating it various vessels such as *karaya* (*karā* in Hindi)¹⁷⁷, *vārāya*, *pihaḍaya*, *ghaḍaya*, *addhaghaḍaya*, *kalasaya*, *atijjana*, *jambūla*, and *utthiyā*¹⁷⁸ were moulded.¹⁷⁹ The wet vessels were then dried and baked.

In connection with the potter's shops five apartments (*sālā*) are mentioned. In *paniyasālā* the potters sold their wares, in *bhāṇḍasālā* the vessels were kept in safety, in *kammusālā* the vessels were moulded, in *pucanasālā* they were baked, and in *indhanasālā* the fuel such as grass, dung, etc., was stored.¹⁸⁰

It seems that like the weavers and the blacksmiths, the potters found favour with the Jain *samanas*, who frequently took shelter in their shops.¹⁸¹ The potter Saddālaputta, to whom reference has been made already, was an adherent of the Jain faith. Hālāhala was another rich potter-woman of Srāvastī in whose shop Gosāla stayed.¹⁸²

BUILDING INDUSTRIES

The art of house-building seems to have been considerably developed in ancient India. Masonry and carpentry were important occupations and masons and carpenters were employed to lay foundation of buildings, palaces, halls, stair-cases, underground constructions, tanks and temples. Wooden images were prepared.¹⁸³ The carpenters made furniture for houses, such as seats, chairs, bedsteads, pegs, boxes, toys, etc. Wooden sandals (*pādāḍḍhanīyā*) were prepared from the wood of various trees¹⁸⁴ by clever artists and were set with *vaṇḍūya* and excellent *nīla* and *aṇḍana* (granite) and ornamented with glittering and precious stones.¹⁸⁵ They also built ships, boats, vehicles of all sorts, carts and chariots of different kinds and various machines. A *rathakāra* or a chariot-maker is mentioned as one of the four jewels of a certain king.¹⁸⁶ We are told that a *rathakāra* built an aerial car known as *garuḍa*.¹⁸⁷ Axe, hatchet and other implements were known as tools of a carpenter.¹⁸⁸

177 *Karaya* or *dhammakaraya* is mentioned as a water-pot used by the Jain monks (*Brh. Bhā.* 1. 2882, 2890). It is also referred to in the *Cullavagga* (V. 13. 1) with a strainer so fixed into it that a quantity of water could be filtered quickly. Perhaps it was a wooden pot.

178 Four types of earthen jar (*ghata*) are referred to: *chiddakudda*, *badakudda*, *khanakudda*, and *sagala*; *Āva. cū.*, p. 122.

179 *Uṇṇ.* 7, p. 51. *Anu. Sū.*, 132, p. 139. For a similar description see *Kūsa Jātaka* (No. 531), V p. 291.

180 *Nisī. cū.*, 15 p. 1078, *Brh. Bhā.* 2. 3444 f.

181 Cf. *Āva. cū.*, p. 285, also *Āva. Tī.* (II. 11.), p. 484 f.

182 *Bhag.* 15.

183 *Āva. cū.*, p. 115.

184 *Brh. Bhā.* 3, 4097.

185 *Kalpa Sū.*, 1. 14, cf. *Mahāvagga*, V. 8. 1. 3; *Dhammapada A.*, Vol. III, pp. 330, 461.

186 *Āva. cū.*, II. p. 59.

187 *Ibid.* p. 541; *Vasu.*, p. 62 f., also mentioned in the *Dhammapada A.*, III, p. 135.

188 *Uttarā. Sū.*, 19. 66.

✓ Bricks (*ittikā*),¹⁸⁰ earth (*puḍhāvī*), gravel (*sakkarā*), sand (*rālyā*) and stone (*uvāla*)¹⁰⁰ were known as building materials. Stuccoed house (*sudhākammanta*) is mentioned; stone-houses (*selovatthāna*) were common.¹⁰¹

LIGHT AND FUEL

Lamps are mentioned which were lighted after sunset. Three kinds of lamps are referred to, viz, *avalambana*, *utkampana* and *pañjara*. The first was fastened by chains, the second had upright shafts and the third was spherical like globe.¹⁰² The lamps were lighted in the shrines of *Skanda* and *Mukunda* where sometimes the images caught fire by the upturning of the lamps by dogs or mice.¹⁰³ Torch-bearers (*dīvya*) were also a familiar feature of the times.¹⁰⁴ Cow-dung and wood were used as fuel.

CANE AND LEAF WORK

Then there were mat-workers (*chavviya*), grass sandal-makers (*muñjapāduhākāra*),¹⁰⁵ rope-makers (*vaṇḍa*),¹⁰⁶ winnowing sieve-makers¹⁰⁷ and basket-makers. Other products of this industry were palm-leaf fans (*tālavanā*; *vālavijana*),¹⁰⁸ umbrellas (*vāsattāna*),¹⁰⁹ made from *palāsa* leaf and bamboo sticks, brooms (*vinusampacchanī*),¹⁰⁰ and bamboo boxes (*venuphala*).¹⁰¹ Then there were loops or pingoes (*sikkaka*) which were used by monks for carrying fruits, etc., in the absence of bowls. *Kāpotikā* (a bamboo lath provided with slings at each end) was used to carry an *ācārya*, a child or a *sādhu* suffering from serious pain.¹⁰² Brooms (*rayaharana*) and bags (*goni*) were made from *darbha* and *muñja* grass.¹⁰³ Shops (*kammanta*) are mentioned where different articles were made from *darbha* grass, bark, trees, etc.¹⁰⁴ The leaves of the birch tree (*bhujjapatta*) were used for sending messages.¹⁰⁵

DYES, GUMS, AND CHEMICALS

Among the miscellaneous industries, may be mentioned the dye-producing work. Probably dyes were made from substances such as

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- 180 *Brh. Bhā.* 3. 470.
 190 *Sūya* II, 3. 61.
 191 *Ācā.* II, 2. 303.
 192 See *Nāyā Tī.*, 1, 42a, under marriage gifts
 193 *Brh. Bhā.* 2. 3465.
 194 *Nisī. cū.*, 9, p. 522
 195 *Panna.* 1. 37.
 196 *Nisī. cū.*, II, p. 747.
 197 *ibid.*
 198 *Ācā. cū.*, p. 138., *Nāyā.* 1, p. 11.
 199 *Brh. Bhā.* 3. 4097.
 200 *Rāya. Sū.* 21, p. 63
 201 *Sūya.* 4. 2. 8.
 202 *Brh. Bhā.* 1. 2886 f.
 203 *ibid.* 2. 3675.
 204 *Ācā.* II. 2. 303.
 205 *Ācā. cū.*, p. 530.

cikura (a plant) *haritālā* (yellow orpiment), *śarisava* (mustard), the flowers of *kimsuka*, *japākusuma* and *bandhujīvaka*, *hīṅgula* (vermillion), *kumkuma* (saffron), blue lotus, *śrīśa* flowers, and collyrium, etc.²⁰⁶ The colour of *kimurāya* (crimson) is mentioned.²⁰⁷ Preparation of lac-juice (*lakṣhārāsa*) was also an important industry, and it was used by ladies and children for adorning their hands and feet.²⁰⁸ It is mentioned in the cremation rites that the mark of red lac (*alattapudaga*) was applied to the stomach and back of those who were given to vultures for feeding.²⁰⁹ A variety of stone, which was used for polishing the pots, is mentioned.²¹⁰

LEATHER WORK

Leather industry was in a high state of development. The *camma-kāra* also known as *padakāra*²¹¹ or the cobbler manufactured a large variety of things. They prepared leather bags for holding water²¹², straps, (*cammetītha*)²¹³ and made fittings for the musical instruments (*kinika*)²¹⁴.

The cobblers also prepared various qualities of shoes which formed an important part of their industry. Various kinds of hides were known. *Katti* (skin) was used by monks to strew the fruits etc. in order to protect them from dust; it was also used as a covering for want of clothing.²¹⁵ Hairless skin was prescribed for the use of a Jain nun.²¹⁶ Five kinds of skin were specifically known, the hide of cow, buffalo, goat, sheep and wild animals.²¹⁷ The skin of a tiger (*dīvi*) and that of a hyena (*taraccha*) was prescribed for the use of nuns in case they were sick.²¹⁸ The hide of a dog is mentioned.²¹⁹

FLOWERS, PERFUMES AND COSMETICS

Flowers were grown in large quantities as we have seen. The garland-makers made beautiful garlands and bouquets,²²⁰ which are described as filling the ten quarters with their delightful fragrance and charmingly interwoven with fragrant flowers of all seasons and of various colours, attracting swarms of bees²²¹ producing sweet sounds. We hear of Ajjunaya, a garland-maker who had a flower-garden (*pupp'ārāma*) in Rāyagiha where flowers of fine colours were grown. Ajjunaya used to

206 *Nāyā* 1 p. 10, also *Bhag* 18 6.

207 *Anu* *Sū* 37, *Āva*. *Tī*, (Harī), p. 396a.

208 *ibid* *Niryā*. 3, p. 51; *Uvā* 1, p. 11.; *Āva*. *Tī* (Harī), p. 398.

209 *Nisī* *cū* II, p. 764.

210 *Pinda* *Nir*. *Tī*. 15.

211 *Nisī* *cū*, II, p. 747.

212 *Panna* 1 37.

213 *Āva* *cū*, p. 292.

214 *Vya* *Bhā* 3, p. 20a.

215 *Brh* *Bhā*. 1. 2885.

216 *Brh* *Sū*. 3 3, *Bhā*. 3 3810.

217 *ibid* 3 3824.

218 *ibid* 3 3817 f.

219 *ibid*. 1 1016.

220 *Nāyā*. 8. p. 95.

221 *Kalpā*. *Sū*. 3. 37.

go to the garden every day with his flower-basket (*patthiya* : *pidāga*) to gather flowers and sell them on the high-road of the town.²²² *Pup-phachajjiya*, *pupphapaḍalaga*, *pupphacangeri* are mentioned as flower baskets.²²³

Various kinds of garlands (*malla* : *dāma*) are mentioned which were made from grass, *muñja*, reeds (*vetta*), *madana* flowers, peacock feathers (*piñcha*), cotton stalk, horns, conch-shells, bones, *bhiṇḍa* (*Abelmoschus Esculentus*), wood, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds and green grass. The five-coloured garlands of *virāna* grass were made in Mathurā and were worn at the time of cohabitation.²²⁴ Flower-crests (*mauḍa*) were also known.²²⁵ The doors were decorated with garlands and wreaths at the time of the wedding-ceremony and on other special occasions.

Mention is made of bathing-towels (*ullaniyā*), tooth-sticks (*dantavana*), oily substances (*abbhangana*), fragrant unguents (*uvvattana*), baths (*majjana*), clothes (*vattha*), ointments (*vilevana*) flowers, ornaments, incense and mouth-perfume (*muhavāsa*).²²⁶

Perfumes and essential oils were prepared. The oils were prepared from *atasi*, *kusumba* and *sarisava*.²²⁷ Oil was also obtained from the mountain Maru. *Sayapāga* and *sahassapāga* were medicinal oils prepared by boiling them a hundred times or a thousand times with the concoction of some medicinal herbs. Other nourishing and exhilarating fragrant oils were known which gave relief to the body. The application of sandal-wood paste was very common ; various kinds of scented water were known.²²⁸ Perfumes of sweet scents from Dardara and Malaya are mentioned.²²⁹

Then there is mention of *kottha*,²³⁰ *tagara* (*Tæbernaemontana Coronaria*), *elā* (the bark of cinnamon), *coya* (cardamom), *campā*, *damaṇa*, *kumkuma*, (saffron), *candana* (sandal-wood), *usīra* (the fragrant root of the plant *Andropogon Muricatus*), *maruā*, *jāti*, *jūhyā*, *mallyā*, *nhānamallyā*, *ketagī*, *pādali*, *nemālyā*, *aguru* (aloe), *lavanga* (clove), *vāsa* (*Centæurus Vulgaris*) and *kappūra* (camphor) as fragrant substance.²³¹

Incense was burnt in the shrines, sleeping chambers and in the cities. *Dhūvakaducchuya* and *dhūvaghāḍi* are mentioned as incense pots.²³²

²²² *Anta*, 3, p. 31 f.

²²³ *Rāya sū* 23, also cf. *Āra. cū.* II, p. 62.

²²⁴ *Nisī cū* 7, p. 464.

²²⁵ *Das cū.* 2, p. 76.

²²⁶ *Uvā.* 1

²²⁷ *Āra cū.* II, p. 319

²²⁸ *Ovā Sū* 31, p. 121 f. The *Divyāvadāna* (XXVII, p. 403) refers to milk, saffron, camphor and various aromatic herbs to perfume the water.

²²⁹ *Nāyā Sū* 1, p. 30. Also see *Rāmāyana*, II. 91 24.

²³⁰ *Kotla* (*kustha*) or 'costus' has been mentioned in the *Atharvaveda*. It is said to have grown in the snowy mountains of the north and thence been taken to the people in the eastern part. It still grows in the same region, i.e., Kashmir as mentioned in the *Atharvaveda* (Dr. Motichand, *J of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VIII, 1940, p. 71)

²³¹ *Rāya Sū* 39, p. 91.

²³² *Nāyā* 8, 90; *Rāya. Sū* 100, also see Girja Prasanna Majumdar's article on Toilet in the *Indian Culture*, I, 1-4, p. 658 f.

Perfumes and various other articles were sold in the markets ; perfumers' shops (*gandhiyasālā*)²³³ were also common in those times..

The feet were rubbed, kneaded (*samvāha*), stroked (*palimaddana*), painted (*raya*), smeared (*makkha*) and anointed (*abbhūṇṇa*) with oil, *ghee*, or marrow ; they were rubbed (*ullodha*) and shampooed (*uvvāla*) with *lodhra*, ground drugs (*kakka*), powder (*cunna*) or dye (*vanṇa*), washed with hot or cold water, anointed with ointment and perfumed with incense.²³⁴

Then among the articles of toilets and cosmetics of women mention may be made of collyrium box (*añjñā*),²³⁵ *lodhra*-powder, *lodhra*-flowers, pills (*gulyā*), *kustha*, *tagara*, *agaru*²³⁶ pounded with *usīra*, oil for anointing the face and lip-salve (*nandicunna*) Myrobalans (*āmāḷaga*), stick to paint the mark upon the forehead (*tilagakarani*), pin to apply collyrium²³⁷ to the eyes (*añjanasālāgā*), pincers (*sandāsagā*), comb (*phanha*), ribbon to bind up the hair (*sīhalipāsaga*), looking glass (*ādamsaga*), aieca nut (*pūya-phala*) and betel (*tambolaya*)²³⁸

OTHER OCCUPATIONS

Besides the above-mentioned people who lived by the plough, by herds, and by merchandise, there were other occupations where utilities consisted in a mere service rendered and not in actual labour. Amongst them may be mentioned those who embraced learned professions, such as teachers (*āyariya*), physicians (*tegicchaka vejja*), men qualified in testing sites for house-building (*vaṭṭhupādhaga*), men well-versed in the science of prognostication (*lakkhanapādhaka*) and fortune-tellers (*ucchittaka*). Amongst those who amused the public were musicians (*gandhāvva*), acrobats (*nada*), dancers (*nattaga*), rope-walkers (*jalla*), wrestlers (*malla*), boxers (*mutthiya*), jesters (*velambaya*), reciters (*kahaga*), jumpers (*pavaga*), ballad-reciters (*lāsaga*), story-tellers (*āikkhaga*), pole-dancers (*lanṅha*), picture-show-men (*maṅṅha*), pipers (*tūmailla*), lute-players (*tumbavūṇiya*), snake charmers (*bhujaga*), minstrels (*māgaha*),²³⁹ jesters (*hāsakara*), buffoons (*damvakkara*), flatterers (*cātukara*), love-makers (*kandappakara*) and mimes (*kokkūya*). Then there were various attendants on the king such as foot-soldiers carrying an umbrella, throne, foot-stool, pair of sandals (*sapāṇyā*), staff-carriers (*latthuggaha*), spear-carriers (*kunta*), bow-carriers (*cāvā*), chowry-carriers (*camara*), fetter-carriers

²³³ *Vya. Bhā.* 9 23, cf. ten kinds of *gandhas* *mūla*, *sāra*, *phleggu*, *taca*, *papaṭikā*, *rasa*, *puppha-phala*, *patita* and *gandha* (*Paramatthadīpani*, the com. on the *Udāna*, p. 300)

²³⁴ *Acā*, II, 13 395, also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 5 6035.

²³⁵ also see *Rāmāyaṇa* II. 91. 76

²³⁶ It was well stocked in the Mauryan treasury for the purpose of making perfume, incense, etc. Aloe-wood is a large ever green tree of Sylhet and Tenasserim, Dr. Motchund, *op. cit.*, p. 85, also see *Arthasāstra*, p. 80

²³⁷ In the *Mahāvagga* (VI. ii 1) five kinds of eye-ointment or collyrium are mentioned ; black collyrium, '*rasa*' ointments, '*sota*' ointment obtained from the 'stream' and rivers, '*geruka*' and '*kahalla*' or soot obtained from the flame of a lamp

²³⁸ *Sūya* 4 2 7 ff, for *tambūl* see Giryā Prasanna Majumdar's article on Food in the *Indian Culture* I, 1-4, p. 419.

²³⁹ *Oṅ* p. 2

(*pāsaga*), account-book-carriers (*poṭṭhaya*), board-carriers (*phalaka*), seat-carriers (*piḍḍha*), lute-carriers (*vinā*), oil pot-carriers (*kutuva*) and betel box-carriers (*hadappha*).²⁴⁰

II

LABOUR

Nature and man are the primary factors of production. We have considered the part played by nature in production and shall now consider labour or what is called the human factor in Economics.

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the details of labour. A distinction is made between high and low (*juṇṇiya*) labour. The hunters, fowlers, fishermen, washermen, peacock-tamers, barbers, cobblers¹ and in some countries even black-smiths and wine-sellers² came under the category of low. Then the following fifteen occupations were despised, since there was fear of injury to living beings (*kammādāna*) in these occupations: dealing in charcoal by preparing it from fire-wood (*viṅḍalakamma*), dealing in wood (*vanakamma*), carts (*sāḍḍikamma*), occupation with fares (*bhāḍḍikamma*), ploughing (*phoḍḍikamma*), ivory (*danta*), lac (*lakkha*), liquors (*rasa*), and poison (*visa*), crushing of sugar-cane etc. by machinery (*jantapīḷaṇa*), branding animals or castrating bulls etc. (*nillāṇchana*), setting fire to woods (*davaggidāvanayā*), draining lakes and ponds (*saradahatalāvasosāṇaya*), and bringing up women for immoral purposes (*asajjaṇaḥposāṇayā*).³

SLAVES AND SERVANTS

Among various servants employed in the houses there were *kammakāras*, *ghodas* (*caṭṭa*), *pesas* (messengers), *dāsas* and *govālas* (cowherds). They were apparently not so enthusiastic about religion. It is said that often they made fun of the Jain monks. There were quarrels between the servants and the *sādhus* and instigated by the servants the householder sometimes turned the *sādhus* out of the house.⁴

Slavery was quite common in those days. Both male and female slaves (*dāsas* and *dāsīs*) were household or domestic servants who resided in the family of the master and performed all sorts of household work.

Slavery was so common that not only kings⁵ and wealthy people but even others kept slaves in their families. The slaves are mentioned along with land (*khetta*), dwelling place (*vatthu*), gold (*hiranna*) and cattle (*pasu*) as the means of pleasure.⁶ *Dāsa* and *dāsī* are also included among

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

¹ *Nisī*, cū 4, p. 345; 11, p. 747.

² *Ibid.* 16, p. 1117.

³ *Uvā.* 1, p. 11, Bhag. 8 5, cf. the five low occupations in the com. of *Digh.*, Vol. I, p. 235.

⁴ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 2634.

⁵ Cf. *Oṭṭā* 6, p. 210.

⁶ *Uttarā. Sū.* 3, 17.

ten kinds of external possessions.⁷ Six classes⁸ of slaves are specifically mentioned : those who were slaves from their birth (*gabbha*), those who were bought (*kīya*), those who could not pay their debts (*anaya*),⁹ those who were made slaves during famine (*dubbbhikkha*),¹⁰ those who could not pay the fine (*sāvarāha*), and those who were taken prisoners (*ruddha*).¹¹

Reference has been made to *Cilāya*, a slave boy who was born of *cilātikā*. He was strong and sturdy and used to take care of Sumsumā, the daughter of his master, and made her play with other children. Once he stole the toys of other children and was turned out by his master.¹² Panthaya was another handsome slave boy of Dhana of Rāyagiha, who used to carry his master's child in his arm to the royal road to play. He also used to take his master's tiffin to the prison at the time of the latter's imprisonment.¹³ The *Avasyaka cūṛṇi* refers to another slave-boy who, after the death of his master, became the owner of his property.¹⁴

Like slave-boys, slave-girls also were employed in domestic service. The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary refers to a festival of the female slaves (*dāsīmaha*).¹⁵ The Jain texts mention a number of female slaves who were brought from foreign countries. They put on the garb of their countries, and were skilful, accomplished and well-trained. They were hunch-backed women (*khujja*), *kirāta* women (*cilāya*), dwarf women (*vāmana*), misshapen women (*vaḍabhi*), women of Babbara, Bausa, Joṇiya, Palhava, Isinaya, Dhorukīṇa, Lāsiya, Lakusika, Draviḍa, Simhala, Araba, Pulinda, Pakkaṇa, Murunda, Sabara, and of Persian race (*Pārasa*).¹⁶ Female slaves also were given away by way of gifts.¹⁷

Nurses were engaged to tend children. Five kinds of nurses are mentioned : wet-nurse (*khīra*), toilet-nurse, (*mandana*), bath-nurse (*majjana*), play-nurse (*kīlāvāṇa*) and lap-nurse (*aṅka*).¹⁸

Slaves could regain freedom through voluntary manumission by their master. The custom of making the female servants free from slavery by washing their forehead (*matthayadhoyāḍo*) is mentioned.¹⁹

⁷ *Bṛh Bhā.* 1. 825.

⁸ Cf seven kinds of slaves enumerated in the Manu. (VIII, 415), fourteen in the *Tājñaval-kyā* (14, p. 249), *Kautilya* devotes a whole chapter on slavery (*Artha* pp 203-208).

⁹ The *Pinda Nir* (319) refers to a widow who purchased two *palis* of oil from a grocer on credit, on non-payment of which she had to serve him as a slave-girl. Cf on paying the value (for which one is enslaved), a slave shall regain his Aryahood (*Artha*, p. 207).

¹⁰ Cf. *Vya Bhā* 2-207, also *Mahā Nī.* p. 28.

¹¹ *Nisī cū* II, p. 741 Candanā the first female disciple of Mahāvira, was a slave of this type (*Āva cū*, p. 318). According to the *Jātaka*s, slavery might be incurred through capture, commuted death sentence, debt, voluntary self-degradation or judicial punishment (*Rhya Davids, Cambridge History of India*, p 205).

¹² *Nāyā.* 18, p. 207, also *Āva cū* p 407.

¹³ *Nāyā.* p. 2, p. 51 f.

¹⁴ p. 540.

¹⁵ 3, p. 124.

¹⁶ *Nāyā.* 1, p. 21; *Bhag.* 9 6.

¹⁷ *Nāyā* 1, p. 23.

¹⁸ *ibid.* 1, p. 21.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*; *Vya. Bhā.* 6-208; this custom is also mentioned by *Nārada* (V. 42 f.).

HIRED LABOURERS

The hirelings or the wage-earners (*bhāyaga*) laboured for others in return for some payment, whether in kind or in money. The position of the hired workers was not happy like those of slaves, but still they enjoyed a certain freedom which the slaves could not enjoy.

Four kinds of wage-earners are mentioned :—(1) who were given their daily wages (*divasabhayaga*) either in kind or in money, (ii) who were specifically engaged on a journey (*jatābhayaga*), who were employed on contract system of the whole lot (*uccatābhayaga*), who were employed on daily contract basis stipulating that, if they did the contracted work, they would be paid the stipulated sum (*kabbālabhayaga*).²⁰

Then the *koḍumbiyapurisas* or the general family servants²¹ are mentioned ; they were the servants of the family and carried out the instructions of their masters. Other servants did the work of removing ashes, cowdung and rubbish ; they cleaned and sprinkled the place, offered water for washing feet and for bathing and did all external duties (*bāhurapesana*). Others did the duty of thrashing, pounding, grinding, husking, cooking, serving and distributing food.²² A *valet* (*ceta*) worked as a footman to the king.²³

III

CAPITAL

Capital includes all wealth other than land intended for further production of wealth. Wealth production would be negligible and primitive without the help of capital.

In those days large scale production was unknown and there was no idea of what is called now the co-operative movement.

The state took away a pretty heavy share of the national wealth in the form of taxes, fines etc and the state capital was not invested for purpose of industrial development.¹ The only people who possessed capital were a few rich tradesmen, the *dhanavantas*, who owned one crore of silver, gems, pearls, corals and jewels inherited from their father and forefathers, and the *śrbbhas*.² These people also either spent their surplus on luxuries and unproductive purposes like alms-giving or hoarded the wealth.³

²⁰ *Thā* 4 271

²¹ Cf. *Nārada* (V 24)

²² *Nāyā*, 7, p 88

²³ *Orā Sū* 9

¹ *P B I.*, p 211.

² *Vya Bhā* 1, p. 131 a.

³ Cf. *Uvā*. 1, p 6.

IV

ORGANISATION

The function of an organiser is to plan the enterprise, bring together land, labour and capital in the most suitable proportion and to take the risk involved in the undertaking.

It is remarkable that, in spite of a comparative lower stage of trading enterprise and lack of fluid capital for investment in industrial purposes, there was commercial or trading organisation. Important craftsmen such as goldsmiths, painters and washermen were organised into guilds (*seni*). Jain texts like those of the Buddhists mention eighteen guilds. We are told that in honour of the *cakka* jewel, Bharata called upon eighteen guilds (*senippaseni*) and ordered them to exempt people from customs, taxes and confiscations, to stop the transaction of buying and selling, to prevent policemen from entering the houses of the public and to cancel fines and debts.¹ The guilds of the goldsmiths,² the painters,³ and washermen⁴ are mentioned and about the rest we do not know much.⁵ Neither we are told about their character, their constitution or organisation. But it seems that a *seni* was organised in the form of a union and its functions were legislative, judicial and executive.⁶ A *seni* worked for the welfare of its members and it had a right to approach the king and demand justice. We are told of a painter who was ordered to be executed by prince Malladinnā; the guild of the painters visited the king, explained the matter and requested him to quash the sentence passed against the member of its union. The king was pleased to commute the sentence into banishment.⁷ Then we hear of a washermen's guild approaching the king in order to demand justice.⁸ In the words of Dr. Majumdar, a *seni* was a corporation of people belonging to the same or different caste but belonging to the same trade and industry.⁹ The *senis* were the representative assemblies of the state and the king was obliged to respect their feelings and views.¹⁰

¹ *Jambu*, 3, 43, p. 193 f., also cf. *Āva. Cū.* p. 260.

² *Nāyā* 8, p. 105.

³ *ibid.*, p. 107.

⁴ *Āva. cū* II, p. 182.

⁵ The Jain texts mention five crafts (*śippa*) which are said to have been taught by Usabha. The five artisans were: potters, painters, cloth-makers, black-smiths and barbers (*ibid* p. 156). Only four guilds are mentioned in the *Mahāummaṅga Jātaka* (No 546), VI, p. 427: the woodworkers, the smiths, the leather workers, and the painters. However, in the commentary on the *Jambuddvāpannatis* the following eighteen corporate unions are mentioned: *kumbhāra* (potter), *patalla* (*patel* in Gujerat), *suanahāra* (goldsmith), *sūvakāra* (cook), *gandhāra* (perfumer), *kāsavaga* (barber), *mālākāra* (garland-maker), *kacchālāra* (vegetable-seller, *kāchi* in Hindi), *tambolā* (dealer in betel-leaf), *cammayaru* (leather-worker), *jantapīlaya* (presser of oil, sugar cane etc.), *gañchiya* (towel-seller), *chūpāya* (calico printer), *kamsālāra* (brazier), *sūaga* (tailor), *guāra* (?), *bhulla* and *dhīvara*. The first nine belonged to the category of *nāva* and the last nine to that, of *kārua* (3, 43, p. 193 f.); also see the list given by Majumdar, *Corporate life in ancient India*, p. 18 ff. Also *Rāmāyana*, II 83 12 ff.

⁶ *Vinaya*, IV, p. 226; S. K. Das, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁷ *Nāyā* 8, p. 107.

⁸ *Āva. cū* II, p. 182.

⁹ *Corporate Life in Ancient India*, p. 17.

¹⁰ See Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, pp. 339-47.

Like craft-guilds there were merchant leagues also which included river and sea-going merchants and the caravan traders. We come across frequently caravans of carts laden with goods travelling across the country. There was a caravan leader (*satthavāha*) who used to lead his caravan slowly by the road flanked with stalls and villages, encamping at the proper places.¹¹ A *satthavāha* was considered as an important state officer who was expert in archery and administration,¹² and who with the permission of the king used to lead a caravan with various merchandise.¹³ We frequently meet caravan leaders proclaiming publicly that those who accompanied them on the trip would be provided with food, drinks, clothes, utensils and medicines free of charge.¹⁴ The insecure condition of the roads and the attack by organised band of robbers in those days necessitated a sort of co-operation among the travelling merchants and so they appointed one man as their leader.

A *setthi* was the foreman of the eighteen craftsmen.¹⁵ *Setthi* is mentioned as an official whose forehead was invested with a golden plate inscribed with the image of a god.¹⁶

¹¹ Cf. *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1.3078.

¹² *Nisī cū.* 9. p. 522.

¹³ *Anu cū.* p. 11.

¹⁴ *Āva. Tī.* (Harn.), p. 114 a ff.

¹⁵ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3.3757. Cf. Rhys Davids, *Cambridge History of India*, 207; the famous *setthi* Anāthapiṇḍika of Sāvattī, the millionaire lay-supporter of the *Saṅgha*, had some authority over his fellow traders.

¹⁶ *Rāj. sū.* 148; also cf. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

CHAPTER II

DISTRIBUTION

The division of accumulated wealth between the various members of the community and of the annual income between its different members is the chief factor of distribution. In fact, very often the factors of production were controlled by the same person or persons and so all the shares of the produce went to him. Thus on the whole, the question of distribution did not arise in those days as we find in the later stage of the evolution of society. Four principal shares of distribution are to be distinguished : rent, wages, interest and profits.

RENT

Unfortunately, we know very little as to how the principles of distribution were governed. We have seen about the rent the amount of which was chiefly based on custom. One-ninth of the share of the produce from land went to the king, and almost all the rest was available for distribution among the people.

About wages or the remuneration of labour we have seen four kinds of wage-earners, who worked either for daily wages or on contract system. The wages were paid to the workers in kind or in money, generally in the former. We are told about a cow-herd who was given one-fourth of the milk produced daily as his wages ;¹⁷ another was given the whole milk of a cow or a buffalo on the eighth day.¹⁸ Share-holders were given one-half, one-fourth or one-sixth of the profit.¹⁹

INTEREST

Interest is the remuneration or the price for the services of capital. Loans and usury were common. *Aṇaya* or debt is mentioned. It is stated that, if the debtor (*dhāraniya*) was staying in his own country, he was bound to pay the debts, but if he went abroad and had no money, he was not responsible, for it is said that if a debtor went abroad on a sea-voyage and on the way his ship foundered and he saved his life with great difficulty with one piece of cloth on his person, he was not liable to pay the debts. If the debtor, however, had money, although not sufficient to pay the creditor in full, the latter could sue him and get his partial payment, which would be reckoned in full settlement of his debt. If the debts could not be paid in time, the debtor, however, had to work as a slave to the creditor.²⁰ We have already referred to a widow who

¹⁷ *Brh Bhā* 2 3581.

¹⁸ *Pṛda Nir* 369 ; cf *Nārada* (VI 10)

¹⁹ *Jñā* 3, p 280 ; *Sūya* II, 2, p 330a ; *Thā* 3 128.

²⁰ *Brh. Bhā.* 1, 2690 f ; 6. 6309.

purchased two *palis* of oil from a grocer on credit. The heavy interest meant doubling the debt every day and in course of time, when the woman could not clear it off, she had to serve him as a slave-girl.²¹

The term which appears in the Jain texts is *vaddhi*, meaning profit or interest. *Gāhāvai* Ānanda of Vāṇiyagāma is said to have kept four crores of gold for lending on interest.²²

PROFITS

The remuneration to the entrepreneur (organiser) who supplied the fourth factor in production, *viz* organisation, is called profits. These organisers stood between the producer and the trader, who purchased wholesale the surplus produce from the producers and sold it to the petty businessmen. Perhaps the only men who can correspond to these middle men were the rich *seṭṭhis* or the rich traders who travelled from place to place both on land and sea.²³

²¹ Supra, p. 107 f. n

²² *Uṭṭ* 1, p. 6.

²³ *P. B. I.* p. 224.

CHAPTER III

EXCHANGE

Exchange is a vital part in economic system. Each individual is ordinarily dependent on others for the satisfaction of his needs. What one does not produce himself must be obtained from others in exchange for what one does produce.

INLAND TRADE

Trade was carried on briskly by land routes (*ihala*) as well as by water routes (*jala*) in ancient India. Anandapura,¹ Mahurā² and Dasannapura³ are quoted as examples of *thalapattana* where trade was carried by land; Diva,⁴ Kānanadiva⁵ and Purima⁶ that of *jalapattana* where trade was carried by water; and Bharuyakaccha and Tāmalitti⁷ that of *donamuha* where trade was carried by land as well as by water. The town where it was not possible to carry goods by land or water was known as *kabbaḍa* (a petty-town).⁸

Campā was an important industrial centre in those days; it was joined by Mithilā. The *Nāyādhammakahā* describes the sea-faring merchants (*saññattānāvāṇīyagā*) of Campā, who loaded their waggons (*sagaḍi-sāgaḍa*) with various goods and proceeded to deep harbour (*gambhīra poyapattana*). In course of time, they arrived at the port of Mithilā and entered the city for trade.⁹ Jīnapāliya and Jīnarakkhiya were other merchants of the town who made the thirteenth voyage of the Lavana Ocean.¹⁰ Pālita was another businessman of Campā who went by boat (*poya*) to the town of Pihunda on business.¹¹

Then Dhana is described as leader of a caravan who proceeded to Ahicchattā on trade with a caravan consisting of bullock-carts laden with merchandise.¹²

Ujjenī was another great centre of trade. We hear of Dhanavasū, a merchant of this place who left for Campā with a caravan and was attacked by robbers.¹³ Ujjenī was also connected with Pārasakūla. Ayala loaded the boats (*vāhana*) with goods and journeyed to Pārasaula; he earned plenty of wealth there and anchored at Beṇṇāyaḍa.¹⁴

¹ *Bṛh. Bhā.* Vr. 1, 1090.

² *Acā. cū.* 7, p. 281.

³ *Nisī. cū.* 5 34 (MSS).

⁴ *Bṛh. Bhā. op. cit.*

⁵ *Acā. cū. op. cit.*

⁶ *Nisī. cū. op. cit.*

⁷ *Bṛh. Bhā. op. cit.*

⁸ *Das. cū.* p. 360.

⁹ *Nāyā* 8, p. 97 ff.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 9, p. 121 f.

¹¹ *Uttarā. sū.* 21. 2.

¹² *Nāyā*, 15, p. 159.

¹³ *Avā. Nir.*, 1276 f.

¹⁴ *Uttarā. Tī.* 3, p. 64.

During the reign of king Pajjoja nine great stores or emporiums (*kuttyāvāna*) are mentioned in Ujjeni, where all sorts of goods, including demons (*vāṇamantara*), were available.¹⁶

Mathurā was another business centre. People lived here only on trade and there was no cultivation of land in this town¹⁷. The merchants from Mathurā used to go to Dakkhina Mahurā on business.¹⁷ The *tankaṇa mlecchas* of Uttarāvaha are mentioned as travelling to Dakṣiṇāpatha for trade with valuable merchandises such as gold and ivory.¹⁸ Sopārāya is described as another emporium of trade, which was inhabited by five hundred tradesmen (*negama*).¹⁹ Then we had Surattṥa,²⁰ which was joined with Pāṇḍu Mahurā by sea.²¹ We hear of the horse merchants arriving in Bāravai for trade.²² Vasantapura was another emporium whence traders used to journey to Campā.²³ We hear of a merchant going from Khipaitthiya to Vasantapura.²⁴ Then we had Hatthisisa as a commercial centre where a number of merchants resided. From here the merchants journeyed to Kāliyadīva where there were rich mines of gold, jewels and diamonds and which was noted for horses.²⁵ Then we read of Pārasadīva which was visited by the merchants frequently,²⁶ and Sihalaadīva which was a halting place for the sea-faring tradesmen.²⁷ From Sihala, Pārasa, Babbara Joniya, Damila, Araba, Pulinda, Bahali and other non-Aryan countries India used to get female slaves as noted already.

EXPORTS—IMPORTS

What commodities were exported or imported or what exchanged inland we do not exactly know. With regard to inland trade we hear a number of commodities that were exchanged. We are told that the sea-faring merchants of Campā referred to above, loaded their carts with four kinds of goods, viz., that which could be counted (*ganima*) as betelnuts etc., balanced (*dharima*) as sugar etc., measured (*meya*) as ghee, rice, etc. and scrutinized (*pariccheyya*) as cloth, jewel, etc. and making provision of various articles such as rice, flour (*samiya*), oil, ghee, molasses (*gula*), curds (*gorasa*), drinking water, water vessels, medicines, drugs, straw, wood, wearing apparel, and weapons etc. for their journey, they left for Mithilā by river.²⁸ As already mentioned, gold and ivory were

¹⁶ *Brh. Bhā.* 3. 4220 f.

¹⁷ *ibid.* Vr 1. 1239.

¹⁸ *Āva. cū* 472

¹⁹ *Āva. Tī.*, p. 140 a.

²⁰ *Brh. Bhā* 1. 2506.

²¹ *Das. cū.* p. 40.

²² *Āva. cū* II, 197.

²³ *ibid.* p. 553.

²⁴ *ibid.* p. 531.

²⁵ *Āva. Tī.* (Har.), p. 114a.

²⁶ *Nāyā* 17, p. 201 f.

²⁷ *Āva. cū.* p. 448.

²⁸ *Ācā. Tī.*, 6. 3, p. 223a.

²⁹ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 98.

carried from Uttarāpatha to Dakṣiṇāpatha for sale. Cloth seems to be an important exchangeable commodity. Mathurā and Vidisā are mentioned as manufacturing centres of cloths.³⁹ The country of Gauḍa was famous for silken garment.⁴⁰ We are told that the cloth coming from east to the country of Lāta was sold at a higher price.⁴¹ Then Tāmālitti,³⁹ Malaya³⁹, Kāka,³⁴ Tosali,³⁵ Sindhu,³⁶ Dakṣiṇāpatha,³⁷ and China³⁸ were famous for various kinds of textiles. Nepāla was noted for fluffy blankets³⁹; the woolen blankets were sold at a high price in Mahārāstra.⁴⁰

The *Nāyādharmakahā* refers to various kinds of cloth, which were loaded in waggons and were carried for sale.⁴¹

Horse was another important commodity that was exchanged in those days. Kālyādīva was known for beautiful horses and it contained mines of silver, gold, jewels and diamonds.⁴² Then the name of Kambhoja is mentioned for horses.⁴³ Uttarāpatha was famous for thorough-bred horses.⁴⁴ Dilavāliya was noted for mules.⁴⁵

Then Puṇḍra was known for black cows;⁴⁶ Bheraṇḍa for sugar-cane;⁴⁷ and Mahāhimavanta for *gosīsa* sandal.⁴⁸

Pārasaula or Persia was used to export various commodities such as *saṅkha*, *phopphala*, *candana*, *agaru*, *mañjūṭṭha*, silver, gold, gems, pearls and corals.⁴⁹

The merchants who returned to their country with valuable goods sometimes practised fraud in order to avoid payment of the royal taxes. The *Rāyapaseṇiya* refers to the traders in *aṅka* jewel, conch-shells or ivory, who did not take the regular highway but always took to the more difficult routes in order to escape the taxes.⁵⁰ We hear of the king of Bennāyaḍa who detected the trick of a deceitful merchant and put him under arrest.⁵¹

³⁹ *Āva Tī* (Harī), p. 307

⁴⁰ *Ācā Tī* II 5, p. 361 a.

⁴¹ *Brh Bhā Vr* 3 3884.

⁴² *Vya.* 7 32

⁴³ *Anu Sū* 37, p. 30

⁴⁴ *Nisī cū.* 7, p. 467

⁴⁵ *ibid*

⁴⁶ *Ācā. cū* p. 364, *Ācā. Tī* II, 1, p. 361a

⁴⁷ *Ācā. cū* 363

⁴⁸ *Brh Bhā* 2 3662.

⁴⁹ *ibid. Vr* 3 3824.

⁵⁰ *ibid* 3 3914.

⁵¹ *Nāyā*, 17, p. 203.

⁵² *ibid*, p. 202 ff

⁵³ *Uttarā Sū* 11-16.

⁵⁴ *Uttarā Tī* p. 141.

⁵⁵ *Das cū* 6 p. 213.

⁵⁶ *Tandula Tī* p. 26 a.

⁵⁷ *Ṭivā* 3 p. 355

⁵⁸ *Uttarā Tī* 18, 252 a.

⁵⁹ *ibid*, 3, p. 64 a.

⁶⁰ *Sū.* 164

⁶¹ *Uttarā. Tī. op. cit*

The other saleable commodities were various musical instruments such as *viṇā*, *vallakī*, *bhāmari*, *kaccābhā*, *bhambhā*, *ṣaḍbhrāmari*; wooden toys (*kaṭṭhakamma*), models of clay etc. (*potṭhakamma*), pictures (*citta*), dolls etc. made of plasters (*leppa*), wreaths etc. which were prepared by stringing (*ganthima*), dolls etc. which were prepared by plaiting (*veḍhima*), stuffed dolls (*purima*), cloths etc. which were prepared by intertwining (*sanghāima*); fragrant substances such as *koṭṭha tamālapatta*, *coya*, *tagara*, *elā*, *hirevera* (a kind of Andropogon) and others; various kinds of sugar such as *khaṇḍa* (*khāṇḍ* in Hindi), molasses (*gula*), sugar (*sakkarā*), *matsyaṇḍikā*, *puṣpottara* and *padmottara*.⁵² The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* adds musk (*kaṭṭhūriyā*), asafoetida (*hingu*), conch-shell and salt.⁵³

TRANSPORT

For the growth of trade and commerce, it is essential that there should be fairly developed means of rapid and cheap communication or transport. Kautilya mentions construction of roads for traffic both by land or water.⁵⁴ Mention is made of triangular roads (*siṅghāḍaga*), junction of three roads (*tiṅga*), of four roads (*caukka*), of many roads (*cac-cara*), highways (*mahāpaha*), royal roads (*rājamagga*),⁵⁵ which might suggest the existence of well constructed roads. Still the conditions of the roads, do not appear to have been satisfactory. They lay through forests and deserts and were beset with many dangers such as excessive rainfall, the fear of robbers, obstruction by rogues, elephants, the obstruction by state, forest conflagration, the bamboo forest, demons, ditches, wild beasts, draught, famine and poisonous trees.⁵⁶ We read in the *Avasyaka cūrṇi*⁵⁷ that in Sinavallī, around which there was a formidable desert and where there was no water and shade, a caravan suffered due to thirst. Similarly, we are told that some mendicants, who travelled from Kampillapura to Purimatāla, lost their lives due to lack of water.⁵⁸ We are told that the people while travelling in the deserts followed the nails (*kīlaka*) that were stuck in the earth in order to indicate the direction.⁵⁹ Then the *Avasyaka cūrṇi* gives an account of the merchant Dhanna who journeyed with five hundred waggons loaded with various commodities. The merchant crossed the river Vegavai with great difficulty when one of his bullocks died.⁶⁰ The country of Tosali was well-known for fierce she-buffaloes.⁶¹ The country of Koṅkana was full of wild beasts, particularly lions.⁶²

⁵² *Nāyā* 17, p 203

⁵³ 1 3074.

⁵⁴ *Artha*. p 46

⁵⁵ *Rāya Sū* 10, also *Brh Bhā* 1 2300.

⁵⁶ See *Nāyā* 15, 160, *Brh Bhā* 1.3073; *Āla. T.* (Har.), p. 384; also *Phala Jātaka* (I, pp 270ff); *Apannaka Jātaka* (No. 1), I. P. 99; *Avadāna vaṭaka*, II, 13, p. 71.

⁵⁷ p 553, II, 34.

⁵⁸ *Oṇā*. 39, 178 f.

⁵⁹ *Sūya T.* 1 11, p. 196.

⁶⁰ p 272.

⁶¹ *Ācā cū.* p 247.

⁶² *Nisī. cū.* Pi., p 90.

In view of these difficulties in those days, traders used to travel in a caravan, as we have seen before. A graphic description of the caravans is given in the Jain texts. The caravans were classified in the following divisions : (i) who carried their goods by carts and waggons (*bhaṇḍī*), (ii) who carried by camels, mules and bullocks (*bahulaga*), (iii) who carried their own loads (*bhāravaha*), (iv) the wandering people who travelled to earn their livelihood and went from place to place (*odariyā*), and (v) the *Kārpātika* ascetics (*kappāḍiya*).⁶³ The caravan engaged with it *anurangā* (*ghamsikā*, com.), litters, horses, buffaloes, elephants, bullocks for the purpose of mounting the sick, wounded, boys, and old men, who were unable to walk.⁶⁴ The caravan is praised which started with cart loads of *dantikka* (*modaka*, *maṇḍaka* and *asokavartin* etc. com.), wheat (*gora*), sesamum, seeds, molasses and *ghee* etc. because in unforeseen calamities such as rain and flood food was available to the members of the caravan.⁶⁵

The proper means of transport was the cart or waggon (*sagadisaḡaḡa*). The merchant Ānanda had five hundred carts for distant traffic (*disāyatta*) and the same number for local use (*saṁvahanīya*).⁶⁶ Coach-houses (*jānasālā*) are mentioned. The coachmen used to look after the carts and vehicles, they cleaned them and decorated with ornaments before plying. The carts were drawn by oxen in charge of drivers (*paoadhara*) and were furnished with goads (*paodalatthi*).⁶⁷ The oxen are described as having sharp horns furnished with bells, cords made of cotton (*suttarajju*) inlaid with gold, bridle (*paḡḡaha*), and the crest of blue lotuses.⁶⁸ Branding or castrating of bulls (*nillañchaṇakamma*) was in vogue.⁶⁹ Goods were carried by waggons, horses, boats and ships.⁷⁰

Among richer style of cars there was *raha*, which was drawn by horses. Chariots driven by four horses are mentioned.⁷¹ Litters or *siṁkās* or *sanda-māṇās* were used by the royalty and the wealthy. The state litters bore special names.⁷² The litter known as *jugga* was used in the country of Lāṭa ;⁷³ it measured two hands and was equipped with railings. *Dagaṇa*⁷⁴ is mentioned as another vehicle.

The great rivers furnished another means of communication and some facilities of transport. There were fording places and the streams and water courses were crossed by means of boats, which are denoted by the

⁶³ *Brh. Bhā* 1 3066 ff

⁶⁴ *ibid* 1 3071

⁶⁵ *ibid* 3072, also see 3075 ff

⁶⁶ *Upā* 1, p 7

⁶⁷ *Onā Sū.* 30, p 120 The *Rāmāyaṇa* III, 35 4 also mentions *yānasālā*.

⁶⁸ *Nāyā.* 3, p. 60

⁶⁹ *Upā.* 1, p 11.

⁷⁰ *Brh. Bhā* 1 1090.

⁷¹ *Āva sū*, p 188.

⁷² *Uttarā Tī.* 23, p 292 ; *Kalpa sū* 5 113.

⁷³ *Bhag Tī* 3. 4, *Tugya* is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 89 16.

⁷⁴ *Brh. Bhā.* 1 3171.

words *nāḍā*, *agatṭhiyā*⁷⁵ *antarāṇḍakagoliyā* (canoes), *koṇṇavāra*⁷⁶ and the boats having the shape of an elephant's trunk⁷⁷ and leather bag (*daya*, com. *ḍṛti*) and goat skin.⁷⁸

The maritime transport also seems to have been quite developed, though the sea-voyages were full of dangers. We hear of a ship (*pavahana*) of certain merchants bound for Vūbhaya which rambled in the sea for six months.⁷⁹ The ship-wrecks were most common. There were serious disturbances from the goblins and terrible cyclones (*kāliyavāya*) when the life of the traders was put in great danger. We read in the *Nāyādharmakāhā* how the two merchant's sons, after their vessel was wrecked, reached Rayanādīva with the help of a piece of plank (*phalagakhanda*)⁸⁰

The *Nāyādharmakāhā* gives a beautiful description of a sea-voyage. Arhannaga and other merchants of Campā loaded their boats with four-fold merchandise, offered flowers and *balī* (offerings) to gods, worshipped the sea-winds, raised the white flags on the mast, stretched the oars (*valayabāhā*), noticed good omens, secured the passport and amidst the beating of drums boarded the boat. The friends and relatives who had gathered on the port bade them goodbye and wished them a speedy return and success in their enterprise with eyes full of tears. The ropes were released and the merchants proceeded on their journey.⁸¹

Then we come across another description of a ship-wreck when the vessel tossed in the sea due to a terrible cyclone. The sailors and crew were puzzled, forgot the right direction and did not know what to do. Everybody felt very sad and all began to propitiate various deities, such as *Indra*, *Skanda*, etc. losing all hope of life.⁸²

The sea-going vessel is denoted by the words, *poṇa*, *poṇavahana*, *vahana* or *pavahana*. We learn that the two daughters of king Pāṇḍusena of Pāṇḍu Mahurā arrived at Surattha by the ship *vāriवासभा*.⁸³ The ships made their onward journey by the force of wind (*pavanabalasamāhaya*); they were fitted with oars and rudders (*valayabāhā*), sails and anchors,⁸⁴ the pilot on board (*nijjāmaya*) piloted the ship. The other workers on the ship were boatmen (*kucchidhārāya*), helmsmen (*kaṇṇadhāra*) and crew (*gabbbhijja*). To obtain a passport (*rāyavarasāsana*) was necessary.⁸⁵ The

⁷⁵ Cf. *Ekthas*, they came from Nepal and carried 40 to 50 maunds of grain (F. Buchanan, *An account of Bihar and Patna in 1811-27*, p. 705).

⁷⁶ *Brh. Bhā* 1, 2397.

⁷⁷ *Mahā. Nī*, 41, 35; *Gaccha, Vr.* p. 50 a ff.

⁷⁸ *Pṛnda* 42; *Sūya* 1-11, p. 196.

⁷⁹ *Uttarā. Tī.* 18, p. 252 a

⁸⁰ 9, p. 123.

⁸¹ 8, p. 97 ff; also cf. *Avadāna sataka*, III, 3, p. 199. The *Dvāyāvadāna* (XVIII, p. 220) mentions the following dangers of the sea - dangers from whale, waves, tortoise, danger of destruction on land, or loss in the water, danger of being struck by submarine rocks, danger from a *kālikāvāta* or cyclone and from pirates.

⁸² *Nāyā* 17, p. 201.

⁸³ *Āva. cū* II, 197.

⁸⁴ *Nāyā*, 8, 98, the *Ācā.* (II 3-1. 342) mentions the following nautical instruments. *ālitta*, *pīdhaya*, *vamsa*, *balaya*, *avahaya* and *rajjū*. For the qualities of the anchor (*nāvālakana*), mast (*kūpa*), pilot (*nijāmaka*) and sailor (*kammakara*) see also *Mihinda-pañha*, p. 377 f.

⁸⁵ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 98.

merchants proceeded on their journey after having their breakfast (*pāyārāsehim*) halting at various places.⁸⁶ They visited the king with presents who made them free from taxes giving a suitable place for their residence.⁸⁷

THE SYSTEM OF TRANSACTION

Every village had its own resident traders and buying and selling was done directly, i.e. between the producer and the consumer, probably in individual shops or open market place and the surplus, if any, was dispatched to trade-centres in other parts of the country.

We are told that Campā contained markets (*vivāṇi*) thronged with craftsmen.⁸⁸ A number of shops are mentioned where various articles were sold. In *kammantasālā* razors and other instruments were sharpened.⁸⁹ Taverns and oil shops were common. In *goliyasālā* jaggery was sold.⁹⁰ Then there were *gonyasālās*, *dosiyasālās* and *sothiyasālās*, where cows, garments and cotton were sold;⁹¹ *puṭabhedana* was known as the emporium where the packages of saffron and other articles were opened.⁹² The *Bṛhaikalpa sūtra* refers to a house (*āvanagiha*) which was surrounded by shops; another house (*antarāvana*) is mentioned which was situated with marketing lanes on one side or both sides.⁹³

Betting (*paṇiyaya*) was also known.⁹⁴

PRICE

There were no fixed prices. Supply was hampered by slow transport, individual production, and primitive machinery. Adulteration (*paḍirūva-gavavahāra*)⁹⁵ and knavery were known.⁹⁶

CURRENCY

Prices were fixed in terms of money which was the chief medium of exchange in India from very early times.⁹⁷

Various coins are mentioned in our texts; the goldsmiths (*heranniya*) could detect false coins (*rūvaya*) in the darkness.⁹⁸

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 15, p. 160.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 8, p. 102.

⁸⁸ *Opā. Sū.* 1.

⁸⁹ *Nisī. cū.* 8, p. 494.

⁹⁰ *ibid.*

⁹¹ *ibid.*

⁹² *Brh. Bhā.* 1. 1093, also mentioned in *Parvatthadipikā*, the Com. on the *Udāna*, p. 422; also *Mahābhārata* (I. 107-12).

⁹³ 1-12, see also *Brh. Bhā.* 1-2301-2308.

⁹⁴ *Āva. cū.* p. 523.

⁹⁵ *Opā.* 1, p. 10.

⁹⁶ *Uttarā. T.* 4, p. 81 a; also cf. *Āva. cū.* p. 117.

⁹⁷ See R. D. Bhandarkar's *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, pp. 167 ff.

⁹⁸ *Āva. T.* (Harī.), 947, p. 126a, also see *Sammoha Vinodini* (p. 91 f).

We meet with an expression in which the words *hiranna* and *suvarna* are associated together.⁹⁹ *Suvarna* is also mentioned separately.¹⁰⁰ Still smaller denomination of gold coins was *suvarnamāsaka*.¹⁰¹

Another class of coin was called *kāhāvaṇa*.¹⁰² A false (*kūḍa*) *kāhavana* is mentioned.¹⁰³ *Māsa*, *addhamāsa* and *rūvaga* are mentioned as other coins.¹⁰⁴ False *rūvagas* were known.¹⁰⁵ *Pannika*¹⁰⁶ and *pāyanka*¹⁰⁷ were the other coins in use.

Then the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* and its commentary mention various coins. The cowrie shells (*kavaḍḍaga*) were most ordinary coins ; among copper coins *kākini*¹⁰⁸ was perhaps the smallest coin of the day which was in currency in Dakkhināvaha ; among silver coins *dramma*¹⁰⁹ is mentioned which was current in Bhullamāla ; among golden coins *ḍāṇḍra*.¹¹⁰ or *kevaḍḍika* is mentioned which was current in Pūrvadesa. It is stated that two *sābharakas*¹¹¹ of Dvīpa were equivalent to one rupee (*rūpaka*) of Uttarāpatha, and two of Uttarāpatha coins were equivalent to one of Pāṭaliputra ; or two rupees of Dakṣiṇāpatha were equivalent to one *nelaa* of Kāñcīpurī and two of Kāñcīpurī to one of Kusumanagara (Pāṭaliputra).¹¹²

PURCHASING POWER

We do not much know about the purchasing power of money or the prices of ordinary commodities in those days. We are told that a

⁹⁹ *Uvā.* 1 p. 6 According to Bhandarkar, when *Suvarna* is associated with *hiranya*, it must stand not for gold, but a 'type of gold coins,' *Ancient Indian Numismatics*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁰ *Āva cū.* p. 39, *Āva Tī.* (Harī), p. 64 a

¹⁰¹ *Uttarā* 8, p. 124 A *suvarnamāsaka* was a gold coin equal to one *māsa* in weight according to the standard of gold coinage, Bhandarkar, *op cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁰² *Uttarā Tī.* 7, p. 118, the *kāhāvaṇa* in use in Rājagaha during Bimbisāra's time was the standard of money adapted by the Buddha in the formation of those rules into which the matter of money entered (*Samantapāsādikā*, ii, p. 297). The *kāhāvaṇa* appears to have been of three varieties, according as it was of gold, silver and copper, Bhandarkar, *op cit.* p. 81, also cf. p. 96 *Kāhāvaṇa* was a square coin weighing about 146 grains, and guaranteed as to weight and fitness by punch-marks made by private individuals Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 100

¹⁰³ *Uttarā Sū.* 20. 42 Also see Charandas Chatterjee's article on some Numismatic Data in Pali literature, *Buddhist studies*, pp. 383 ff

¹⁰⁴ *Sūya* 11, 2 p. 327a, *Uttarā Sū.* 8 17, *māsa* and *addhamāsa* are also mentioned in the *Jātaka* (I, p. 120, III, p. 448). The *lohamāsaka*, *dārumāsaka* and *jatamāsaka* are mentioned in the *Paramatthajotikā* I p. 37, the com. on the *Khuddakapāṭha*.

¹⁰⁵ *Āva. cū* p. 550

¹⁰⁶ *Vya. Bhā.* 3 267-8 According to Kātyāyana, *māsha* also known as *paṇa* was one-twentieth part of *kāṛṇāpaṇa* (Bhandarkar *op. cit.*, p. 188)

¹⁰⁷ *Āva Tī.* (Harī.), p. 432.

¹⁰⁸ *Uttarā Tī.* 7. 11, p. 118. It was a copper coin equal to ¼ of a copper *kāṛṇāpaṇa*. Also see *Artha.* p. 95.

¹⁰⁹ In the *Nisī cū.* (p. 616) the variant is 'cammalāto'. The *carma* or leather coin is also referred to in the *Bhavaḍḍhavanā*, pt. 11 (p. 378) of Maladhāri Hemacandra, Bhavanagar, 1938, where it is stated to have been current in the time of the Nandas. *Dramma* is traced to the Greek *Drachma*. The Greeks ruled over north-west India from 200 B. C. to 200 A. D.

¹¹⁰ *Dināra* was an Indian gold coin adapted from the Roman *denarius* during the Kushāna rule in the first century A. D. (Bhandarkar's, *op. cit.*, p. 87).

¹¹¹ According to Dr. Motchand, they were pre-Islamic coins known as Sabcan coins.

¹¹² *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 1969 ; 3. 3891 f.

partridge could be bought for one *kāhāvana*¹¹³ and a cow for fifty coins,¹¹⁴ the price of a blanket varied from eighteen *rūpakas* to a hundred thousand *rūpakas*.¹¹⁵

CREDIT

There were no banks in those days and a great deal of wealth was hoarded in the form of gold etc. and hidden underground (*nihānapautti*).¹¹⁶ People also deposited money with their friends, but it was not very safe. Appropriation of deposits (*nāsāvahāra*) was known.¹¹⁷

Loans and debts could be taken. Money-lending was looked upon as an honest calling. We have referred to the money-lender Ānanda of Vāṇiyagāma. Of substitutes of money, letters of credit were known. False documents (*kūḍaleha*) are mentioned.¹¹⁸

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Five kinds of weights and measurements are mentioned: *māna*, *ummāna*, *avamāna*, *ganīma* and *paḍimāna*. *Māna* is of two kinds for weighing grains and liquids *Asati*, *prasyti*, *setikā*, *kudava*,¹¹⁹ *prastha*, *ādhaka*, *drona* and *kumbha*¹²⁰ were used for weighing grains and *mānikā* for liquids. *Aguru*, *tagara*, *coya*, etc. were weighed by *karsa*, *pala*, *tulā* and *bhāra* which is called *ummāna*.

In *avamāna* we have *hasta*, *danda*, *dhanuska*, *yuga*, *nālikā*, *aksa*, and *muśala*, which were used for measuring wells, brick house, wood, mat, cloth and moats, etc. In *ganīma* or counting we have numbers from one to one crore. In *paḍimāna* there were *guṇjā*, *kākaṇi*, *nispāva*, *karmamāsaka*, *mandalaka* and *suvarṇa*, which were used for weighing gold, silver, jewels, pearls, conch-shells and corals etc.¹²¹

Among measures of distance we have *angula*, *vitasti*, *ratni*, *kukṣi*, *dhanus*, and *gavyūta*. Among measures of length we have *paramānu*, *trasarenu*, *ratharenu*, *bālāgra*, *līksā*, *yūkā* and *yava*.¹²²

Among measures of time we have *samaya*, *āvalikā*, *svāsa*, *ucchvāsa*, *stoka*, *lava*, *muhūrta*, *ahorātra*, *paksa*, *māsa*, *rtu*, *ayana*, *samvatsara*, *yuga*, *varsasata* (century) etc. reaching upto *sīrasāprahelikā*.¹²³

¹¹³ *Das. cū* p. 58.

¹¹⁴ *Āva cū*, p. 117

¹¹⁵ *Brh Bhā* 3 3390

¹¹⁶ *Uvā*, p. 6

¹¹⁷ *Āvā Tī* (Harī) p. 820

¹¹⁸ *ibid*, *Uvā* p. 10

¹¹⁹ For *drona*, *adhaka*, *prastha* and *kudumba* see *Arthasāstra*, p. 116.

¹²⁰ *Kumbha* is mentioned in the *Sammohavinodini*, p. 256.

¹²¹ *Anu sū* 132

¹²² *ibid* 133; cf also *Arthasāstra*, p. 117

¹²³ *ibid*, 114.

Time was measured by *nālikā* or the shadow of a gnomon (*sankucchāyā*).¹²⁴

Tulā (balance) is mentioned. Wrong weights and measures (*kūḍatulla*, *kūḍamāṇa*) were in use.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ *Das* cū. 1, p. 44 ; *Brh. Śhā* Pi. 261. According to the *Arthasāstra* (p. 119) *nālikā* is the time during which one *ādhaka* of water passes out of a pot through an aperture of the same diameter as that of a wire of four *āṅgulas* in length and made of four *māshas* of gold.

¹²⁵ *Uvā* 1, p. 10.

CHAPTER IV

CONSUMPTION

Consumption of wealth means the use of wealth for the satisfaction of various wants and desires. Production is the means while consumption is the end of all economic activity. Consumption is determined by the standard of life fixed by a particular person or society for himself or itself.

Articles of consumption may be divided into necessities, comforts and luxuries.

FOOD

The primary wants of life are those of food, clothing and shelter. As the country was largely agricultural there was ample supply of food. Of course, the food that the average man could afford was not sufficiently rich. Four kinds of food are mentioned : food (*asana*), drink (*pāna*), eatable (*khāma*) and relishable (*sāma*).¹ The articles of food were milk, curds, butter, *ghee*, oil, honey, wine, molasses, meat, cooked or dressed food (*ogā'umaga*, com. *pakvāna*),² *sakkulī* (*luchis* in Hindi), raw sugar (*phāniya*), a meal of parched wheat (*pūya*) and a meal of curds and sugar with spices (*siharinā*).³ The production of salt was very important. Several varieties of salt are mentioned, viz. sochal salt (*sovaccala*), rock salt (*sindhava*), ordinary salt (*lona*), mine salt (*roma*), sea salt (*samudda*), earth salt (*pamsukhāra*) and black salt (*kālālona*).⁴

Besides, *odana* (rice), *kummāsa* (bean) and *sattuga* (fried barley) are mentioned.⁵ The following consisted of eighteen kinds of seasoned food (*vyāñjana*) : *sūpa* (soup), *odana* (rice), *java* (boiled barley), three kinds of meat, cow-milk, *jūsa* (water of boiled pulse), *bhakkha* (*khandakhādyā* or sweets in which candy was used in plenty, com.), *gulalāvanyā* (*gol pāpādi* in Gujarati), *mūlaphala* (bread-fruit), *haryaga* (cumin), *sāga* (vegetable), *rasālu* (*majjika*, a royal preparation made of the mixture of two *palas* of *ghee*, one *pala* of honey, half an *āḍhaka* of curds, twenty pepper corns and ten *palas* of candied sugar, com.), *pīna* (wine), *pāniya* (water), *pānaga* (a drink made of grapes) and *sāga* (a preparation seasoned with butter-milk such as *dahubadā*, etc., com.). These articles were prepared in a cooking pot (*ihālīpāgasuddha*) and were offered to the parents, master and religious teacher.⁶

Among other preparations mention is made of *peyya* (made of gruel or decoction of some kind of pulse or rice), *ghayapurna* (*ghevara* in Hindi), *pālangamāhuraya* (a sweet liquid preparation of the mango or lemon-

¹ *Nāyā*, I, p. 84.

² *Āva*, cū II, p. 319.

³ *Ācā*, II, 1. 4 247 ; also *Brh Bhā* 2 3175ff, cf. *Mahābhā*, VII 64, 75.

⁴ *Das*, sū 3 8, also see *Caraka*, ch 27, p. 815 ff.

⁵ *Āva*, cū, II., p. 317.

⁶ *Thā*, 3-135, also see *Caraka*, kṛtānnavarga, ch. 27, p. 800 ff.

juice),⁷ *sīhakesara*⁸ (a sweet), *morāṇḍaka* (a sweet made of oil seed)⁹, *maṇḍaka*, a cake stuffed with molasses and *ghee*.¹⁰ Then *āhadiyā* was a special sweet coming from one house to another as present.¹¹ *Pulāka* was a special dish.¹² Then we had *guliya* or tablets made from the powder of the *tubara* tree which were used by the *sādhus*. The *khols* were dried pieces of cloths moistened with milk; these were washed and this water was used for drinking purposes.¹³

Cooking is mentioned.¹⁴ Cooks (*mahānasya*) were employed by the rich and the kings. They prepared various kinds of dishes.¹⁵ Cooks are included among nine *nārus*.¹⁶ Vegetables were cooked in oil (*neha*).¹⁷ To make arrangements for vegetable and *ghee* in the kitchen was known as *āvāpa* and the discussion whether food is cooked or uncooked as *nurvāpa*.¹⁸ The place of dining was besmeared with grass and lotuses and flowers were strewn; then pots were arranged and people had their meals.¹⁹ *Mahānāsālā* is mentioned as a free food distributing kitchen in which food was distributed free to ascetics, monks and the poor.²⁰

WINE

Wine and meat were considered amongst luxurious foods. Drinking wine seems to have been very common in early society. According to *Kautilya*, on the occasions of festivals, fairs and pilgrimage, right of manufacturing of liquor for four days was allowed.²¹ There are references in the *Rāmāyana*²² and *Mahābhārata* (I·77·13 ff, I·174·13 ff; I·177·10 f; II·4·8 f) which go to prove that wine was extensively used and was held in considerable estimation as a favourite drink²³. As we have seen, wine and meat are included among eighteen kinds of food mentioned in Jain texts.

Liquor was manufactured or consumed on a large scale. Taverns (*pānāgāra: kappasālā*) are known where various kinds of wine was sold.²⁴ The profession of a *rasavāṇijja* is mentioned which dealt in wine.²⁵ Flags on

⁷ *Uvā* 1, p. 8.

⁸ *Anta*, p. 10.

⁹ *Brh. Bhā* 1. 3281.

¹⁰ *Nisī. cū* II, p. 695.

¹¹ *Brh. Śū* 2 17; *Bhā.* 2 3616.

¹² *ibid* 5 6048 ff.

¹³ *Brh. Bhā* 1·2882. 2892.

¹⁴ *Nāyā* 7, p. 88.

¹⁵ *Vivā* 8, p. 46.

¹⁶ *Jambu Tī* 3, p. 193.

¹⁷ *Nāyā* 16, 162.

¹⁸ *Thā* 4 282.

¹⁹ *Nisī cū*. Pt I p. 46.

²⁰ *ibid*. 9, p. 511, *Nāyā* 13. p. 143.

²¹ *Arthasāstra*, p. 134, also cf. *Dhammapada* A. III, p. 100.

²² II 91, 51, V. 36. 41; VII 42 21 f.

²³ R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, Vol I, pp 396 ff.

²⁴ *Nisī cū* I 9, p. 511, *Vya. Bhā.* 10·485.

²⁵ *Supra*, p. 106.

the wine shops are referred to.²⁶ We read in the *Nāyādhammakahā* that when kings and princes attended the *sayamvara* ceremony of Dovaī, king Duvaya entertained them with various wines and liquors such as *surā*, *majja*, *sīdhu*, *pasannā* and meat.²⁷ The princes of Bāravaī were addicted to wine and the wine known as *kāyambarī*²⁸ is said to have been the cause of destruction of the capital²⁹. Even women were sometimes addicted to drink.³⁰

In the *Brhatkalpa sūtra* the Jain monks and the nuns were not allowed to put up in a residence where jars (*kumbha*) of wine were stored. It should be noted that as a rule the monks were prohibited from drinking wine,³¹ but under exceptional circumstances such as sickness (*gelanna*), etc. they were allowed to take it.³² Wine was also prescribed to achieve good health and brilliancy.³³ The following varieties of wine are mentioned : *candraprabhā*, *manisūlākā*, *varasīdhu*, *varavārūnī*, *āsava*,³⁴ *madhu*,³⁵ *meraka*,³⁶ *ristābhā* or *jambuphalakalikā*, *dugdhajātī*, *pasannā*,³⁷ *tallaka* (variant *nellaka* or *mellaga*), *śalā*,³⁸ *khañjūrasāra*,³⁹ *mrdvikāśāra*, *kāpīsāyana*,⁴⁰ *supakva* and *ikṣurasa*.⁴¹ Most of these wines were named after their colour ; some were prepared from various fruits ; the wine known as *śalāu* had such a quality that even though it was diluted a hundred times it did not lose its true nature.⁴¹

²⁶ *Brh. Bhā* 2 3539.

²⁷ 16, p 179

²⁸ *Kādambarī* is also mentioned in the *Harivamśa* (II 41·13). It was distilled from the ripe fruit of the *kadamba* (*Nauclea kadamba*), which is highly saccharine, but not edible in its natural state (R. L. Mitra, *op cit*, I, p. 426)

²⁹ *Uttarā Tī* 2, p 36a f.

³⁰ *Uā* 8.

³¹ Cf. during the *Pañjūana*, the Jain monks or nuns who were hale and hearty were not allowed to take the following drinks milk, thick sour milk, fresh butter, clarified butter, oil, sugar, honey, liquor and meat (*Kalpa Sū* 9 17)

³² *Brh. Bhā* 2 3413, also cf *Nāyā* 5, p 80 f.

³³ *Brh. Bhā* 5 6035.

³⁴ One hundred *palas* of *kapittha* (*Feronia Elephantum*), five hundred *palas* of *phānta* (sugar) and one *prastha* of honey (*madhu*) forms *āsava* (*Artha*, p 132)

³⁵ The juice of grapes is termed *madhu* (*ibid* p 133, cf also R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, I, p. 411).

³⁶ A sour gruel or decoction of the bark of *meshaṅgi* (a kind of poison) mixed with jaggery (*guda*) and with the powder of long pepper and black pepper or with the powder of *triphalā* forms *maireya* (*ibid*). It is also called *gaudi* or rum (R. L. Mitra, *op cit*, p. 412)

³⁷ Twelve *ādhakas* of flour (*putha*), five *prasthas* of *kinva* (ferment), with the addition of spices (*jāṭisambhāra*), together with the bark and fruits of *putraka* (a species of a tree) constitutes *prasannā* (*ibid*, p. 132)

³⁸ It was a date liquor, it has ripe dates for its basis, and with it is mixed jack fruit, ginger and the juice of the *soma* vine (R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, I, p 412)

³⁹ *Kāpīsāyana* is also mentioned in the *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (2 3408); it was very rare.

⁴⁰ It has sugarcane for its basis, and black pepper, plums, curds, and salt for adjuncts (R. L. Mitra, *op cit*). For *arista*, *pakvarasa* and other varieties of *madya* see *Caraka*, ch. 27, p. 776 ff.

⁴¹ *Jambu. sū* 20, p. 99 f, *Jivā*. 3, pp 264a f, 145a, *Paṇṇa*, 17, p. 364 f. Cf. the queen Cellanā besmeared her hair with wine and went to visit Setaṇṇa in the prison where it served food for the king, *Āva. cū*, II, p. 171.

Among other varieties are mentioned *goḍi* (rum, also known as *meraka* or *sidhu*), *piṭṭhi* (made from the rice pastry, etc.)⁴³, *vamsi* (prepared from bamboo shoots) and *phalasurā* (prepared from fruits, such as grapes, dates, etc., also known as *prasannā* or *sovira*),⁴³ *iālaphala* (prepared from the palm fruit)⁴⁴ and *jāli* (prepared from *jāli* flower).⁴⁵

MEAT-EATING

Like wine-drinking, flesh-eating was also prevalent in those days. Under various occupations we have studied the busy life of the hunters, the fowlers, the butchers and the fishermen who used to supply various kinds of meat and fish from which many kinds of curry and soup were prepared. Meat was prepared by frying (*talīya*), roasting (*bhajjiya*) drying (*parisukka*) and salting (*lavana*) in various ways.⁴⁶ Mention has been made of a royal cook who prepared varieties of meat dishes and brought them to the royal table. The *Sūriyapannatti* mentions that by eating flesh of a *cāsa*, deer, tiger, frog, animals with claws, and water animal in particular constellations, success is achieved.⁴⁷ The *sankhaḍḍis* or special festivals are mentioned, where a large number of animals were killed and their flesh was served to the guests. It is stated that a monk or nun should not resolve to go to a festival when they knew that they would be served up chiefly with meat or fish or roasted slices of meat or fish.⁴⁸

We learn from the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* that, when Ariṣṭhanemi was going for his marriage, he saw a herd of cattle which was to be slaughtered in order to feed the marriage party. Ariṣṭhanemi, however, felt disgusted and renounced the world.⁴⁹ We are told of Revai that her servants used to kill two calves every day from the herds that belonged to her ancestral property and bring to her. This shows that flesh-eating was common in early society.⁵⁰

⁴³ *Surā* is also called *vāruni* or *parāhi*. It has half boiled rice, barley, black pepper, lemon juice, ginger, and hot water for its ingredients. Rice and barley are to be digested in hot water for two days, then boiled, then spiced with the other ingredients, and allowed to ferment thoroughly, and lastly distilled (R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 413). *Surā* is mentioned in Vedic literature (See *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 458). The *Sammoha Vinodini* (p. 381) mentions five kinds of *surā* *piṭṭhasurā*, *pūvasurā*, *odanasurā*, *kṛpapakṣhitā* and *sambhārasamyuttā*.

⁴⁴ *Brh Bhā* 2 3412

⁴⁵ *Tāla* or palm liquor is made from ripe palm fruit spiced with *danti* (Croton Ployandrum), and the leaves of the *kakubha* plant (R. L. Mitra, *Indo-Aryan*, Vol. I, p. 412)

⁴⁶ *Vivā* 2, p. 14

⁴⁷ *Vivā* 2, p. 14; 3, p. 22. Other preparation of meat were *sankhandiya*, *vattakhandiya*, *dihakhandiya*, *rahasakhandiya*, *humapakka*, *jammapakka*, *vegapakka*, *māriyapakka*, *kāla*, *heranga*, *mahiṣṭha*, etc., *ibid.* p. 46.

⁴⁸ *Su* 61, p. 161.

⁴⁹ *Ācā* II, 1.4, 245.

⁵⁰ 22, 14 ff.

⁵⁰ *Uvā*. 8, p. 63; for references to flesh-eating in the Vedic literature, see *Vedic Index*, II, p. 145.

THE JAIN MONKS AND MEAT-EATING

Ordinarily, a Jain whether a layman or a monk, must abstain from flesh eating.⁵¹ We are told of Jinadatta, a *sāvaga's* son who refrained from flesh-eating prescribed by a physician even at the stake of his life. He told his parents that he would enter into the flames of fire and die but would never violate his long-cherished vow by eating flesh.⁵² Further we are told of Addayakumāra who condemned flesh-eating in the course of a discussion with the Buddhists and the *Haṭṭhiṭāvasas*.⁵³

But it seems that under extreme distress, as a special rule, the Jains were allowed to take meat.⁵⁴ Among the articles of food referred to above, we have seen that wine (*majja*) and meat (*mamsa*) are mentioned along with rice, milk, curds, etc. as articles of food received by monks in alms. Justifying the mention of *majja* and *mamsa* in the *Sūtra* the commentator remarks that these should be explained with reference to the *Cheda sūtras*, or perhaps a covetous monk might desire to eat flesh and hence they are included among the articles of food.⁵⁵

Further, the question arose as to what a monk should do if he was offered bony flesh or bony fish. Under such circumstances, it is stated that he should try to avoid bones and should ask for flesh. But if in spite of his request, the giver threw bony flesh in his pot, he must retire to a solitary place and keeping aside the bones and the thorns, should swallow the rest.⁵⁶ Here again, the commentator explains that *majja* and *mamsa* may be accepted as a cure for *lūtā* (a kind of cutaneous disease) etc. at the instance of a good physician.⁵⁷

Besides there were certain countries where people were in the habit of taking meat. In the country of Sindhu, for example, people lived on flesh and so non-vegetarians were not despised in that country.⁵⁸ Then there were robber-settlements and solitary villages (*sunṇagāma*) where nothing was available to eat except flesh. Under such circumstances a *sādhu*, setting aside the general principle, was allowed to eat flesh as a special case.⁵⁹

In fact, these examples only show that the Jains took a practical view of the question of flesh-eating. In times when no other food was available

⁵¹ Cf. that a Buddhist *Bhikkhu* is forbidden to eat flesh of a beast purposely killed for his sake, and the flesh of useful animals as horses, elephants, etc. (*Mahāvagga*, VI, 23. 10, 11), also *Sutta Nipāta*, Āmagandhasutta (II 2). See also Prof. Kosambi's article on Meat-eating in the *Purāṇatva* (3.4 p. 323 ff).

⁵² *Āva cū*. II p. 202.

⁵³ *Sūya* II, 6 37-42.

⁵⁴ Cf. the story of the five Brāhmanas narrated in the *Bṛhat-kalpa Bhāṣya* (1.1013-16). See also *Bhag* (16) where Mahāvīra is said to have taken the flesh of a pigeon. Also cf. the conduct of the sages Vāmadeva, Bhāradvāja and Visvamitra, who being tormented by hunger ate the flesh of a dog and a cow and saved their lives (*Manu*. X. 106 ff).

⁵⁵ *Acā* Tī II 1 4 247

⁵⁶ *Das Sū* 5 1 73 f, See also *Gūṇi*, p. 184, cf. also *Nisī. cū*. (16, p. 1084 ff.) where flesh-eating is allowed as a special case

⁵⁷ *Acā*, op cit.,; also cf 1 9 274.

⁵⁸ *Bṛh Bhā*. 1 1239.

⁵⁹ *ibid* 1. 2906-11; also *Nisī. cū. Pī.*, p. 134.

except meat, Jain monks were advised to take it rather than starve themselves to death. The wandering monks who passed through all sorts of countries and met all sorts of people, most of them having a predilection to meat diet, could not be too punctilious about their diet, and a *via media* had to be found out if they were to preach their religion without the pangs of hunger. They could, however, atone for their sin after performing *prāyaścitta*.

DRESS

After food the most immediate necessity of life is clothing. Cotton clothes were commonly worn. People had a common taste for good clothing, perfumes, garlands and ornaments (*vatthagandhamallālankāra*).⁶⁰ Clothes are mentioned among the requisites of a gentleman.⁶¹ Four kinds of garments are mentioned: the garments worn daily, after bath, at the festivals and fairs, and while visiting king or nobles, etc.⁶²

People were fond of luxuries and varieties of luxurious cloth are mentioned. The oldest list of textiles is given in the *Ācārāṅga*.⁶³ Cloth made from wool (*jaṅgiya* or *jāṅghika*), *bhaṅga*⁶⁴ (*bhaṅgiya*), hemp (*sāṇiya*), palm leaves⁶⁵ (*poṭṭaga*), linen⁶⁶ (*khoṁiya*) and *tūla* (*tūlakada*). It is stated that a monk or a nun may beg for above mentioned cloths.⁶⁷

The following kinds of cloth were considered as very expensive and a monk or a nun was forbidden to use them; cloth made from skin,⁶⁸ (*ānaga*, com. *ajina*), fine cloth (*sahina*, com. *sūksma*), fine and beautiful cloth (*sahinakkallāna*), cloth made from goat's hair (*āya*)⁶⁹, blue cotton (*kāya*),⁷⁰ linen (*khoṁiya*), from the fibres of the *dugulla* plant (*dugulla*),⁷¹ *patta* fibres

⁶⁰ Cf *Kalpa Sū* 4 82.

⁶¹ *Brh. Bhā.* 1.2557.

⁶² *ibid* Pi. 644.

⁶³ II. 5 1. 364, 368, , also cf *Mulindapañha*, p 267.

⁶⁴ *Bhāṅgeya* is also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 92. It is a kind of cloth made from the fibre of *bhāg* tree still produced in the Kumon district of U P and is known as *bhāgelā*, See Dr Motichand's article in the *Bhārati Vidyā*, Vol I, Pt 1, p 41

⁶⁵ According to the commentary on the *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, (2 3661), *poṭṭaga* is cotton

⁶⁶ According to the commentator *khoṁiya* is cotton. It was very common and was used for making *cīvara* of the Buddhist Bhikkus, (*Mahāvagga*, VIII 3 1), also see Gīrja Prasanna Majumdar's article on Dress in *Indian culture* Vol. I, 1-4, p 196 f

⁶⁷ The *Brh Kalpa Sū* (2 24) and the *Thā* (5 446) mention *tiridapatta* in place of *tūlakada* which was made from the bark of the *tirida* tree. Also see *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p. 94 According to Monier Williams, however, *tirida* (*Simplocos Racemosa*) is a kind of head dress

⁶⁸ Skin as material for clothing is mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* (V. 10, 6, 8) In those days the skins of lion, tiger, leopard, cow and deer were used for clothing as well as for bedsheet etc.

⁶⁹ According to the *Nisī cū* (7, p 467), the *āya* cloths were made from the moss that clung to the goats' hoofs in the country of Tosali, but this seems to be unintelligible

⁷⁰ According to the *Nisī cū* (*ibid*), the *kāya* cloths were made from *kāhajāṅghā* (Abrus Procatorious) in the country of Kāka, which does not seem to be intelligible.

⁷¹ *Nisī. cū* (*ibid*); but according to *gīlāṅka*, *dukūla* cloths were made from the cotton reproduced in Gauda (Bengal).

(*paṭṭa*),⁷² *malaya* fibres (*malaya*), bark-fibres⁷³ (*panunna* or *pattunna* in the *Nisī. cū.*), *amsuya* cloth (*amsuya*), china silk (*cīnāmsuya*), coloured cloth⁷⁴ (*desarāga*), spotless cloth⁷⁵ (*amila*), cloth making rustling noise⁷⁶ (*gajjaphala*), cloth as clear as crystal (*phaliya*),⁷⁷ "fluffy blanket"⁷⁸ (*koya-va*), blanket (*kambalaga*) and mantles (*pāvāra*)⁷⁹; skin cloth such as made from *udra*⁸⁰ (*udda*), from *pesa* fur⁸¹ (*pesa*), embroidered with *pesa* fur (*pesala*), made from the skin of black deer (*kanhamigāṇa*), blue deer (*nīla*), yellow deer (*gora*); cloth made from other materials, such as golden cloth (*kanaka*), cloth interwoven with golden tissues (*kanagapatta*),⁸² cloth with borders woven with golden tissues⁸³ (*kanagakānta*), embroidered with golden thread⁸⁴ (*kanagakhaciya*), tinsel-printing⁸⁵ (*kanagaphusiya*),⁸⁶ cloth made from tiger's skin (*vaggha*), panther's skin (*vivaggha*), printed with one pattern such as leaf etc.⁸⁷ (*ābharana*), printed with many patterns such as leaf, *candalekhā*, *svastika*, *ghantikā* and *mauktika* etc.⁸⁸ (*ābharana-vicitta*).⁸⁹

⁷² According to the *Anu Sū.* 37, the *kīṭṭa* cloth is of five varieties, viz *paṭṭa*, *malaya* *amsuya*, *cīnāmsuya* and *kimirāga* (*suvanna* in the *Bṛh Kalpa Bhā* 2 3662). The commentator explains the production of *paṭṭa* cloth from the insects that gathered round the flesh stored for the purpose in the jungle, the *malaya* cloth was produced in Malaya country, *amsuya* was produced in the country outside China, and *cīnāmsuya* in China itself. According to the commentator of the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (2 3662) *amsuka* is silk manufactured of soft yarn, *cīnām-ṣuka* is either cocoon silk or chinese silk, and *suvanna* is golden coloured thread produced by a certain variety of silk worms. Silk is referred to in the *Mahābhārata* as *līṭṭa* which was the product of China and *Vāhlika*. According to the Mc' Crindle, raw silk was from the interior of Asia and manufactured at Kos. If this is true, *Kauseya* garment refers to the town of Kos and not to the cocoons (Dr Mouchand, *Bhārati Vidyā*, 1 1 p 46 f).

⁷³ According to Monier Williams (*Sanskrit Dictionary*), it is *Calosanthus Indica Patrona* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II 78 54).

⁷⁴ *Nisī cū* (ibid).

⁷⁵ ibid, but according to Śīlānka, *amila* is camel.

⁷⁶ *Nisī cū* ibid.

⁷⁷ ibid.

⁷⁸ It was a luxurious woolen article mentioned in the *Mahāyāga* (VIII. 1 36). According to the commentator of the *Anu Sū* (37), *koya-va* was made from the hair of a mouse (*undura*), or a goat (*chāgala*, *Bṛh Bhā Vr* 2 3662). *lotara* is included among the five kinds hairy cloth mentioned in the Jain texts, others being *vma* (made from the sheep wool), *ulṭha* (from the camel wool), *muyaloma* (from deer), and *kitta* (mixed with the hair of sheep etc.), *Anu op cit*; *Bṛh. Bhā*, *op*, *cit*.

⁷⁹ *Kambala* or *prāvāra* are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II 71 48).

in the *Tattur*.

⁸¹ In the Vedic period the *pesa* was gold— designs. The making of such a garment was a regular occupation of women, as is indicated by the word *pesakārī* (*Vedic Index* II, p 22).

⁸² *Kanagena jassa paṭṭā katā*, *Nisī cū* (ibid).

⁸³ *antā jassa kanagena katā* (ibid).

⁸⁴ *Kanagasuttina phulliyā jassa pādhyā* (ibid).

⁸⁵ The material used in wax-cloth ornamentation is an oleaginous substance (*rogghan*) that is thickened with lime and coloured with pigments before being applied. In tinsel-printing an adhesive substance is printed over the texture and subsequently dusted with colouring matter. In tinsel-printing the designs are printed with blocks. At first glue, gum, lac or other adhesive substance is first printed over the fabric and gold leaf, silver leaf, tin foil, mercury amalgam or other colour materials, *Indian Art at Delhi* 1903, pp 267 f, by Sir George Watt,

⁸⁶ *Kanagena jassa phullitāu dinnāu, jahā kaddamena uddeddyati* (*Nisī. cū. ibid*).

⁸⁷ *Paṭikādekābharanena manditā* (ibid).

⁸⁸ *Paṭikācandalekhāsvastikaghantīkamaitīkamādīhum manditā* (ibid).

⁸⁹ *Ācā. ibid.*; *Nisī. cū. ibid.*

The *Bhagavatī* along with *kappāsiya*, *patta* and *dugulla* mentions the *vaḍaga* cloth, which is explained as *tasar* by the commentator.⁸⁰ The *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*, which is undoubtedly a later work, mentions the following five varieties of cloth: cloth made from eggs⁸¹ (*aṇḍaga*), cotton stalks (*bonḍaya*), insects (*kīḍaya*), hair (*vālaya*) and bark (*vāgaya*).

Dūsa or *dūsyā* was another variety of cloth. *Devadūsa* (divine *dūsa*) is mentioned. It is stated that Mahāvīra joined the ascetic order wearing it on his left shoulder. Later on, this piece of cloth was estimated costing hundred thousand pieces of money (*sayasahassamollam*).⁸² With the *viḥayadūsa* is mentioned another variety of cloth which was as white as the conch-shell, *kunda* flower, spray of water and foam of the ocean.⁸³ The *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* mentions five kinds of *dūsyā* : *koyava*, *pāvāraga*,⁸⁴ clean white cloth like the row of teeth (*dādhūālī*), sacks, elephant-housing, etc. which are woven with coarse yarn (*pūri*) and cloth woven with double yarn (*virālī*).⁸⁵ The commentary on the *Thānāṅga* gives *palhavi* or *palhavi* (a cloth thrown on elephant's back) and *navayaa* (woollen sheet) in place of the last two mentioned articles.⁸⁶ Another list of the five *dūsyas* is : pillow (*upadhāna*, also known as *bibboyanā*), mattress stuffed with cotton (*tūli*),⁸⁷ mattress of the size of a human being (*ālīṅgaṇī* or *ālīṅgaṇa*), cushions for cheek (*gaṇḍovahāna*) and round cushions (*masūraṇa*).⁸⁸

We came across various other terms such as couch, bedsheet and cushions. The couch (*sayanijja*) of Tisālā was furnished with the mattress of a man's length (*sālīṅganavattī*), with pillows (*bibboana*) on both sides, it was raised on both sides and hollow in the middle, was extremely soft, was covered with linen and *dukūla* cloth, it contained a well-worked bedsheet (*ṣayattāna*), and covered with a beautiful red cloth (*rattamsuya*) soft to touch like fur, cotton fibres and butter.⁸⁹

Soft towels dyed with fragrant saffron were used to rub the body after bath.⁹⁰ Then the *Kalpa sūtra* refers to a curtain (*javanīyā*) adorned with different jewels and precious stones, manufactured in a famous town (*varapattānuggaya*),⁹¹ its soft cloth was covered with hundreds of patterns and decorated with pictures of wolves, bulls, horses, men, dolphins, birds, snakes, *kinnaras*, deer, *sarabhas*, yaks, elephants, shrubs and plants.⁹²

⁸⁰ 11, 11

⁸¹ According to the commentary (Su 37), it was made from the egg of a swan (*hamsa*), which is unintelligible. Perhaps it is same as 'andi' cloth in Hindi.

⁸² *Ādā cū*, p. 268. Cf. *Sreyyaka dūsa* in the *Mahāvagga* (VIII 1 29), it was a cloth piece from Sivi costing hundred thousands pieces of money. *Dussayugam* is mentioned in the *Majjhima I* p. 215.

⁸³ *Rāya*, 43, p. 100

⁸⁴ See Supra. Also cf. the explanation given by the commentator.

⁸⁵ 3 3823 f.

⁸⁶ 4 310, p. 222.

⁸⁷ *Tūlika* (quilts stuffed with cotton wool) is also mentioned in the *Dīgha*, 1, p. 7.

⁸⁸ *Brh Bhā*, op. cit.

⁸⁹ *Kalpa* 3. 32; *Nāvā*, 1, p. 4.

⁹⁰ *Ādā Sū* 31, p. 122.

⁹¹ Brought from a noble workshop (*Anta*, trans. by Barnett, p. 22).

⁹² 4-63.

The *celacilimilī* is described another curtain for the use of the Jain monks¹⁰³. It is divided into four classes : made from yarn (*suttamāi*), made from strings (*rajjumāi*), made from bark-strips (*vāgamāi*), made from sticks (*daṇḍamāi*) and made from bamboo-sticks (*kaḍagamāi*). These curtains were five hands in length and three in width.¹⁰⁴

Then *bhoyadā* or an underwear was worn in Mahārāṣṭra by guls from their childhood. They continued wearing it till they married and conceived. Then the relations were invited and *bhoyadā* was removed following a ceremony. *Bhoyadā* was known as *kaccha* in the country of *Lāta*¹⁰⁵

About the dress we hear of new (*ahaya*) and costly (*sumahaggaha*) clothes.¹⁰⁶ We read that Mahāvīra was clad in a pair of robes (*pattajuyala*) so light that the smallest breath would carry them away, they were manufactured in a famous city, praised by clever artists, soft as the fume of horses, embroidered with golden thread by skilful artists and ornamented with designs of flemingoes (*hamsalakkhana*).¹⁰⁷

People wore two pieces of cloth, the upper garment and the lower garment. The former (*uttariyya*) is described as beautiful with swinging pearl pendants ; it was one piece of cloth (*egasāḷiya*).¹⁰⁸ Sewing was known. The needle and thread (*susuttaga*)¹⁰⁹ are mentioned. The monks were allowed to sew the pieces of cloth.¹¹⁰

THE JAIN MONKS AND THEIR DRESS

As we have seen Pārśvanātha allowed an under and upper garment (*santaruttara*) for the ascetics.¹¹¹ A monk was allowed to wear three robes,¹¹² two linen (*ksaumika*) under garments (*omacela*) and one woolen (*aurṇika*) upper garment.¹¹³ The monks who could not go about naked were permitted to wear *katibandha* (also called *aggoṃaya*) in order to cover their privities. This piece of cloth was four fingers broad and one hand long.¹¹⁴ Later on it was replaced by *colapattaka*. Like the Buddhists dyed garments were prohibited to the Jain monks as well as we have seen before. The Jain monks also were prohibited from wearing the garments with fringes (*dasā*). It is ordained that they should put on undivided garment in the country of Thūnā, but its fringes must be removed.¹¹⁵

¹⁰³ *Bṛh sū* 1 18, cf *cūḷumikā* in the *Cullavagga*, VI 2 6.

¹⁰⁴ *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 2374 f, also 3. 4804 4811, 4815, 4817.

¹⁰⁵ *Nisī cū Pī*, p 46.

¹⁰⁶ *Ovā Sū* 31, p 122

¹⁰⁷ *Ācā* II, 2 15, p 390. Also *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 73 31.

¹⁰⁸ *Ovā*, p 45

¹⁰⁹ *Sūya* 4 2.12

¹¹⁰ *Ācā* II 5 1 364

¹¹¹ *Uttarā* 23. 29, also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p. 94.

¹¹² Buddha also allowed three robes : a double wrap cloth (*saṃghāṭa*), single upper robe (*uttarāsaṅga*) and a single upper garment (*antarāsaṅga*), *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 13 4, 5.

¹¹³ *Ācā* 7, 4 208

¹¹⁴ *ibid* 7 6, 220.

¹¹⁵ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3. 3905 f, *channadasa* and *dirghadaśa* are also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 95.

The *Nigganthunīs* were allowed to use the following clothes: *uggahanantaga*, which was used to cover their privities, it was like a boat in shape, broad in the middle and thin at the sides, and was made of soft cloth. *Patta* was tied by fasteners and was sufficient to cover the waist; it was four fingers in width. It covered both ends of the *uggahanantaga* and was like a wrestler's tight short (*jāṅghiyā* in Hindi). The third was *addhoruga*, which was worn over the *uggahanantaga* and *patta* covering the waist; its shape was after the style of the wrestlers and it was firmly tied on both sides over the breasts. The fourth was *calanikā* which covered the knees and was unsewn; it was worn after the manner of the bamboo top dancers. The fifth was *abbhantaranyamsinī*; beginning from the waist it reached half length of the thighs. Generally it was worn by the nuns to avoid being seen naked at the time of changing garments and becoming the laughing stock of the people. The sixth was *bahinyamsinī*, which, beginning from the waist and reaching down the ankles was tied with string to the waist.

Then the following garments were worn in the upper part of the body by the nuns: *kañcuka*, which measured two and half hands (the standard being one's own fore-arm) in length and one in width, and was firmly tied on both sides on the waist and covered the breasts. Another was *ukkacchī* (*aupakakṣikī*); it was a garment like *kañcuka*, square in shape on the right side; it measured one and a half hands, and covering the breasts and the back was knotted on the left shoulders. The third was *vegacchīyā* (*vaukakṣikī*); it was knotted on the right shoulders, otherwise it was like *aupakakṣikī*. The fourth was *sanghāta*; they were four in number; one measured two hands, two three hands, and one four hands. The first was to be worn in the cloister (*pratisraya*), the second and the third out of door, and the last for assemblies (*samavasaraṇa*).¹¹⁶ The fifth was *khandhakaraṇi* which was like a wrapper fourteen hands in length, square in shape and was worn to save oneself from the strong wind. It covered the shoulder and the body. This was used to dwarf the stature of the beautiful nuns by placing it at the back and trying it with *aupakakṣikī* and *vaukakṣikī*.¹¹⁷

Then the shoes of different shapes formed important articles of costume. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* prescribes the use of shoes for the Jain monks, specially when they were on tours, in case of illness, whose feet were tender by nature, in fear of wild animals, those suffering from leprosy, piles or who were short sighted.¹¹⁸ *Taliya* shoes were fastened to the feet in order to protect one's feet from thorns while travelling in night; with this kind of shoe a monk could travel fast. Usually the monks were allowed to wear single-soled (*egapuḍa*) shoes, but they could also use four-soled

¹¹⁶ The *Ācā* (II, 5.1.364) mentions only four *sanghāts*, which shows that at the time of the author of the *Bṛh. Bhāṣya*, there was an increment in the number of wearing articles.

¹¹⁷ *Bṛh. Bhā* 3.4082-01, and com.; also *Ācā*, II, 5.1.364.

¹¹⁸ *Bṛh. Bhā*, 3.3862.

ones. The *puṭaga* or *khallaka*¹¹⁹ shoes were used in winter to cover the foot-sore (*vivacci*). They were of two kinds: *addhakhalla* and *khalla*. The former covered half the feet, while the latter covered the whole. The *vāgurā* covered the toes and also the feet. The *kosagas* covered the toes to save the nails against stone, etc. *Khapusā*¹²⁰ covered the ankles and was used as a precaution against cold, snake, snow and thorns. There are mentioned the *ardhajaṅghikā* and *jaṅghukā* shoes which covered half and full thighs respectively.¹²¹

HOUSE

As food is necessary to sustain life, and clothing to protect body from the inclemency of weather, so shelter is necessary to protect oneself from the rain, the sun and the wind. The art of house-building (*vatthuvijjā*) was considered as one of the seventy two arts in Jain literature. Ordinarily, houses were built of bricks and wood. There were doors, pillars, thresholds and bolts,¹²² about which we shall see later on. There were lofty mansions for rich and well-to-do people.

LUXURIES

The people were fond of luxuries as we have seen. We find them well-attired, fond of ornaments, wreaths, flowers, perfumes, unguents, etc. Among the requisites of a gentleman mention is made of toilet, ornaments, clothes, garlands, food, perfumes, instrumental music, dancing, drama and singing.¹²³

Great care and attention was bestowed on hair dressing and hair cutting by ancient Indians.¹²⁴ The *colopana* or the ceremony of tonsure was an important ceremony held at the birth of a child. Great care was taken in hair cutting on the occasion of renunciation ceremony.¹²⁵

We hear of toilet saloons (*alankāriyasabhā*)¹²⁶ where a number of attendants performed the toilet of a number of *samaṇas*, *māhaṇas*, orphans, sickly and poor people.¹²⁷

The luxury of the people is evident from the use of the large number of gold, silver, ornaments and jewellery. The kings, princes and the wealthy people went out surrounded by servants and attendants with an

¹¹⁹ The *khallakabandha* and other shoes are mentioned in the *Mahāvagga* v. 2.3.

¹²⁰ Perhaps it is the same as the Iranian 'kafis' and *kāpis-kāpis* of central Asia (see Dr. Motichand's article in the *J of the Indian Society of the Or. Ari* Vol. XII, 1944).

¹²¹ 1. 2883, 3.3847.

¹²² *Rāya. Sū* 98.

¹²³ *Brh. Bhā* 1 2557, cf. *sunahātā suvilittā kappitakesamassu āmuttamālābharanā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 7).

¹²⁴ The *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* contain frequent notices of the braid, and the neglect of the coiffure as a mark of grief or violent excitement; R. L. Mitra, *op. cit.*, vol. I. p. 210 ff.

¹²⁵ *Nāyā* 1. 29 f

¹²⁶ *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com. on the *Udāna*, p. 333 refers to *alankārasattha* which dealt with the rules of hair cutting.

¹²⁷ *Nāyā*. 13, p. 143.

umbrella decorated with garlands of *koranṭā* flowers held over them.¹²⁸ They were taken out in a litter in a gorgeous procession accompanied by damsels standing with yak tail in hand or carrying a fan or a pitcher¹²⁹ The rich people possessed palatial buildings, married several women, made magnificent donations, paid large fees to courtesans and enjoyed rich festivities.

The middle class people too lived a life of ease, and indulged in charities, and made gifts to the order. The hardest lot was those of poor people who earned their daily wages and with great difficulty could make their both ends meet. The poor labourers often suffered from the hands of money-lenders for whom they had to work as slaves for the non-payment of the debts.

¹²⁸ *Anta.* 3, p. 10 ; *Ovā.* Sū. 27-33

¹²⁹ *Nāyā.* 1. p. 30 f.

SECTION IV

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I SOCIAL ORGANISATION

CHAPTER II THE FAMILY

CHAPTER III POSITION OF WOMEN

CHAPTER IV EDUCATION AND LEARNING

CHAPTER V ARTS AND SCIENCES

CHAPTER VI RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

CHAPTER VII MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

INTRODUCTORY

Indian society gives expression to the great principle that life is a long pilgrimage extending beyond death into the infinite and the eternal. Let each individual in the society endeavour for his own welfare, but his interests should not run counter to the interests of the society. The paths followed by individuals may be separate but the ultimate goal must be the same. "The Greatest Good of the Greatest Number" should be the motto.

In the following section we have made an attempt to collect the scattered material depicting the Social Life of ancient Indian people with a view to grasping the ordinary life and activities of the early people.

CHAPTER I

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Caste-system (*vaṇṇa*) was the back-bone of the ancient Indian Society.

THE ĀRYA AND THE ANĀRYA

Jain texts draw a distinction between the *Ārya* and the *Anārya*. According to the Vedic literature the characteristic physical difference between the two races was that of colour. The *Āryans* who were the conquerors were fair-coloured and the aborigines or the non-*Āryans*, who formed the subjugated race, were dark-coloured.¹

Jain texts divide the *Āryans* into five classes — *Āryan* by country (*khetta*), birth (*jāti*), family (*kula*), trade (*kamma*), language (*bhāsā*) and art and handicraft (*sippa*).²

The twenty five and a half *Āryan* countries will be described later on. Among the *Āryans* by birth we have six respectable castes (*ibbhajāti*) such as *Ambattha*,³ *Kālinda*, *Videha*, *Vedaga*, *Harita* and *Cuṇṇa* (or *Tuntuna*). Among *Āryans* by family there were *Ugga*, *Bhoga*, *Rāinna*, *Ikkhāga*, *Nāta* and *Koravva*. Among *Āryans* by trade we had dealers in cloth (*dosiya*), weavers (*sottiya*), dealers in cotton (*kappāsīya*), dealers in yarn (*suttaveāliya*), grocers (*bhandaveāliya*), potters (*kolāliya*) and carriers of litters (*naravāhamiya*).⁴ Among *Āryans* by art and handicraft we had tailors (*tunnāga*), weavers (*tantuvāya*), silk weavers (*pattāgāya*), makers of leather bags for holding water (*deyaḍa*), feather-brush-makers or rope-makers (*varuda*) mat-makers (*chavviya*), wooden sandal-makers (*kaṭṭhapāyāya*), grass sandal-makers (*muṇḍjapāyāya*), umbrella-makers (*chattakāya*), carriage-makers (*vajjhāra* = *vāhyakāya*), model-makers (*potthāya*), plaster-makers (*leppakāra*), painters (*cittāra*), workers in conch-shell (*sankhāra*), workers in ivory (*dantāra*), braziers (*bhandāra*), jugglers (*jyjhagāya* (?), spcar-makers (*sellagāya*), and workers in cowries (*koḍḍigāya*).⁵

FOUR CLASSES

Jainism and Buddhism opposed the caste system asserting the social superiority of the Kṣatriyas over the Brāhmanas. Yet it is a mistake to

¹ See Senart, *Caste in India*, p. 122 f. For various theories of origin of caste, see *Census India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 433 ff.

² *Panna* 1. 37.

³ However, it should be noted that *Ambattha* and *Videha* are mentioned as low castes; see *infra*.

⁴ The *Anu Sū* 130, p. 136a adds grass cutters, stick-gatherers and leaf-gatherers, etc., also cf. *Mulundapāṇi*, p. 331.

⁵ Cf. The *Rāmāyana* (II, 83. 12 ff.) which mentions *manikāra*, *kumbhakāra*, *sūtraharmakāra*, *sastropajivī*, *māyūraka*, *krākacika*, *rocaka*, *vedhaka*, *dantakāra*, *sudhālāya*, *gandhopajivī*, *suvarnakāra*, *kambaladhāyaka*, *snāpaka*, *ucchāḍaka*, *vaṭṭāya*, *dhūṭaka*, *vaṇḍaka*, *rajaka*, *tunnāyāya*, *grāmamahattara*, *ghoṣamahattara*, *sailūya*, and *kariyartaka*.

suppose that caste-distinctions were abolished during the period of Mahāvira and Buddha. The four classes such as Bambhana, Khattiya, Vaissa and Sudda are mentioned in the Jain Suttas.⁶ According to the Jain tradition during the time of Usabha those who were state-officers were styled as Khattiyas and those who were landlords and bankers as Gāhāvais. Then came into being the Vāniyagas and the Vaissas. Later on during the reign of Bharata came into existence the Bambhanas or Māhanas⁷ and then the Suddas. Besides these primary *vannas* there were mixed castes formed from the union of different castes.⁸

THE BRAHMANAS

In Jain texts the Brāhmanas are held in contempt and are represented as the opponents of the Jain religion. Frequently the term *dhujjār* (*dhukjāti*) "condemned caste" is used for them contemptuously. In Jain Suttas as stated above, generally the primary position in society is assigned to the Khattiyas instead of the Bambhanas. We have seen that no *Tīrthaṅkara* was born in a family other than the Ksatriyas. It is laid down that no great men are ever born in low, miserly, beggarly or in Brahmanical families. A legend tells us that before his birth Mahāvira was removed from the womb of Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to that of Kṣatriyānī Trisalā.⁹

But it should be noted that though the Jain stories seem to make the position of the Bambhanas inferior to that of the Khattiyas, the Brāhmanas enjoyed a high position in the society. It is stated in the *Nisītha cūṛṇi* that the Brāhmaṇas were gods in heaven, the Prajāpati created them on earth as divine beings and so offering alms to them results in gain of spiritual merit.¹⁰ Then the terms *Samana* and *Māhana* frequently occur together in the Jain texts which shows that the homeless ascetics and the

⁶ Cf. *Uttarā* 25-31, *Vivā* 5, p. 33, *Ācā Nir* 19-27.

⁷ The Jain texts give a curious explanation of the term *Māhana*. It is said that once Bharata invited the Jain monks to partake various kinds of eatables and their being refused, distributed them among the *sāṭagas*. These *sāṭagas* were of simple nature and religious-minded, and whenever they saw anybody killing, they stopped him by saying "do not kill" (*mā haao*) and hence they came to be known as *Māhanas* (*Ārā cū* p. 5; also cf. *ibid.*, p. 213 f., *Vasu* p. 184).

⁸ In the line of Manu the following mixed castes are mentioned in the Jain texts: Ambattha, Ugga Nisāda, Aṅgava, Māgadha, Sūta, Khattā, Vaideha and Candāla. Then through further combination between mixed castes we have Sovāga, Venava, Bokkasa and Kukkura (*Ācā Nir* 21-27, cf. *Manu*, X 6-56, also *Gautama*, IV 16 ff).

⁹ *Kalpa* 2-22. Cf. a similar view expressed in the *Nidānakathā* (I, p. 49) that the Buddhas are born in one or other of the two highest classes: the Khattiya or the Brāhmaṇa castes and never in the low caste. The Buddhist writers in enumeration of four castes invariably mention the Ksatriyas before the Brāhmaṇas. Cf. also *Vāṇaneya saṃhitā* (XXXVIII 19) and *Kathaka* (28-5) where Ksatriyas are stated superior to the Brāhmaṇas (Majumdar, *op cit.*, pp. 367-369, Fick *op cit.*, p. 84 ff). For a controversy regarding the superiority of castes between Vaishtha, a Brāhmaṇa and Vāṇamittia a Ksatriya, see Dr. G. S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, p. 63 f.

¹⁰ 12, p. 865.

Brāhmanas were identical.¹¹ The pre-eminent position of the Brāhmanas is also evidenced by the fact that Mahāvīra was styled as *Māhāṇa*¹² or *Mahānāhana*.¹³

JAIN CONCEPTION OF BRĀHMANA

Jain writers like those of the Buddhists lay stress on one's deeds rather than one's birth. It is said that one does not become a *Śramaṇa* by the tonsure, nor a *Brāhmana* by enchanting the sacred syllable 'Om', nor a *Muni* by living in woods, nor a *Tāvasa* by wearing clothes of *kusa* grass and bark, but one becomes a *Śramaṇa* by equanimity of mind, a *Brāhmana* by chastity, a *Muni* by knowledge and a *Tāvasa* by penance. In fact, a person's worth in life is determined by virtuous life and not by birth.¹⁴ The ridicule of caste system reaches its highest pitch when Harisa, a *śorāga* by birth, visited a sacrificial enclosure (*jamaādā*) of a *Brāhmana* teacher and preached him that the real fire was penance, the real fire-place was life, the real ladle (*sū ā*) was right exertion, the real cow-dung was body, the real fire-wood was *karma*, the real oblation was self-control, right exertion and tranquility, the sacred pond was law and the real bathing-place was celibacy.¹⁵ But it is interesting to note that in spite of those caste-denouncing preachings and sermons the Jains could not do away with the time honoured restrictions of caste. They drew a line of distinction between high tribes (*jāti-ārya*) and low tribes (*jāti-jungya*), high trade (*kamma-ārya*) and low trade (*kamma-jungya*) and high crafts (*sippa-ārya*) and low crafts (*sippa-jungya*),¹⁶ which we shall see shortly.

THEIR PRIVILEGES

Whatever view the Jains may have had about the Brāhmanas, it is certain that generally they were held in respect and esteem by the people as pointed out already. We are told that king Bhārata fed them daily and distinguished them from others by putting the mark of *kākinī* jewel on their person.¹⁷ The kings showed liberality towards them by offering gifts. We learn that the Nandas of Pāṭaliputta gave away wealth

¹¹ Cf. *1ca cū* p. 93, cf. *Samyutta*, *Sūtraṃ* Brāhmaṇa Sutta (II p. 129 f., 236 f., IV, p. 234 f., V, p. 1).

¹² *Sūya* 9.1.

¹³ *Ucā* 7.

¹⁴ *Uttara* 25.29 ff. Cf. a similar view of the Buddhist writers. Birth and caste cause conceit, virtue is the highest, *Khatti*, *Brāhmaṇa*, *Vessa*, *Sudda*, *Cūḍi* and *Pukkasa* all become equal in the world of God if they have acted virtuously here, *Sutta* *Vipula* I, 7, III, 9, *Uttara* *op cit* p. 29. *Uttara* *op cit* pp. 354-363.

¹⁵ *Uttara* 12.4 ff.

¹⁶ Cf. the Buddhists who stood as great champions for the purity of blood by keeping the family pure through marriage confined to the people of one's standing and profession and not to allow it to degenerate through mixture with lower elements (*Uttara* *op cit*, p. 52). Cf. also *Ghūya* *op cit* p. 66 also see *Samyutta* *Uttara* (p. 410) where *kamma* and *sippa* are divided into high and low.

¹⁷ *Uttara* *cū*, p. 213 f.

to the Brāhmanas¹⁸ Vararuci, a Brāhmana, received one hundred and eight *dīnāśas* every day for reciting the same number of verses in praise of the king¹⁹ Not only kings but other people also gave away charity and paid reverence to the Brāhmanas, whose services they required on various occasions On special occasions such as birth, death-ceremony etc. they were invited to meals.²⁰

Besides, the Brāhmanas enjoyed certain other privileges, such as immunity from taxes and capital punishment We have seen as to how a Brāhmana was received by a certain king on his discovery of a treasure-trove whereas a merchant was despised for the same and his property confiscated²¹

STUDY

The Brāhmanas were versed in the fourteen subjects of study (*caudasa vyajñthāna*), and were generally employed by the king We are told that Kāsava was a state Brāhmana of Kosambī and after his death his place was given to another Brāhmana²² There were teachers moving in the company of their pupils²³

SACRIFICE

The practice of sacrifice was very common among the Brāhmanas During his tour Mahāvīra is stated to have spent the rainy season in a sacrificial house (*aggihottavasahī*) of a Brāhmana of Campā²⁴

Then we hear of Vijayaghosa who was engaged in performing Brāhmanical sacrifice The monk Jayaghosa approached him for alms and converted him to his faith,²⁵ after preaching the true sacrifice We have already referred to Ajja Sejjambhava who was engaged in his sacrificial duties when visited by the pupils of Pabhava Besides, the Brāhmanas were employed by the kings for the same purpose Reference has been made to the priest Mahesaradatta who was versed in the four Vedas and who used to perform sacrifice to avert evil against the king²⁶

OTHER PROFESSIONS

Another profession in which the Brāhmanas were interested was that of dream-reading (*suvināpādhaga*) and fortune-telling On the birth of a king's child it seems to have been a standing custom to have the future predicted by the Brāhmanas. Signs (*lakkhana*) in the body were interpreted by the Brāhmanas versed in the signs of predicting the future We

¹⁸ *Uttarā Tī* 3, p. 57

¹⁹ *ibid* 2, 27 a

²⁰ *Uttarā Tī* 13, p. 194 a

²¹ See *Supra* p. 62

²² *Uttarā Tī* 8, p. 123 a

²³ *Uttarā Sū* 12 19

²⁴ *Ā. a cū.* p. 320

²⁵ *Uttarā* 25.

²⁶ See *Supra* p. 58.

are told that, when Mahāvīra was born, king Siddhārtha sent for the interpreter of dreams (*svapnalakkhanpādhyāya*), versed in the eight divisions of *Mahānūmitta* and other sciences, who predicted the future of the child.²⁷ Then we hear of a fortune-teller who prophesied the fall of Indra's thunder-bolt on the head of the lord of Poyanapura.²⁸ People ascertained from the Brāhmanas whether a day was good for a journey, when the latter uttered benediction praying for safe journey.²⁹

Magic and demon-worship was another profession practised by the Brāhmanas which we shall treat in a separate chapter. Medical profession is mentioned as still another profession of the Brāhmanas.

THE KHATTIYAS

As we have seen in contrast to the Brāhmanical works which state the Brāhmana superiority, Jain writers like those of the Buddhists claim an undisputable supremacy for the Ksatriyas. The Ksatriyas learnt seventy two arts and achieved efficiency in the art of fighting. They acquired the right to rule the country by the strength of their arm. A number of Khattiya kings and princes are mentioned who achieved the ideal of *Jināhood*.

THE GĀHĀVAIS

The Gāhāvais³⁰ or the householders correspond to the traditional Vaisya order of the Hindus of ancient India. They were rich, owned land and cattle and belonged to the mercantile class. Jain texts mention a number of Gāhāvais who were adherents of Jain faith (*samanovāsaga*), and after taking to the homeless life attained salvation. Reference has been made to the householder Ānanda, a rich land-owner of Vāṇiyagāma, who possessed a large number of cattle, ploughs and carts. Pārāsara was another Gāhāvai who was prosperous in agriculture (*kṛt*) and hence he was known as Kṣipārāsara, he had six hundred ploughs.³¹ Kuīyanna is described as another Gāhāvai who is said to have possessed a number of herds of kine.³² Then Gosankhī, a *kutumbī*, is mentioned as the lord of the *Ābhvas*, his son used to journey to Campā for trade with the carts loaded with *ghee*.³³ Nanda is mentioned as another influential *setthi* of Rāyagīha.³⁴

GUILD CASTES

During the course of our study of the Economic life we have seen the two main trade associations, *viz.*, the merchant union and the craft guilds.

²⁷ *Kaṭha Sū* 4. 60 ff.

²⁸ *Uttarā Tī* 18 p. 242.

²⁹ *Āṅga* 8, p. 96.

³⁰ The Gāhāvais were also known by the terms *Ābhva*, *Setthi* and *Kodumbiya*, who were included in the retinue of the king, *Uṭṭā Sū*, 27, cl. 1. 1. 1. 1, p. 250 ff.

³¹ *Uttarā Tī*, 2, p. 45.

³² *Āṅga Sū* p. 44.

³³ *ibid.*, p. 297.

³⁴ *Āṅga* 10, p. 141.

On account of their traditional organisation they formed certain rules and customs of their own and tended to appear a distinct order in the social organisation.

Besides these organised guilds, there were the manufacturers, the wandering dancers, musicians and tramps who roamed from village to village earning their bread by exhibiting skill. We read of a young acrobat who exhibited his performance in the town of Dhannaura³⁵. Visvakarman is mentioned as another acrobat of Rāyagīha.³⁶ Then snake-charmers³⁷ and demonologists³⁸ are mentioned in the category of itinerant jugglers.

Among other corporative unions mention may be made of Mallagana, Hastipālagana³⁹ and Sārasvatagana.⁴⁰ We are told that there was great unity among the Mallas, they disposed of the dead body of a forlorn Malla and helped the poor people of their organisation.⁴¹ Among religious corporation the organisation of the *Śāmanas* may be mentioned. Then more settled than these wandering people were the herdsmen, the huntsmen, the fishermen, the foresters, grass-cutters and stick-gatherers.

THE MLECCHAS

The Milakkhus or Milakkhas are characterised as wicked and cruel-hearted people, who were different from one another in respect of their language, dress and food. They did not know the language of the *Āryans* and committed various sins, such as killing of animals etc., and hence they were known as *Anāryas*. The Milakkhas were also styled as *Tuṭvas* as they wore different dresses and spoke different dialects. They were distinguished as *Paccantiyas*, since they resided on the border of the *Āryan* countries. They were also characterised as *Dasas* since they were supposed to bite with their teeth, apparently a fanciful derivation.⁴²

THE DESPISED AND THE UNTOUCHABLES

Now we come to the lowest strata of society. A Śūdra had a degraded position in the society from very early days. Mahāvīra and Buddha tried to improve their lot to a great extent, but it seems they could not do away fully with the caste restrictions as we have seen already. The *Uttarādhyaṃyana* commentary mentions Citta and Sambhūya, the two sons of a Mātanga leader of Vārāṇasī, who led a singing and dancing party during the festival of god of love. The high caste people could not tolerate it and they belaboured them with kicks and blows and turned them out of the town.⁴³

³⁵ *Uttarā Ti.* 18 p. 250 a.

³⁶ *Pandu Nir.* 174 f.

³⁷ *Uttarā Ti.* 12, p. 174

³⁸ *ibid.*

³⁹ *Vya. Bhā.* Ti. 7 459

⁴⁰ *Brh. Bhā.* 6 6302.

⁴¹ *Sūya cū.* p. 23, also see Mātalaśekara, *op. cit.* under 'Mallā'.

⁴² *Nisī cū.* 15, p. 1110

⁴³ *Uttarā Ti.* 13, p. 135 a, also cf. *Citta-Sambhūya Jātaka*.

Then we meet a number of low races in our stories. The *Pānas*, also known as *Cāndālas*, were employed to carry corpses.⁴⁴ We read in the *Antagaḍa* that Kanha Vāsudeva asked the *Pānas* to drag the dead body out and throw it⁴⁵ away. They also attended the burial ground ; they had no houses of their own and lived outside the villages under the open sky.⁴⁶ Then there were the *Dm̐has*, who sang songs and sold winnowing basket and such other articles. Then there were the *Kim̐kas* who prepared the leather-fittings around the musical instruments and blew them before the criminals carried for execution. To the same category of despised classes belonged the *Sovāgas*, who cooked the flesh of dogs and sold bow-string (*tanu*). The *Varuḍas* earned their bread by making ropes.⁴⁷

LOW PROFESSIONAL CASTES

Besides these despised classes we meet with other groups of people who were despised and isolated from the "civilised" castes of people. Amongst them may be mentioned peacock-tamers (*posaga*), barbers (*samvara*), acrobats (*naḍa*), pole-dancers (*lankha*), hunters (*vāha*), fishermen (*macchandha*), washermen (*rajaya*), fowlers (*vāguniya*) and cobblers (*padakāra*).⁴⁸

⁴⁴ *Vya Bhā* 2 37

⁴⁵ 4, p 22

⁴⁶ Cf. *Manu* X 501

⁴⁷ *Vya Bhā* 3 92, *Nisī cū* 11, p 747

⁴⁸ *Vya Bhā* 3 94, *Nisī* 4 p 345, 11, p 747

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILY

I

DOMESTIC LIFE

According to Kautilya, members of the family for whose maintenance the head of the family is responsible include children, wife, mother, father, minor brothers, sisters or widowed girls.¹ The conditions of living in a family were that the members must live in the same abode, partake of the food cooked in the same kitchen, and enjoy the common property.² The patriarch was the head and the master of the family and he was obeyed by all the other members. His wife was the mistress who looked after the household duties and was obedient to the master.

The *Nāyādharmakāhā* tells us the story of a rich merchant who had four sons and four daughters-in-law. The merchant was the master and the sole representative of the family. Once a thought arose in his mind as to who would be able to look after his family after his death. So he invited his friends, relations, kinsmen and other family members and put his daughters-in-law to the test in their presence.³

The father was held in great respect which was equal to that paid to the master and the religious teacher. It is stated that one should apply *sayapāga* and *sahassapāga* oils and other fragrant unguents to the body of the parents, should give them bath and decorate them. They should be served with eighteen kinds of seasoned food, and even if one carried them on one's shoulders one could not repay the debt which one owed to them.⁴

The father was viewed like a God in ancient India. We notice sons and daughters coming to the father to touch his feet (*pūya-andara*) every day.⁵ We are told of a merchant who was ready to sacrifice his life for the sake of his sons. Upon this his eldest son rose and offered himself in his father's place saying that he was like a teacher and God to them and the protector and supporter of the family and hence his life was more precious⁶ than that of the rest.

Our stories are full of pathos and happiness which depict the sublime love of a mother towards the child. We are told that when prince Meghakumāra decided to embrace the ascetic life, his mother became unconscious and fell on the ground like a log. She was sprinkled over with water, fanned with a palm-leaf and was consoled by friends. Her eyes

¹ *Artha*, p. 47.

² Cf. *ibid* p. 190.

³ 7, p. 84 f.

⁴ *Itihāsa* 3. 135.

⁵ Cf. *Nāyādh.* 1, 13, 16, 170.

⁶ *ibid* 13, p. 213.

filled with tears and in most pathetic words she persuaded her son not to give up the wordly pleasures.⁷ Mothers were highly esteemed. We hear of king Pūsanandi who had a great devotion towards his mother and used to bathe and eat after she finished her bath and meals

RELATIONS AND FRIENDS

Various relations and friends are mentioned. There were friends (*mitra*), kinsmen (*nāi*), members of one's own family (*nyaya*), one's blood relations (*sayana*), connected by marriage (*sambandhi*) and one's dependents (*parijana*).⁸

As the father grew older, the care of the household fell on the shoulders of the eldest son. We hear of people retiring from the world after giving the household management to their sons.

The relatives and friends etc. were invited at various occasions such as birth, marriage, death and various festivals. We are told that when Mahāvīra was born, his parents invited their friends, relations, kinsmen and followers and enjoyed a grand feast in their company.¹⁰

Then we are told of the Brāhmana brothers of Campā who lived with their wives. They decided to have their meals together in one another's house by turn.¹¹

II

CHILDREN

The children were happy adjuncts of the household. The mothers who gave birth to children, fondled and dandled them on the knee, were considered happy. The childless mothers (*nindu*) were taken as unlucky, so they yearned for children and propitiated various deities to obtain them. We hear of Devai, the wife of Vasudeva, who considered herself unhappy and unrighteous because she could not have a child for a long time.¹² Bhaddā was another woman who prayed to deities, worshipped them and promised to offer wealth to repair their old shrines provided a son or a daughter was born to her.¹³ Mention is made of another woman, Siribhaddā, who used to give birth to still-born children. She was told by an astrologer to cook rice-pudding (*pāyasa*) with the blood of a stillborn child and to offer it to a right type of monk (*sutavassī*) so that her children might survive.¹⁴

⁷ *Nāyā* I, p. 25 f., *Uttarā Sū*, 19.

⁸ *Vitā* 8, p. 54 f.

⁹ *Nāyā* II, p. 51.

¹⁰ *Kalpa Sū* 5-104.

¹¹ *Nāyā* 16, p. 162.

¹² *Anta* 3, p. 13.

¹³ *Nāyā* 2, p. 49, cf. *Āradāna Śataka* I, 3, p. 14.

¹⁴ *Āva. cū* p. 288.

The child possessing the entire and complete five sense organs, with the lucky signs, marks and good qualities, well-formed and having full weight and length was considered good.¹⁶

DREAMS

Dreams played an important part in the birth of a child in the life of ancient Indians.¹⁶ There was a regular science of dreams (*sumanasattha*) and books were written on the subject. It is considered as one of the eight divisions of *Mahānimutta*.¹⁷ The *Bhagavatī* devotes a section on dreams where five kinds of dreams are mentioned. It is stated that if at the end of the dream one beholds a row of horses, elephants or oxen or rides on them, one achieves salvation. Similarly, the dream of ocean, a big rope, yarn of various colours, a heap of iron, copper, lead, silver, gold, a pile of wood, leaves, skin, straw, husk, ashes and dust, various kinds of grass such as *śaślambha* etc., the jar of milk, curds, *ghṛa*, honey, wine, oil and fat, a big lotus pond, jewelled palace and jewelled aerial car leads to salvation.¹⁸

Then by seeing decorated articles, horse, elephant and a white bull in dream one gets fame, and one who having passed urine or red stool in dream wakes up, loses wealth.¹⁹

Lord Mahāvīra is said to have beheld the following ten dreams before attaining omniscience: defeating of a fierce demon, a white male cuckoo, a variegated male cuckoo, a pair of garland, a herd of cow, lotus pond, crossing of a big ocean by swimming, the shining sun, encircling the Mānuṣottara mountain from all sides, and climbing up the Meru.²⁰ The *īthera* Bambhagutta is said to have seen in dream that his bowl filled with milk was emptied by a stranger which indicated the arrival of someone to study the sacred lore from him.²¹

In Jain texts usually a mother before conception beholds certain dreams. We learn that at the time of the conception of Mahāvīra his mother had fourteen great dreams in which she saw an elephant, a bull, a lion, the besprinkling of goddess *Śrī*, a garland, the moon, the sun, a banner, a jar, a lotus-pool, the sea, the celestial palace, a heap of jewels

¹⁵ *Kalpa sū* 1 8

¹⁶ In the *Mahāsuṃnā Jātaka* (I, 77), p. 344 king Pasenadi makes an offering in order to prevent the effect of evil dreams. The king had sixteen dreams in one night. In the morning when he enquired, the Brāhmanas said that great dangers were threatened either to his kingdom, his treasures or his life.

¹⁷ *Uttarā. sū* 15 7

¹⁸ 16, 6.

¹⁹ *Uttarā* 8 13 com. by Śāntisūri. The commentator Nemicandra quotes some Prakṛt verses on the interpretation of dreams, which shows the existence of literature on dreams in Prakṛt. Some of these verses find parallelism in Jagaddeva's *Stapanatāmaṇi* edited by Dr. Negelen (Charpentier, *Uttarā*, notes, p. 310 f).

²⁰ *Bhag.* 16·6 *Avā cū* p. 274.

²¹ *ibid.* p. 394.

and fire ²² The *Nāyādharmakāhā* gives a similar description of Dharinī's dreams; she saw a big elephant passing into her mouth during the night of her conception.²³

PERIOD OF PREGNANCY

Then we come to the period of pregnancy which is very delicate for women. During this period the women are asked to be very careful while standing, sitting, sleeping and taking meals which should be neither too cold nor too hot, nor too acrid, pungent, sour or sweet but good and nutritious for the safety of the unborn babe. They should avoid sickness, sorrow and terror and being moderate in the use of clothing, perfumes and garlands, should comfortably carry the unborn babe.²⁴

During the period of pregnancy, *dohada* or pregnancy longing played an important part in ancient India. When two or three months of pregnancy had passed, the women had peculiar cravings. We are told that in the third month of her pregnancy, Dhārīnī had a pregnancy longing to roam about in the outskirts of Vebhāra in the monsoon riding on an elephant. When the longing of the queen was not fulfilled she became sick, emaciated, unhappy and lost all her beauty. This was brought to the notice of the king who saw Dhārīnī immediately and asked her the reason of her sadness. Later on, Abhayakumāra satisfied the pregnancy longing of his step-mother.²⁵ Queen Satyavatī was another woman who had a pregnancy desire to play in an ivory palace.²⁶ The *Uttarādhyaṇa* commentary refers to another craving of "drinking the moon" (*candapryana*).²⁷

The desire to eat meat to fulfil the pregnancy longing seems to be very common. We are told of a woman who had a pregnancy longing to relish various kinds of wine and flesh of various cattle.²⁸ We know of Cellanā, who had a chronic longing to eat the flesh of her husband's belly together with wine. When prince Abhaya came to know this, he sent a confidential man to get fresh meat, blood and the entrails from a slaughter house (*ghāyatthāna*).²⁹ This flesh was placed on the belly of the king who pretended to be unconscious.³⁰ The king simulated that the meat came from his body and thus satisfied the longing of the queen. Then we are told of queen Sudamsanā, who went to visit the

²² *Kalpa* 4 66-87

²³ *Nāyā* 1, p 8 ff. Queen Māyā, the mother of Gotama Buddha, dreams a white elephant entering her body, which is sculpturally represented on the Baihut Stūpa and elsewhere (*Nidānakathā*, 1, p 50 ff).

²⁴ *Nāyā* 1, p 19, cf *Avadāna Śataka* I, 3, p 15

²⁵ *Nāyā* 1 p 10 ff, also *Uttarā Tī* 9 p 132 a

²⁶ *Vya Bhā* 1 335, p 16a.

²⁷ 3, p 57

²⁸ *Vivā* 2, p 14.

²⁹ According to another tradition the piece of flesh was cut from a hare (*Āta. cū.* II, p 166).

³⁰ *Niryā.* 1, pp. 9-11.

painting-hall where having seen the painted deer she had a craving to eat their flesh⁸¹ Khandasirī was another woman who had a desire to taste plenty of food, drink, spices, sweetmeats and wine.⁸²

MISCARRIAGE

Cases of miscarriage were not uncommon. The *Vivāgasūta* tells us of the queen Miyādevī who, since the onset of her conception, felt intense pain in her body and became disagreeable to her husband. Miyādevī imagined that her fall from her husband's favours was due to her pregnancy, so she made up her mind for abortion. She took various kinds of alkalis (*khāṇa*), bitters (*kaḍuya*) and astringents which cause abortion, but failed to carry out her purpose and carried the pregnancy in sorrow. In course of time, Miyādevī gave birth to a totally blind boy. She called her nurse (*ammadhāi*) and asked her to leave the child on the dunghill (*ukkuruḍiyā*). When the king came to know of this he immediately visited the queen and stopped her from doing so, since it was her first child.⁸³

BIRTH

The birth of a child was an occasion for great rejoicing in ancient India. We are told that after a period of nine months and seven days and a half queen Dhārīnī gave birth to Meghakumāra. King Seniya was pleased to hear the news, he gave away all his ornaments except the diadem to the chamber-women (*angapaḍiyāriyāo*), anointed their head and, manumitting them, gave them manifold presents. In honour of the auspicious event, king Seniya ordered his chamberlain to declare a general amnesty to the prisoners (*cāragasohana*) and to clear the city and to decorate it with flowers, garlands, etc. The prices of the goods were lowered and the king having sent for the eighteen corporations asked them to celebrate the birthday for ten days. During this period of rejoicing tolls or taxes (*ussuṅkam* - *ukkaram*) were suspended, agricultural operation (*ukkuttha*), selling, weighing, unwelcome visit of the police officers (*abhaḍappavesam*) and the payment of debt were held in abeyance for the time being. Excellent women of pleasure and actors, clappers and drummers participated in the festivals.

On the first day the parents observed the *jāyakamma* ceremony when the navel vein (*nāla*) of the child was cut and buried under the earth. The second day *jāgarikā* or the whole night vigil was celebrated. The third day the ceremony of showing the moon and the sun (*candasūnadamsaniya*) to the baby was performed. Then for seven days there was a great rejoicing in the city. The eleventh day was the day of purification (*sukamma*) when the impurity caused by the birth of the child ended. On the twelfth day the lustatory and birth rites were over and food, drinks, sweet-

⁸¹ *Pind Nir* 80

⁸² *Vivā* 3, p. 23. For pregnancy longings see also *Susruta Samhitā*, Śaṁīrasthāna, ch. III, pp. 90-92, also cf. *Mahāvagga* X, 2 5, p. 343. Also *Kathāsaritāsāgara*, Appendix III, pp. 221-8.

⁸³ 1, p. 9; also *Āva. cū.* II, p. 166.

meats and dainties were distributed among friends, kinsmen, relatives and other subordinates. There were dance parties in which the king participated and then in the presence of the relations the child was given a name (*nāmakarana*) which had descended from generation after generation.⁸⁴

Then various ceremonies were performed when at appropriate occasions the child started babbling (*paraṅgāmana*), and walking (*cankamana*), when he had the first taste of solid food (*jemāmana*), when the first intelligible words came out from his mouth (*pajappāvana*), and when his ears were bored (*kannavedha*). Then there was birth ceremony (*samvaccharapaḍila-kkhana*), tonsure ceremony (*colopana*), sacred thread ceremony (*uranayana*) and ceremony of learning the alphabets (*kalāgahana*).⁸⁵

In his babyhood a child was attended by five nurses as noted above.⁸⁶ Besides there were a large number of attendants brought from foreign countries who were skilful, accomplished and well-trained, to be entrusted with the children.⁸⁷ The *Nisītha cūṇi* describes in detail the various nurses, particularly the wet-nurse and the effect of her milk on the child.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Sometimes the name given had some reference to an earlier event. A son of king Śaṅkya was named Mchakunnāra because his mother had had the craving of seeing rain-clouds out of season (*Nāyā* I, p. 20 f.); a boy was named Umbaradatta because his mother had had the craving of worshipping the Umbra Jakkha (*Vīṭā* 7, p. 44).

⁸⁵ *Bhagavati* (11-11), cf. *Nāyā* (I, p. 21), *Oṣu Sū*, 40, p. 185, *Kulpa Sū* 5 102-108. For the daily life of a Jain with all details, see *Ācārādīnakaṇḍa* by Vardhamāna sūri, Bombay, 1922, also *Indian Antiquary*, 1903, p. 460 ff.

⁸⁶ See p. 107. The *Divyāvadāna* (XXXII, p. 475) mentions four kinds of nurses: *anadhātri*, *mala*, *stana* and *kiddāpankā*, also *Āvadāna* I, V, p. 28.

⁸⁷ *Nāyā* *ibid*.

⁸⁸ 13, p. 850 ff., cf. also *Pinda*, Tī. 418 ff. Cf. also *Śusruta Samhitā* Sutrasthāna ch. 10, Sū. 25, p. 294, also *Mūṣapāṭha Jātaka* (533), VI, p. 21, *Līlita stava*, 100.

CHAPTER III

POSITION OF WOMEN

GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS WOMEN

J It is said about the women that they are faithless, ungrateful, treacherous, untrustworthy and strict control must be kept over them. It is said that a village or a town in which women are strong is sure to come to grief¹. In the voice of Manu the Jain texts state that a woman when a child must be kept under the control of her father, when married under her husband and when widow under her son, thus a woman is never allowed to live independently². It is stated that the daughter-in-law of a house if she had acquired the taste of witnessing procession or ran to see the commotion caused by a stray horse, or a chariot from the house window, was forbidden to do so. If she did not desist she was abused, and if she persisted she was beaten, and even then if she did not stop, she was turned out of the house³.

Various fanciful etymologies are given to the various synonyms of "woman" in Prākṛit. She is called *nārī* because there is no worse enemy of man than her; she is termed *mahilā* because she charms by her wiles and graces; she is called *paṃadā* because she accelerates a man's passion; she is called *mahutiyā* because she creates great dissension (*kali*), she is called *vāmā* because she takes delight in men by means of her coquettish gestures; she is called *anganā* because she loves the body of men, she is called *lalanā* because she attracts a man even in domestic quarrels, and keeps company in pleasures and pains; she is called *josyā* because by her tricks and devices she keeps men under her subjugation; she is called *vanitā* because she caters to the taste of man with various blandishments.⁴ It is said of women "the intelligent may know the sands of the Ganges, the waters in the sea, and the size of the Himavat, women's heart they may not know." "They weep and make you weep, they tell lies and make you believe them, and deceitfully they eat poison; they die, but they do not conceive a true affection." "Woman indeed, as soon as she has fallen in love is all sugar like a piece of sugarcane, the very same woman surpasses the bitter *numba*, as soon as her love is gone."

"In a moment women fall in love, but in another moment their love grows cold. Delighting in various lovesports and unstable in their affection, they are like the colour of turmeric."

"Cruel in their hearts and charming in body, speech, and glance, girls resemble a knife inlaid with gold."⁵

¹ *Vya. Bhā.* 1, p. 130.

² *ibid.* 3, 233.

³ *Brh. Bhā.* I, 1259 t.

⁴ *Tandul.* p. 50.

⁵ *Agadātta*, Frans. in *Hindu Tales* by Meyer, p. 286 f.

We notice that both Jainism and Buddhism place nuns under a more rigorous discipline than monks. They are prohibited to study the chapters on Mahāparijñā and Aruṇopapāta and the *Drstivāda*. It is stated that the *Drstivāda* deals with the magical formulae and as women are not strong enough and are fickle-minded, hence they are not allowed to study the above-mentioned scripture.⁶ The climax is reached in the rule which lays down that a monk of three years practice can become a teacher of a nun of thirty years practice; and a monk of five years practice can become an *ācārya* of a nun of sixty years practice.⁷

Jain texts mention a number of women of wicked nature, thereby preaching the ascetic ideal of renunciation. We hear of Mayanamañjarī, the wife of prince Agadadatta, who fell in love with another man and made an attempt on the life of her husband, which caused the prince to renounce the world and join the ascetic order.⁸ Then we are told of a banker's wife, who had illicit connections with some young man. The father-in-law of the woman told his son about it but he would not believe that his wife had been of false faith. Later on she was put to an ordeal of entering into a *Jakkha* temple. The ordeal resulted in a guilty person remaining in the temple for ever, while the non-guilty came out free. The banker's wife visited the *Jakkha*, who was her own paramour in the disguise of a *Pisāca*, and said "if I love any other person except the man to whom I had been given in wedlock by my parents, 'you, the Ghost', should know." The *Jakkha* got perplexed and began to think that even he had been cheated by her. In the meantime she came out of the temple and her father-in-law was put to humiliation by the people.⁹

It should be noted, however, that the above remarks about women do not find general acceptance in society and they are made with a view to blacken the character of women in order to warn the lustful monks to keep aloof from feminine charms that might overcome their reason. Judging from the contemporary writings of other faiths, it does not appear that women had suddenly clothed themselves in all sorts of vices specially in the Jain and Buddhist period. Varahamihira has pointed out boldly that all the defects that have been attributed to women exist in man as well. Women, however, try to remove them, while men are supremely indifferent in the matter. Marriage vows are equally binding on the couple. Men treat them lightly, while women act up to them. Who suffer more from the sex urge? Men, who marry even in their old age, or women who lead a chaste life, even if widowed in the prime of their youth? Men no doubt go on talking of their love to their wives, while

⁶ *Brh. Bhā. Pī.* 146, also cf. *Vja. Bhā.* 5 139

⁷ Cf. the position of the *Bhikkhunis* in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The eight principle vows prior to admission, make a *Bhikkhuni* in every way subordinate to a *Bhikkhu*. The first rule is that a *Bhikkhuni*, even if of a hundred years standing, should make salutation to, should rise up in presence of, should bow down before a *Bhikkhu*, if only just initiated (*Cullavagga*, X, 1. 4).

⁸ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 4, pp. 84-93

⁹ *Das cū.* pp. 89-91. This story is also found in the *Suka Saptati*, 15, p. 56, Ed. by Richard Schmidt, Leipzig, 1893.

they are alive, but contract second marriages soon after their death. Women, on the other hand, feel grateful to their husbands and decide to follow them on the funeral pyre, urged by the promptings of their conjugal love. Who then are more sincere in their love, men or women? For men to say that women are fickle, frail and faithless is the height of impudence and ingratitude; it reminds one of the audacity of clever thieves who first send away their loot and then challenge innocent persons demanding from them the stolen articles.¹⁰

THE OTHER SIDE

The other side of the picture cannot be ignored. We hear of devoted and chaste wives and of happy love and affection between husband and wife. A woman is counted among fourteen jewels of a *cakkavattī*.¹¹ Malli, although a woman, we are told rose to the status of a *Tīrthankara*.¹²

Women were highly regarded and it is prescribed that at the time of difficulty such as caused by water, fire, robbers or famine, a woman must be rescued first.¹³ We hear of the faithful and chaste woman Rājimatī, who followed the footsteps of her husband and joined the ascetic order. We are told that once Aritthanemi, his brother Rahanemi and Rājimatī all were practising penance on the same mountain, when Rahanemi lost self-control and began to court his sister-in-law. The latter resisted boldly and baffled his attempt by offering him a drink in which she vomited in his presence.¹⁴ Subhadrā was another chaste woman who was the daughter of a *śrāvaka* and was married to a Buddhist (*uvāsaga*). She was accused of having illegal connections with white-clad monks (*seyava-ḍiyabhikkhu*). Once upon a time, when a Jain monk was begging alms, it so happened that a rice-speck entered into his eye which Subhadrā picked out with her tongue. While doing so, the forehead of Subhadrā and the monk touched each other and her forehead mark made with red lead (*cīnapittā*) was imprinted on the monk's forehead. This was shown to Subhadrā's husband, who suspecting the chastity of his wife proposed to put her to an ordeal.¹⁵

Jainism and Buddhism declared as we have seen that womanhood was no bar to salvation. We hear of a large number of women in Jain texts who distinguished themselves as teachers and preachers.¹⁶ Ajja Candanā is the supreme example of superiority of women, who was

¹⁰ *Bṛhatsamhitā*, ch. 76 6 12, 14, 16, 17, trans. by A. S. Altekar, *The Position of Women in Hindu Civilization*, p. 387.

¹¹ *Jambū*. 3 67, also cf. *Dīgha* II, pp. 172-7 which mentions *cakka ratanam*, *hatthi ratanam*, *assa ratanam*, *manu ratanam*, *itthi ratanam*, *gahapati ratanam* and *parināyaka ratanam*.

¹² *Nāyā* 8. However, attaining *Tīrthankarahood* by a woman is unusual according to the Śvetāmbaras and hence it is described as one of the ten unexpected things. According to the Digambaras, however, Malli was a male, and no woman can ever attain *Mokṣa*.

¹³ *Bṛh. Bhā* 4.4348f.

¹⁴ *Das. Sū.* 2.7-11; *Uttarā*. XXII.

¹⁵ *Das. cū.* 1, p. 49 f.

¹⁶ Cf. *Anta*. 5, 7, 8; *Nāyā*. II, 1-10, pp. 220-30.

the first disciple of Mahāvīra and under whom a large number of nuns practised the rules of right conduct and attained salvation.¹⁷ Then we hear of Jayantī, the sister of king Sayānīya of Kosambī, who abandoned her royal robe and became a devout nun.¹⁸

MARRIAGE

Marriage, according to the Hindus, is not merely a contract between two parties but a spiritual union, a holy bond of unity brought about by divine dispensation. One of the purposes underlying such marriage is to keep the continuity of the line for which man must take the best bride available and the maiden should be married to the best groom available. There should be complete harmony between husband and wife.

MARRIAGE AGE

Jain texts do not tell us definitely about the age of marriage. We are simply told that both a girl and a boy should be of an equal age (*samānavaya*). It seems that in ancient India late marriages were considered harmful. A popular saying is quoted that, if after the attainment of puberty of a maiden, her guardians fail to arrange for her marriage, they go to hell.¹⁹

FORMS OF MARRIAGE

The forms of marriage mentioned in the Jain texts may be classified into three types²⁰: marriages arranged by parents of both parties, *Svayamvara*, and *Gāndhāra* marriage. The current form of marriage was that arranged by parents of both parties. Generally, marriage within one's own caste (*jāti*) was the rule. As in the *Jātakas*, we meet here with the effort to keep the family pure through the marriage connections among the people of same standing and profession and not to allow it to degenerate through intermixture with lower elements²¹. Ordinarily, we find that the parents brought a wife for their son from a family of the same rank (*sarisayakula*). We are told that prince Meghākumāra was married to eight princesses of equal age, beauty and virtue, belonging to the same royal rank.²² However, exceptions regarding caste and rank are not unknown in the Jain texts. For instance, we hear of the minister Teyali-putta who married a goldsmith's daughter,²³ Gayasukumāla, a ksatriya,

¹⁷ Cf. *Anta*, 8, *Kalpa sū*, 5, 135.

¹⁸ *Bhag* 12, 2.

¹⁹ *Piṇḍa*, Nir 509; cf. for a similar view, *Manu* (IX, 88).

²⁰ In the Hindu literature eight forms of marriage are enumerated (*Manu*, 3-21); *Mahābhārata* (1, 64-85), see also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-56.

²¹ Cf. Fick, *op. cit.*, p. 51 f.

²² *Nāyā*, 1, p. 23.

²³ *Nāyā*, 14, p. 148.

was betrothed to a Brāhmaṇa girl;²⁴ king Jiyasattu married a painter's daughter;²⁵ Bhambhadatta married the girls from the Brāhmaṇa and the merchant families.²⁶

In matters regarding marriage very often the elders consulted each other and informed of their grown-up children. Sometimes the consent of the boy was understood by his silence. We hear of Jinadatta, a merchant of Campā, who happened to see the daughter of Sāgaradatta playing with a golden ball (*kanagatindūsaya*). The former approached the latter and proposed to marry his son to the latter's daughter. Later on Jinadatta went home and consulted his son who gave his consent by keeping quiet.²⁷

MARRIAGE BY PURCHASE

In this form of marriage a wife was obtained for money paid to her father's family by the husband or his father. The minister Teyaliputta, referred to above, wanted to marry the daughter of a goldsmith, and so he asked him as to what money (*sunka*) he should pay him. The latter replied that it was sufficient that a minister was marrying his daughter and hence he need not worry about payment. We hear of a merchant, who, after leaving his negligent wife, married another girl by paying a large sum.²⁸ A robber who had plenty of money paid the desired amount (*jahacchiyam sunkam*) and married a girl.²⁹ Then we hear of king Candacchāya, who, while estimating the value of Malli, remarked that she was worth his whole kingdom.³⁰ These instances sufficiently testify to the prevalence of the practice of giving daughter in marriage in exchange of money.³¹

It is said that the following marriage gifts (*pūdāna*) were given to Meghakumāra by his parents : eight crores of silver, the same of gold, eight crowns, eight pairs of earrings, eight strings of pearls (*hāra*), half strings of pearls, (*addhahāra*), the same of one stringed necklaces of gems, (*ekkāvali*), the same of pearls, gold, necklaces (*kaṇakāvali*), jewel necklaces (*rayaṇāvali*), bracelets, armlets (*tuḍaya*), eight suits of fine linen (*khoma*), tussar silk (*vaḍa*), silk (*paṭṭa*) *dukūla* silk (*duḡulla*), eight figurcs of the goddesses such as *srī*, *hrī*, *dhṛti*, *kīrti*, *buddhi* and *lakṣmī*, eight round iron seats (*nandam*), stools (*bhaddā*) locks (*tāla* ?) flags, eight herds of cows (*vaya*), eight dramas with thirtytwo actors in each, eight jewelled horses, elephants, carts, (*yāna*), carriages (*jugga*) coaches (*sibikā*), litters (*sandamānī*),

²⁴ *Anta*. 3, p. 16.

²⁵ *Uttarā* *Ṭī*, 9, p. 141 a ff.

²⁶ *ibid.*, pp. 188 a, 192 a. In the days of Manu the system of intermarriages was much more flexible than it is today. The *anuloma* marriages were not uncommon in society down to the eighth century A. D. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

²⁷ *Nāyā*. 16, p. 168 f. Also *Anta*. 3, p. 16.

²⁸ *Uttarā* *Ṭī*. 4, p. 97.

²⁹ *Uttarā*. *cū*. p. 110.

³⁰ *Nāyā*. 8, p. 103.

³¹ For condemnation of such marriage, see *Manu*. III.51 ; also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-50

elephant litters (*gilli*), horse-palanquin (*thulli*), open carts (*vyāḍajāna*), chariots, eight villages, eight male slaves (*dāsa*), female slaves (*dāsī*), attendants (*kinhara*), chamberlains (*kañcuki*), courtiers (*mahattara*), eunuchs (*varisadhara*), eight lamps, platters (*thāla*), chargers (*pāi*), mirror plates (*thāsaga*), cups (*mallaga*), spoons (*kaivya*), *avaeja* pot (com *tāpikā-hastaka* ?), frying pans (*avapakka*), stools (*pāvīḍha*), seats (*bhusiyā*), bowls (*karodiyā*), couches (*ṣallankaya*), sofas (*paḍisijjā*) each of gold, silver and gold-silver, the same number of swan chairs (*āsana*), heron chairs, eagle chairs, tall chairs (*onaya*), sloping chairs (*paṇaya*), long chairs, fine chairs (*bhadda*) winged chairs (*ṣakkha*), crocodile chairs, lotus chairs and *disā-sovatthiya* chairs, eight casks of oil (*tellamugga*), the same of the substances such as *kuttha*, *patta*, *coya*, *tagara*, *haritāla*, *hingula*, *maṇṣulā* and mustard (*sarisava*); eight hunch-backed women (*kirāta*) etc. as mentioned before. There were eight maid-servants holding umbrellas, chowries, fans, bowls, five nurses, eight women to rub (*maddiya*), to knead, (*ummaddiya*), to bathe and to attire, eight women to pound sandal, to pound powders (*cunnaya*), eight women to make sport (*kīlākārī*), to make laughter (*davagārī*), to wait by his couch (*uvattāṇyā* or *ucchāṇyā*), eight to be of his theatre (*nāḍailla*), eight women as attendants (*koḍumbinī*), kitcheners (*mahānasinī*), stewards (*bhaṇḍārī*), carriers of babes (*ajjhadhārīṇī*?), flowers and drink, eight to perform the domestic sacrifice (*balikārī*), to make beds, to carry messages within and without, eight to make chaplets (*mālākārī*), and eight to be dispatched out (*peṣaṇakārī*). Besides, the gifts included plenty of riches, gold, jewels, gems, pearls, shells, corals and rubies which were sufficient to last for generations.⁸³

DOWRY SYSTEM

We have instances which show the existence of the dowry system in the form of money, goods or estate which a woman brought to her husband in marriage. We are told of the wives of Mahāsayaḡa of Rāyagiha, who possessed ancestral property.⁸⁴ Then we hear of a king of Vānārasi who gave away one thousand villages, one hundred elephants, plenty of treasure (*bhaṇḍāra*), one lac of foot-soldiers and ten thousand horses to his son-in-law in marriage.⁸⁵

CEREMONIES

The usual practice in the first type of marriage was that the bridegroom went to the bride's house for marriage, though there are instances when the bride went to the house of the bridegroom.⁸⁶ Lucky days were fixed for the ceremony and the bridegroom and his party were received with

⁸³ *Nāyā* Ti 1, p. 42a f, cf *Bhag* III, p. 244 f. Bechardas, *Abhaya Com.* 11. 11, *Antagada*, pp. 33-35. trans. by Barnett.

⁸⁴ *Uvā* 8, p. 61. Also cf Altekar, *op cit* pp. 82-4.

⁸⁵ *Uttarā* Ti 4, p. 88; also cf *Rāmāyaṇa* I. 74.4 ff. The *Jātaka* mentions the custom of celebrating the marriage with bath money given by the father to his daughter, specially in royal weddings (Mehta, *P B I* p. 281).

⁸⁶ Cf. *Nāyā*. 14, p. 148 f.

great honour and were entertained with food, drink, etc. We read that Sagara took his bath, held the domestic sacrifice (*balukamma*) performed the lustratory rites of charm and auspicious marks (*kayakouyapāyacchitta*), decked his body with ornaments and in the company of his relatives proceeded to the house of Sāgaradatta to marry Sukumāliyā. Sagara and Sukumāliyā both were made to sit on the same slab (*paṭṭa*), they were given a bath with white and yellow pitchers, oblation was offered to fire and amidst auspicious songs and kisses (*uvayaṇa*) from the married women the marriage ceremony was performed.⁸⁶

SVAYAMVARA

Then we come to the *Svayamvara* marriage. We have several instances where girls attaining proper age chose publicly husbands for themselves from a number of suitors. The *Nāyādharmakāṇḍa* refers to the *Svayamvara* of Dovai which was attended by various prominent kings and princes. The guests were received with great pomp and show and were entertained with food, drink, wine, flowers, garments and music. Then by the beat of drum the *Svayamvara* of Dovai was proclaimed and the guests arrived in the *Svayamvara* hall especially built for the purpose on the bank of the Ganges. It was cleaned, sprinkled over, filled with bunches of fresh sweet-smelling blossoms of five colours, it smelt pleasantly with the shimmering fumes of *kālāguru*, fine *kundurukka* and *turukka* and was fragrant with sweet-smelling fine scents (*sugandhavaragandhiyam*), a very incense stick (*gandhavatṭibhūyam*) and the galleries were arranged (*mañ-cāimācākalya*). The visitors took their respective seats which were already marked with their names and waited for Dovai to come. In the meantime, Dovai took her bath, performed the lustratory rites etc., put on festive clean garments of state, visited the Jain temple (*jinaghara*) and coming back decked her body with various ornaments and accompanied by her female servants (*cediyā*), play-nurse (*kīḍāviyā*) and the private secretary (*bhiya*) reached the *Svayamvara* hall in a chariot. She bowed low to the kings and the princes, took a beautiful garland (*sundāma-gaṇḍa*) made of fragrant flowers and emitting excellent smell in her hand and in the company of the play-nurse with a bright mirror in her hand, moved about the hall. The play-nurse, pointing out with her right hand, described the family, strength, *gotra*, power, beauty, learning, grandeur, youth and character of the various kings and princes, whose reflections were cast into the mirror. Then Dovai came to the place where the five Pāṇḍavas were seated, she put the garland around their necks and chose them as her husbands.⁸⁷

The *Uttarādhyaṇa* commentary refers to another *Svayamvara* marriage of the princess Nivvui. With the permission of her father she went to Indapura and declared that one who was brave and valiant and one who

⁸⁶ *ibid.*, 16, p. 169.

⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 16, pp. 179-82.

could shoot an effigy, would be her husband. Various princes and kings were invited to attend the *Soayamvara*. The flags were raised up in the city and a *Soayamvara* hall was erected outside the town. There on an axle (*aksa*) to which were attached eight wheels (*cakra*) stood an effigy, which was to be shot in the eye. The twenty sons of king Indradatta tried their luck without success. In the end, another son of Indradatta stood up and succeeded in shooting at the eye of the effigy, and was chosen as husband by Nivvui.³⁸

We are told of a *Soayamvara* hall (*vāgharanasālā*), built in Tosali where a fire-vessel was kept always burning. In this hall slave boys and a slave girl were made to enter and the girl selected a boy as her husband.³⁹

GĀNDHARVA MARRIAGE

The third type of marriage is the *Gāndharva* marriage. In this marriage the bride and bridegroom made their own choice without the knowledge of their guardians and were married without rites or ceremonies. Thus Raktasubhadra married Arjuna without the consent of her parents.⁴⁰ We hear of king Siharaha of Puṇḍavaddhana, who married a girl by *Gāndharva* marriage.⁴¹

There were also many instances of elopement and abduction. The story of the elopement of Vāsavadattā with Udayana is well-known; then Suvarnāngulikā, a maid servant of Udāyana was abducted by king Pajjaya, Ruppini by Kanha, Kamalāmelā by Śāgaracanda,⁴² and Cellanā was abducted by king Seniya. Regarding abduction, besides the well-known case of Sītā, the Jain texts refer to the abduction of Dovaī by king Paumanāha of Amarakankā.⁴³

Mention may be made of bringing up women for immoral purposes (*asatposaṇa*) which was in vogue in the country of Golla.⁴⁴

OTHER KINDS OF MARRIAGE

Contrary to limitations on marriage imposed by Brāhmanic injunctions, we come across the examples of unorthodox marriages in Jain canonical literature. Such marriages, however, are not supported by other sources except the marriage with maternal uncle.

Marriage with step-mother was prevalent in countries like Golla where the Brāhmanas (*vip̐pa*) were allowed to marry their step-mother (*māṣavittī*).⁴⁵

³⁸ 1, 3, p. 65a

³⁹ *Brh. Bhā.* 2, 3446. This reminds us of primitive practices current in the primitive tribes in India.

⁴⁰ *Pan̐ha. Tī.* 4, 16, p. 85.

⁴¹ *Uttarā. Tī.* 9, p. 141, also 13, p. 190.

⁴² *Brh. Bhā. Pī.* p. 57.

⁴³ *Nāyā.* 16, p. 186.

⁴⁴ *Āva. Tī.* (Hari), p. 829 a.

⁴⁵ *Āva. cū.* II, p. 81; also cf. *Nisī. cū.* II, p. 745; *Āva. Tī.* (Hari), p. 580a; also see *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Vol. VII, p. 116 ff.

According to Jain mythology, sister marriage was prevalent at the time of Usabha, who married his own sister. The *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi* refers to another case of sister marriage when king Pupphaketu allowed his son to marry his own sister.⁴⁶ This kind of marriage was also prevalent in the country of Golla.⁴⁷

The marriage of cousins also was in vogue in the primitive society. The cousin marriage, with the daughter of maternal uncle (*māṇuladuhiyā*) was allowed in the countries of Lāta and Dakṣināpatha,⁴⁸ and was prohibited in Uttarāpatha.⁴⁹ We are told that Bambhadatta married his maternal uncle's daughter.⁵⁰ The cousin marriage, i.e. the marriage with sister's daughter (*māṇusaduhiyā*) was also prevalent, but it was not allowed in Lāta.⁵¹ The other form of cousin marriage prevalent was marriage with the daughter of father's sister.⁵²

SON-IN-LAW LIVING IN THE HOUSE

There were other marriages in which the parents of the girl preferred keeping their son-in-law in their own house, instead of sending their daughter to her mother-in-law's house. Thus the father of Sukumālyā married his daughter to Sāgara on the condition that he was to stay in his house.⁵³ We are told that in Pārasa a horse-breeder employed a servant to look after his horses for which he gave him two horses a year as his wages. The master gave him an option to select two horses from his team. The servant, in consultation of the master's daughter, with whom he was in love, selected two best horses whereupon the master was pleased to marry his daughter to him and keep him as a house son-in-law (*ghara-jāmūya*).⁵⁴ This custom is still prevalent in Bengal and United Provinces in India and is known as "*gharjamūṇi*". The son-in-law lived with his wife's parents under the following circumstances : (i) when the girl's father was well-to-do and had no son, (ii) when the girl's family was very poor and wanted the help of a strong man, and (iii) when the son-in-law was a poor man and could not pay a dowry.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ II, p. 178.

⁴⁷ *ibid.* p. 81. The com. on the *Suttanipāṭa* (I, p. 357) refers to the Śākya who were rebuked by the Koliyans for cohabiting like dogs, jackals and such like beasts with their own sisters, also *Kuṇḍala Jātaka* (No. 536) V, p. 412, also *Digha* I, p. 92, also see *I H Q.*, 1926, p. 563 ff.

⁴⁸ Baudhāyana refers to this kind of marriage. Kumārila Bhaṭṭa casts a flog at the Dākṣinātya, who is overjoyed to get the daughter of his maternal uncle (Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 133), also see *Census India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 458.

⁴⁹ *Āva cū* II, p. 81.

⁵⁰ *Uttorā. Tī.*, p. 189a.

⁵¹ *Āva. cū*, *op. cit.*

⁵² *ibid.*, II, p. 160.

⁵³ *Nāyā*, 16, p. 169.

⁵⁴ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3-3959 f; however cf. *Kundakakucchi Sindhava Jātaka* (No. 254), II p. 287 f.

⁵⁵ See *Census India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, pp. 250 f.

MARRIAGE IN EXCHANGE

Marriages were arranged in exchange for giving one's own sister in marriage. We read about the marriage of Devadatta, who married the sister of Dhanadatta and in exchange gave his sister in marriage to him.⁵⁶ The custom of marriage in exchange is still prevalent among the *catuvēdis* of Mathura and other parts of United Province. The reason behind the custom seems to have been the dearth of girls in particular caste the members of which were not allowed to marry outside. It is known as *sāṅṭā* or *adalābadālā*.⁵⁷

POLYGyny AND POLYANDRY

As has been said above, begetting children was the chief goal of Hindu marriage. The continuity of the line depends on the male issue; hence the birth of sons was considered necessary. A son was genuinely believed to be necessary for spiritual salvation. The Hindu law-givers allowed a man to marry more than once. This was the underlying idea of polygamous system among the Hindus, though in later times it degenerated to such an extent that polygamy became a fashion with the rich Indians.⁵⁸

As a general rule in ancient times people were monogamous, and polygyny was a fashion among the rich and ruling sections of the society. The kings and princes considered it a privilege to have a crowded harem, which strengthened their political power by contracting numerous but judicious matrimonial alliances. The rich people regarded plurality of wives as a proof of their wealth, reputation and social position. References to polygyny are numerous in the Jain texts. In this connection the names of king Bharata, king Vikkamajasa,⁵⁹ king Seniya⁶⁰ and that of Gāhāvai Mahāsaya may be mentioned.⁶¹

Unlike polygyny, polyandry was a rare incident in life. Of polyandrous marriage, we come across a solitary example of Dovaī, which, of course, is a remnant of Epic Age.⁶² Polyandry is still practised among all classes and castes in Jaunsar-Bawar (district Dehra Dun).⁶³

REMARriage OF A WIDOWER

It may, however, happen that a woman may be forsaken, or allowed to go away by her husband or may go away of her own accord. Under

⁵⁶ *Pinda, Nir* 324 f. According to the Buddhist tradition, king Bimbisāra and Pasenadi of Kosala were connected by marriage, each having married a sister of the other (*Dhammapada A* I, p. 385).

⁵⁷ See *Census India*, 1931, Vol. I Pt. I, p. 252.

⁵⁸ See Valvalkar, *Hindu Social Institutions*, p. 193.

⁵⁹ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 239.

⁶⁰ *Anta*, 7, p. 43.

⁶¹ See *Supra* p. 157.

⁶² See also Alickar, *op cit*, pp. 132-4.

⁶³ *Census, India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 252.

such circumstances, the man was free to marry another woman. Thus we are told in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇa* that a merchant's wife was fond of decorating her body so much that she did not look after the household servants and property and as a result all the servants left her. In course of time, when the merchant returned from his journey, not seeing any servant in the house, he got angry with his wife, turned her out of the house, and married another woman.⁶⁴

WIDOW REMARRIAGE

According to the Hindu ideal of marriage, a true wife must preserve her chastity as much after as before her husband's death and hence the marriage of widows was generally not favoured in ancient India. Although according to the *Smṛtis*, there are "five cases of legal necessity" whereby the wife is allowed to marry a second husband, *viz*, if the first husband is lost, or dead, or becomes an ascetic or is impotent or is expelled from the caste;⁶⁵ yet it seems that on the whole the widow remarrriage was looked with contempt.⁶⁶

The *Ovāṇya* mentions the women whose husband is gone abroad, the women who have lost their husbands, the women who are widows from their childhood, the women who are forsaken, the women who are guarded by their mother, father, brother, family or father-in-law, the women whose nails have grown, the hairy women who have grown beard (*maṁsu*), the women who have given up the use of flowers, perfumes, garlands and ornaments, the women who suffer from perspiration, dirt and filth without a bath, the women who have given up the use of milk, curds, butter, *ghee*, oil, jaggery, salt, honey, wine and meat; it is said of such women that they observe celibacy and never marry another man.⁶⁷

Reference is made to child-widows who joined the ascetic order. Dhanasiri⁶⁸ and Lakkhaṇāvati⁶⁹ are mentioned as such widows who entered the life of nuns.

THE CUSTOM OF *NIYOGA*

Reference may be made here to the custom of *niyoga* which prevailed in ancient India. The practice prescribed for a childless widow to have intercourse with the brother or any near kinsman of her deceased husband to beget a male child.⁷⁰ In the *Āvaśyaka cūṛṇi* reference is made to this

⁶⁴ 4, p 97

⁶⁵ *Nārada*, XII, 97.

⁶⁶ See Valvalkar, *op. cit.*, chapter on Marriage; also Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 181-3

⁶⁷ 38, p 167, cf *Manu* (IX 65)

⁶⁸ *Āva cū* p 526

⁶⁹ *Mahā Nī* p 24.

⁷⁰ According to *Manu* (IX 59f) the person who was appointed under *niyoga* to beget a son for the widow was to approach her anointed with clarified butter, silently to give her one son only, and by no means a second, and after the purpose of *niyoga* is served the man and the woman had to behave towards each other like a father and a daughter-in-law, also *Gautama* XVIII 4ff. Also see Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp 168-76.

custom, although it does not come exactly under the category of *niyoga*. It is said that once Kayapuṇṇa, a merchant of Rāyagiha, was sleeping in a temple, whence he was taken away by a merchant woman to her house. This woman had lost her son in a shipwreck, and since there was no heir to his property, she feared that the heirless property might go to the king. The merchant woman told her four daughters-in-law that Kayapuṇṇa was their brother-in-law (*devara*) who was found after a very long time. Kayapuṇṇa remained there for twelve years and in the course of time begot four children by each one of them.⁷¹

SELF IMMOLATION

We do not find any instance of self immolation or the custom of *Sati* in Jain texts except one in the *Mahānisiha* when a widowed daughter of a certain king, in order to save her family from disrepute, wanted to perform *Sati*, but since this custom was not in vogue in her father's family, she refrained from it.⁷²

PUBLIC APPEARANCE OF WOMEN

In early days as a whole there was nothing like modern *purdah* system in existence, though there were certain restrictions on the movement of women. *Javaniyā* or the curtain is mentioned in the Jain texts. It is stated that Tisālā sat behind the curtain and listened to the interpretations of dreams.⁷³ But on the whole we find that women appeared in the public without any restriction. They could go out to visit their friends and relations. Many women are seen going to the *jakkha* and other shrines for worship and gathering on the occasion of various festivals. We hear that king Kūṇiya visited Mahāvīra along with his queens.⁷⁴ In the case of prince-converts we find them being taken to Mahāvīra by the king and the queen who made a joint gift of their son to the Teacher.⁷⁵

We also come across women dressed in man's attire, putting on armour, equipped with weapons, arms, shields, bows and arrows.⁷⁶ There are examples when women actually fought battles. We hear of a certain queen who fought a battle in the disguise of her lord.⁷⁷

THE POSITION OF THE GAṆIKAS

Secular prostitution in India is very old institution and dates back from the time of the *Rgveda* where the term *nr̥tu* occurs denoting a female "dancer".⁷⁸ In the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* it seems to be recognised as a pro-

⁷¹ pp. 488-9.

⁷² p. 29 f. For the *Sati* custom, see Altekar, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

⁷³ *Kaṭha*. 4. 63; also *Nāyā*. 1, p. 8.

^{74a} *Oṣā*. Sū 33, p. 144f.

⁷⁵ For *Purdah* system in ancient India, See Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 196-211.

⁷⁶ *Viśā*. 3, p. 23.

⁷⁷ *Vya. Bhā.* 1, p. 100 a.

⁷⁸ *Vedic Index*, I, p. 457.

fession while in the law-books the prostitute is regarded with disfavour. In the *Jātakas* we find that the courtesans were not only tolerated but held in certain amount of esteem. According to Kautilya, they enjoyed a privileged position and held the royal umbrella, fan and golden pitcher. *Vātsyāyana* devotes six chapters to courtesans and divides them into nine classes, the most honourable being those always rewarded by kings and praised by gifted persons.⁷⁸

It seems that *ganikā* was a member of *gaṇa* or corporation whose charms were the common property of the whole body of men associated together by a common band, economic or political.⁷⁹

A *ganikā* in ancient India was highly respected by the people in general. According to *Vātsyāyana* her mind was cultivated and trained by a thorough education and she was versed in various artistic accomplishments.⁸⁰

The *Nāyādharmakalā* refers to a rich courtesan of Campā. She was versed in the traditional sixtyfour arts, possessed sixtyfour accomplishments of a courtesan, and was well-versed in the science of erotics.⁸¹ She was also a linguist, well-versed in dialects, she dressed sumptuously and was an accomplished singer and dancer. Her fees were a thousand coins, and such was her renown that she was granted the privilege of carrying umbrella, chowries and fans⁸² and moved in a *kainīatha* as a mark of royal favour. She was also appointed as the head of many thousand courtesans.⁸³

One of the various fine arts and sciences in which the courtesans were versed was that of *Vaisika*.⁸⁴ It is said that in order to learn this art people from distant places approached the courtesans. The *Sūyagada* commentary mentions Dattavaisika,⁸⁵ who, being cheated by a certain courtesan, would not show his love towards her. The courtesan played various tricks mentioned in *Vaisika* upon him but without any result.⁸⁶ The courtesans were also expert psychologists and skilled in painting. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to a courtesan, who had a nice picture-gallery in which she had painted the characteristics of different casts (*jātikamma*) and different phases of *ars amoris* depicting the reconciliation

⁷⁸ *Kathāsaritsāgara*, trans. Penzer, Vol. I. App. IV, p. 138 etc. cf. *Paramatthadīpanī* the com. on the *Udāna*, p. 289 where a *ganikā* is called as *nagara-sobhanī*.

⁷⁹ Chakradar, *Studies in Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, p. 199 f. For the Jain legend regarding the origin of *ganikas* see *Vasu* p. 103. Also cf. *Manu*, who associates the *gaṇa* and the *ganika* in one verse saying that the food offered by both were equally to be refused by a Brāhmana (IV. 209), also *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstuvāda, p. 171 where *Annapālī* is mentioned as a common property of the corporation of *Vaisālī* (*ganabhogyā*).

⁸⁰ Chakradar, *op cit*, p. 198, also Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 35, 59-62.

⁸¹ As described by *Vātsyāyana*, says the commentator. For 64 ways of accosting a man, see *Dharmajñāna A* IV, p. 197.

⁸² Cf. *Arthashastra*, p. 136.

⁸³ 3, p. 59, also cf. the description of *Kāmajayā* in the *Vaiśāgasya* (2, p. 12).

⁸⁴ A quotation is given in the *Sūyagada cūṛṇi* (p. 140) from *Vaisika*. *Vaisika* is also mentioned in the *Lalitavistara* (p. 150), also *Mūchakalika*, I, p. 2, also Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*, Bombay 1943, Chapter 23.

⁸⁵ Dattaka is mentioned as an author of *Vaisika* in *Dāmodara's Kuttinimāla*, vs. 504.

⁸⁶ 4. I. 24.

of the lovers. When a visitor approached her she took him to the picture-gallery and asked what pictures he liked most. From the answer of the man she understood his caste, his artistic taste and the weakness and the strength of his nature.⁸⁷

The courtesans in ancient days were not morally degraded, but they were the women of high character whose company was sought by respectable citizens.⁸⁸ Jain texts mention various courtesans of fame and character who did not like to flirt with many, but yearned to have a man of their choice and to live happily with him. Kosā and Upakosā are mentioned two courtesans of Pāḍaliputta. The former loved Sthūlabhadra and the latter Vararuci.⁸⁹ Kosā lived with Sthūlabhadra for twelve years and loved him so much that she did not like the company of any other person after Sthūlabhadra retired from the world. In course of time, the monk Sthūlabhadra returned to Pāḍaliputta and visited Kosā. She listened to his religious sermons and became a *śrāvikā*. She took a vow of celibacy that she would not show favour to anyone excepting when forced by the king.⁹⁰ Devadattā was another "public-woman" of Ujjeni, who was proud of her beauty, grace and accomplishments. She was devoted to prince Mūladeva of Pāḍaliputta and wanted to get rid of Ayala, a rich merchant of the town and her lover. Once her mother asked her not to love Mūladeva because he was penniless, but Devadattā replied that she was fond of his virtues, and not of his wealth. Later on, she visited the king and requested him not to force upon her any other man except Mūladeva.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Pl. 262 Cf. the picture-gallery of Āmrpālī of Vaiśālī (*Vinayaśāstra* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p. 19). See also Dārnodaragupta's *Kuṭṭinimata*, Bombay, 1924, which describes various cunning arts, wiles and devices which were resorted to by courtesans to decoy and lead to ruin guileless but weak-minded young men.

⁸⁸ Cf. the character of Cārudatta in *Mṛcchakatika*.

⁸⁹ According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol I, ch IV, pp. 32-6) Upakosā was the chaste wife of Vararuci. Once when Vararuci had gone to the Himālayas, Upakosā went to take bath in the Ganges. There she was seen by the royal minister, priest and the judge who became enamoured of her. She made an appointment with them and asked each of them to come at different times. Later on, she shut them in a box which was carried to the king's court.

⁹⁰ *Uttarā. Tī.* 2. 29 ff.

⁹¹ *ibid.*, 3, pp. 59-65. Cf. other *ganikās* of high character in Buddhist and Brāhmanic literature. The courtesan Būndumati made the great Ganges flow backwards by her act of truth. Asked by king Asoka as to what caused this wonder, she replied that whosoever gave her gold, whether a nobleman or a Brāhmana or a tradesman or a servant she regarded them all alike (*Milindapañha*, p. 121). The *Kurudhamma Jātaka* (II, No. 276), p. 380 tells another story about a righteous courtesan who received one thousand pieces from a man who never returned for three years. The courtesan for honour's sake did not take even a piece of betel from another man. When she became poor, she went to the court and got the permission of the judges to earn wages as before. In the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol III, ch XXXVIII, pp. 207-217) we notice a courtesan making a vow that, if in six months her lover would not return, she would give away all her property and enter into fire. She passed her time by giving charities to the Brāhmanas. For Āmbapālīkā see *Digha*, II, pp. 95-8; *Therīgāthā*, 252-70, *Mahāvagga* VI, 30 p. 231-3.

A *ganikā* was highly esteemed by the king, who considered her as the glory (*rayaṇa*) of his capital.⁹² Almost all big towns had a chief courtesan. Nandini is mentioned as a chief courtesan of a certain city. When she was taken ill she was replaced by another and, when the latter was absent, a third was brought in.⁹³

The courtesans lived in state and luxuries and found favour with rich people and kings. They went on picnics with rich people. We are told that the two merchants of Campā ordered their servants to take all kinds of food, perfumes and flowers, to the garden and to prepare a temporary camp there. Then after mounting the chariot with Devadattā they went to the garden and enjoyed water-sports in the lake and then went to the camp and enjoyed sexual intercourse. In the afternoon they walked hand in hand with Devadattā outside the camp and enjoyed the beauty of the garden. They returned in the evening and the merchants gave Devadattā rich presents.⁹⁴

Dancing girls (*nattyāo*) are mentioned.⁹⁵

FEMALE ASCETICS

The nuns played an important part in the fourfold *Sanṅha* of Mahāvīra as has been mentioned already. Like monks nuns too lived upon the charity of the people though their life was much harder and they were placed under a more rigorous discipline than monks. It is stated that they should not stay alone without the protection of monks and should avoid the company of men of doubtful character. In fact, those were very hard days for nuns. When they went out to beg they were subjected to various annoyances by young men, who followed them to their residence (*vasatī*). The nuns were mocked at during their menstrual period when the *Kāpālīka* ascetics by means of spells tried to fascinate them. It is for this reason that the Jain nuns were asked to cover themselves thoroughly like a plantain tree. But still the young men used to give them much trouble. Under such circumstances the nuns were asked to keep the doors of their residence closed. If there were no doors, the monks used to guard them or they themselves sat together with sticks in their hands to stop the tyrants. If still a young nun was tormented by mischievous persons, it was the duty of some young monk who was well-versed in the art of fighting, to meet the tormentor in the disguise of a nun and punish him.⁹⁶ We are told of Sukumāliyā who joined the ascetic order together with her two brothers. Sukumāliyā was a beautiful nun and so when she went out to beg she was followed by young men who even entered her residence by force. The chief nun informed the *ācārya* who

⁹² *Uttarā. Tī* 3, p. 64.

⁹³ *Ācā cū* p. 71.

⁹⁴ *Nāyā.* 3, p. 60, also 16, p. 174; also cf. Chakladar, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

⁹⁵ *Uttarā.* *Tī* 9, p. 136.

⁹⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3.4106 ff; 1.2443 f., 2085.

asked her brothers to protect their sister. Now Sukumāliyā began to live with her brothers who used to go out begging by turns. As both were adepts in the art of fighting, if anybody dared to enter their residence, they thrashed him and brought him to his senses.⁹⁷

We have instances when the nuns were lured by the householders.⁹⁸ Sometimes they were raped by force. It is laid down that under such circumstances a nun should immediately inform her teacher. It is stated that, even if a nun gets pregnant, she should not be turned out from the *Saṅgha*, but the offender must be punished. It is said that if nobody knew of her pregnancy, the nun should be kept in the house of a *śrāvaka*. If it is revealed, the nun should be kept in the *upāśraya* and must not be sent out for alms. If some people made remarks, they must be told that she could not be abandoned in such conditions. Anyhow the nun should be defended by citing examples of Kesi and Satyakī who were born of nuns without being guilty, and should be looked after properly.⁹⁹

There are examples when the nuns were abducted. We have seen how king Gaddabhilla abducted the sister-nun of Kālakācārya, which resulted in his destruction. We are told of a Buddhist merchant of Bharu-yaccha who took the garb of a Jain layman and invited the nuns under the pretext of offering them alms. The merchant asked the nuns to enter his ship to pay a visit to the Jain temples and as soon as they stepped in he set the ship in motion.¹⁰⁰ There was also trouble from the robbers. We are told that once some robbers joined with the Bodhiya Mlecchas and carried off the nuns.¹⁰¹ Sometimes the robbers carried away the clothes of the nuns. It is laid down that under such circumstances the nun should cover their private parts with skin, vegetable leaves, *darbha* grass, or with their own hands.¹⁰²

LOVE AFFAIRS AND FEMALE ASCETICS

Jain texts mention a number of *Parivṛāṣṭiyas*¹⁰³ who carried love-messages and acted as go-between the lovers. The *Uttarādhyayana*

⁹⁷ *ibid* 4 5254-5259, cf *Kuṇḍala Jātaka* (No 530), V, pp 424-8.

⁹⁸ *Bṛh Bhā* 1 2670-2; cf. *Therīgāthā* (139-144) where the nun Khemā is invited to enjoy sensual pleasures.

⁹⁹ *Bṛh Bhā* 3 4128-39 Here the five ways are mentioned which could cause pregnancy without sexual intercourse (a) if a woman sat without cover at the place where a man had discharged semen which could cause pregnancy, (b) if a person desirous of a son introduces semen in her vagina, (c) if the same thing is done by her father-in-law, (d) if the semen was sticking to some cloth that was used to cover vagina to stop the flow of menstrual blood and (e) drinking of water mixed with semen could cause pregnancy (*ibid* 4139). Cf the *Mātanga Jātaka* (IV No 497) p. 378 where the Mātanga touched his thumb to the navel of his wife and she conceived, also *Vinaya* II, p. 205 f, also *Dhammapāda* A III, p 145 In Buddhist literature we hear of the nun Uppalavannā, who was raped by a young *brahmacārī* in the grove of Andhavana in Sāvithi, and it is said that from that time nuns did not live in Andhavana (*ibid*, II, pp 49, 52).

¹⁰⁰ *Bṛh Bhā* 1. 2054. ¹⁰¹ *Vya Bhā* 7. 418

¹⁰² *Bṛh Bhā*. 1. 2986, *Nisī. cū* 5, p 407

¹⁰³ In the *Dasakumāracarita* (p. 168) the nun named *Arhanthikā* or *Nirgranthikā* plays a part of go-between, See Bloomfield False ascetics and nuns in Hindu Fiction, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. 44, p. 238 f; also *Kāthāsaritsūgarā*, Vol. VII, ch. cl. p. 138 f.

commentary refers to a female mendicant who successfully conveyed the love message of Rayanāvai to Bambhadatta.¹⁰⁴ We meet another female mendicant named Cokkhā who was versed in the four *Vedas* and various other scriptures. She preached religion based on charity and purity. Once she visited the harem of the king Kumbhaga where she was insulted by the princess. Cokkhā bore ill will against the princess and having gone to king Jiyasattu incited him to obtain her.¹⁰⁵

The *Parivāṇiyyās* were learned in various arts, the application of various powders, spells, auspicious rites, use of various roots, pills, medicines and herbs. We are told that Pottilā visited the nun Suvvayā and enquired her if she was aware of any spell or love potion which could create love between her and her husband.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ 13, p 192.

¹⁰⁵ *Nāyā* 8, p 108-110

¹⁰⁶ *ibid* 14, p. 152, *Niryā*. 3 p 347 f Cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Vol. III, ch. XXXII, p. 99 ff.

CHAPTER IV

EDUCATION AND LEARNING

The object of the ancient Indian system of education was the formation of character, the building up of personality, the preservation of ancient culture and the training of the rising generation in the performance of the social and religious duties.¹

THE TEACHERS AND THE PUPILS

Teachers were highly respected in those early days. The *Rāyapasenīya* mentions three kinds of teachers: the teacher of arts (*kalāyariya*), the teacher of crafts (*sippāyariya*) and the teacher of religion (*dhammāyariya*). It is stated that the body of the first two teachers should be anointed with oil, flowers should be offered to them, they should be given a bath, dressed and decorated, they should be invited for feast and should be offered gifts and adequate wages that might reach their descendants. Similarly, religious teachers should be worshipped, fed and should be furnished with the necessary religious paraphernalia.² It is stated that a teacher must be fully qualified to teach his pupils. He must answer questions raised by his pupils without maintaining his relative superiority and he must not give irrelevant answers.³

The relations between the teacher and the student were cordial and the latter was to hold the former in deep reverence. It is said of a good pupil that he always pays attention to the teachings of the preceptor, asks questions, hears the answers, grasps its meaning, reflects upon it, ascertains its validity, retains its meaning and practises accordingly.⁴ Further, a good pupil never disobeys his teacher or behaves roughly towards him; he never tells a lie and carries out his command like a thorough-bred horse. If he perceives the teacher in an angry mood he pacifies him by meekness, appeases him with folded hands and avows not to do wrong again. It is stated that a pupil should not sit by the side of the teacher, nor before him, nor behind him, he should never ask questions when sitting on a stool or his bed, but rising from his seat and coming near, he should ask him with folded hands.⁵ There were bad pupils too. They got kicks (*khaddayā*) and blows (*caveḍā*) from their teachers. They were also beaten with sticks (*vaha*) and addressed with harsh words.⁶ Bad students are compared with bad bullocks who break down through want of zeal. Such pupils, if

¹ Altekar, *Education in Ancient India*, p. 326.

² *Thā.* 3, 135, cf. *Maru* II, 225 ff.

³ *Āva. Nīr.* 136, also see H. R. Kapadia, *The Jain system of education*, *J. U. B.*, Jan. 1940, p. 206 f.

⁴ *Āva. Nīr.* 22.

⁵ *Uttarā.* 1, 13f, 12, 41, 18, 22.

⁶ *ibid.* 38; also cf. *ibid.* 3, 65a; also cf. *Jātakas* (II, p. 279).

sent on an errand, did not do what they were asked to do, but strolled about wherever they liked. Sometimes, the teachers were tired of such pupils, they left them to their fate and retired to the forest.⁷

Pupils are also compared to a mountain, an earthen pot, a sieve, a filter, a royal swan, a buffalo, a ram, a mosquito, a leech, a cat, a pole-cat, a cow, a drum and an *Abhīri*,⁸ each item showing the distinctive qualifications and disqualifications of the student world

STUDENT LIFE

The precise nature of lodging and boarding arrangements for students in ancient days is not well-known. But it seems that the students led a simple life. We know that some students stayed in the house of the teacher and others were fed by the rich people of the town.⁹ There are instances when the good relations between the teacher and the disciple led to matrimonial connections.¹⁰

There were holidays when the school was closed. External causes were responsible for frequent stopping of the work. Abnormal conditions giving rise to untimely clouds, thunder, lightening, heavy showers, frost, dust-storms, eclipse of the sun or the moon were instrumental in bringing about suspension of work. The studies were discontinued when the peace of the settlement was disturbed by fight between two armies or villages, or if there was a wrestling competition or if the local leader died. Then such trivial causes as the killing of a mouse by a cat, or the chance appearance of an egg on the road or the birth of a child in the locality,¹¹ where the school was situated, brought about a suspension of school work.

Students were generously received when they returned home after completing their studies. We are told that when Rakkhia returned from Pāḍaliputta he was given a rousing reception by the state. The city was decorated with flags and banners etc. and Rakkhia was mounted on elephant and was greeted by the people. As a recognition of his attainments he was offered slaves, cattle and gold by the people.¹²

COURSE OF STUDY

The *Vedas*, which are represented as the earliest literature on India, must have been the main topics of study. The three *Vedas*, viz , *Rigveda*,

⁷ *Uttarā*. 27. 8, 13, 16. Also see H. R. Kapadia, *op. cit.*, pp. 212-5.

⁸ *Āva. Nir* 139, *Āva. cū*, pp. 121-4, *Bṛh. Bhā. Pi* 334.

⁹ *Uttarā*. *Ṭi*. 8, p. 124.

¹⁰ Cf. *ibid*, 18, p. 243, cf. *Mahāumagga Jātaka* (No. 546), VI, p. 347.

¹¹ *Vya Bhā.* 7-281-319; cf. *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, I 6. 144-53, *Manu*. IV, 102 ff., also Altekar *op. cit.*, p. 105.

¹² *Uttarā*. *Ṭi*. 2, p. 22 a.

Jauvveya and *Sāmaveya* are mentioned in the *Thānāṅga*.¹³ The following curriculum of study comprising the Vedic branches of learning are mentioned :— *Ruvveya*, *Jauvveya*, *Sāmaveya*, *Athavavaveya*, *Itihāsa* (*Purāṇa*), the fifth *Veda*, *Nighaṇṭu*, the sixth *Veda*; six *Veāṅgas* comprising *sankkhāna* (arithmetic), *sikkhā* (phonetics), *kappa* (ritual), *vāgarana* (grammar), *chanda* (metre), *nirutta* (exegesis), and *joisa* (astronomy-astrology); six *Upāṅgas*, which comprised further elaborations of the subjects dealt within the *Vedāṅgas* and *Satthitanta*, which was an authoritative treatise on the *Sāṃkhya* School.¹⁴ The *Uttarādhyayana* commentary mentions the following fourteen subjects of study (*vijjattthāna*) :—four *Vedas*, six *Vedāṅgas*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nāya*, *Purāṇa* and *Dhammasattha*.¹⁵

Further, the *Anuyogadvāra*¹⁶ and *Nandi*,¹⁷ which are of late origin, mention the following works on popular learning (*laukika suya*). *Bhāraha*, *Rāmāyaṇa*¹⁸, *Bhāmāsūrukka* (or *o kka*)¹⁹, *Koḍillaya*,²⁰ *Ghodāyamuha*,²¹ *Sagadibhaḍḍāu*, *Kappāsa*, *Nāgasuhuma*, *Kanagasattari*,²² *Vesīya*, *Vaisesīya*, *Buddhasāsana*, *Kavila*, *Logāyata*,²³ *Satthiyanta*, *Mādhara*, *Purāṇa*, *Vāgarāṇa*, *Nāḍaga*, seventy two arts, and the four *Vedas* with *Āṅgas* and *Upāṅgas*. The *Nandi Sūtra* adds *Terāsīya*, *Bhāgava*, *Pāyañjali*, and *Pussadeva*.²⁴

Then the *Thānāṅga* refers to the following evil scriptures (*pāpa sruta*) :—
1 science of portents indicating shower of blood or any unusual pheno-

¹³ 3. 3. 185. According to Jain tradition the *Ārya Vedas* are said to have been composed by Bharaha and others which contained the laudation of the *Tīthiyaras*, the duties prescribed for laymen and monks, propitiatory deeds and the like, later on, Sulasā, Yājñavalkya, Tāntugriva and others composed the *Anārya Vedas* which are the present *Vedas* (*Āva. cū* 215, *Sūya. cū* p. 10). According to another tradition, however, the twelve *Āṅgas* are called the *Vedas* (*Āva. cū* 5, p. 185).

¹⁴ *Bhag* 2 1, *Oṽ* 38, p. 172

¹⁵ 3. p. 56a. The *Mahādāpāṇha* (p. 3) gives the following nineteen arts and sciences (*sippa*) (1) *sut* (holy tradition), (2) *sammut* (secular law), (3) *sankhyā*, (4) *yogā*, (5) *nī* (*nyāya*), (6) *viśesikā*, (7) *ganikā* (arithmetic), (8) *gandhabbā* (music), (9) *īkicā* (medicine), (10) *catubbedā*, (11) *purāṇā*, (12) *itihāsa*, (13) *joisa*, (14) *māyā* (magic), (15) *hetu* (causation), (16) *mantanā* (polity), (17) *yuddha* (art of war), (18) *chandasā* (poetry) and (19) *muddā* (conveyancing); also cf. *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, I 3, *Mahābhā*, XII 122 31 also *Dīgha* I, p. 88

¹⁶ *Sū.* 40 f

¹⁷ *Sū.* 42, p. 193 a

¹⁸ The *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* were recited or listened to during the earlier (*pūrvāhna*) or the latter part of the day (*aparāhna*) respectively. Both are cited as examples of *Bhāṇāvāsya* a compulsory rite which must be done without fail (*Anu. Sū.* 25).

¹⁹ *Bhambī* and *Asurukka* are referred to in the *Vya. Bhā.* (I, p. 132) along with *Mādhara* and *Dandanī* of Kodinna, which were important works on politics. The *Gommatasāra Jñānāṇa* (303, p. 117) refers to *Ābhīya* and *Asurukka*, also cf. *Mūlācāra* (5 60 f), also *Supra*, p. 64

²⁰ *Koḍillaya* is also referred to as *Cānakakoḍilla* (*Sūya. cū* p. 208). The *Sūyagada* (9 17) mentions *Atthāvaya* which according to the commentator is the *Arthasāstra* by Cānakya and its study is prohibited to a Jain monk. A Prakṛt verse from the *Atthasattha* is quoted in the *Vasudevahindī* (p. 45) and the *Ogha Nirvyūti* (p. 152), which throws light on the existence of *Arthasāstra* in Prakṛt. *Kaṭalla* is also mentioned in the *Cūlavamsa* (LXIV 3)

²¹ *Ghotakamukha* is mentioned as a politician in the *Arthasāstra* (p. 282); also *Kāmasūtra* (p. 188), also see *Maṅghama* II, pp. 157 ff

²² It is same as *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* of Īśvarakṛṣṇa (H. R. Kapadia, *The Canonical Literature of the Jainas*, p. 183).

²³ *Lokāyatam* is also mentioned in the *Dīgha*. (I, p. 11).

²⁴ *Sū.* 42.

memon boding calamity in the country (*uppāya*), 2 science of omens (*nimitta*), 3 science of spells and magic (*mantra*), 4 low type of charm which causes *Cāṇḍālīs* to utter oracles (*āikkhiya*), 5 science of medicine (*tegiichya*), 6 seventy two arts (*kalā*), 7 science of architecture (*āvarana*), 8 popular works such as *Bhārata*, *Kāvya*, *Nātaka*, etc (*annāna*), and 9 false scripture such as the teachings of Buddha etc. (*micchāpavayaṇa*).²⁵

SEVENTY TWO KALĀS ²⁶

Seventy two *kalās* are frequently mentioned in the Jain texts.²⁷ The list contains the *sipphas* and also the list of traditional knowledge and sciences. It does not mean that everybody acquired proficiency in all these branches. The acquirement of these sciences was an aim which could seldom be achieved. These *kalās* may be classified as under —

1 Reading and writing which comprised writing (*leha*) and arithmetic (*gaṇiya*).

2 Poetry which included verse-making (*porekavva*), the knowledge of *Āryā* verses (*Ajjā*), riddles (*pahelyā*), *Māgadhi* composition (*Māgadhiyā*), *Gāthā* composition, ballad-making (*gūiya*), and *sloka*-making (*suloya*)

3 Sculpture (*rūva*).

4 Music which comprised dancing (*natta*), singing (*gīya*), instrumental music (*vāiya*), vocal music (*saragaya*), drum music (*pukkharagaya*), and timing in music

5 Clay-modelling which included the knowledge of clays (*dagamatṭiya*)

6 Gambling, sports and indoor games which comprised gambling (*jūya*), *janavāya* (a kind of gambling), playing at dice (*pāsaya*), chess playing (*atthāvaya*), making dolls and figures etc. moved by pulling strings (*suttakheḍa*),²⁸ a game of whirligigs (*vattha*) and *nālikākheḍa* (a kind of dice).

7 Personal hygiene, toilet and food. They constituted the rules of food (*annavihi*), drink (*pāna*), dress (*vattha*), toilet (*vilevana*), and bed (*sayana*), knowledge of wearing ornaments of silver (*hvanṇajutti*), gold (*suvarṇa*), and other ornaments (*ābharanavihi*), preparation of powders (*cinnajutti*)²⁹

²⁵ 9 678, also see *Sūya* II 2 30; cf *Sammohavinodanī* (p. 490) where *Bhāratayuddha* and *Sitāharanādi* are spoken as *pāpakam sutam*

²⁶ For twelve *sipphas* such as *hatthi*, *assa*, *rathā*, *dhanu*, *thoru*, *muddā*, *ganana*, *saṅkhāna*, *lekha*, *kāveyya*, *lokāyata* and *khattavajja*, see *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 205

²⁷ See *Nāya*, i, p 21, *Sama* p 77a, *Oṣā* 40; *Rāya Sū*, 211, *Jambu Tī* 2, p 136 f, *Bhagvān Mahāvīra nī Dharmakathā*, p 193 ff, Amulyachandra Sen, Social Life in Jain Literature, *Calcutta Review*, March 1933, p 364 f, D C Das Gupta, *Jain System of Education*, p 74 f Cal 1942; also see *Kādambarī* (p 126) Kale ed; *Dasakumāra carita*, p 66; *Divyāvadāna*, pp 58, 100, 391

²⁸ *Sūtrakṛidā* is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭinīmata* (vs. 124).

²⁹ *Gandhayukti* is mentioned in the *Mṛcchakatika* (VIII, 13) and the *Lalstavastara* (see E. G Thomas's article in the *Bull. School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. VI, pp. 515-7).

and means of improving the complexion of damsels (*tarunipāḍikamma*), preparing ornamental designs from leaves (*pattacchejja*),⁸⁰ decorating the temple (*kadacchejja*).

8 Knowledge of various marks and signs such as distinguishing marks (*lakkhaṇa*) of men,⁸¹ women, horses,⁸² elephants,⁸³ kine,⁸⁴ cocks,⁸⁵ umbrellas,⁸⁶ slaves, swords,⁸⁷ gems⁸⁸ and *Kākinī* jewel

9 The Science of omens, which comprised the knowledge of notes of birds.⁸⁹

10 Astronomy, which included the movement (*cāra*) and countermovement (*padicāia*) of stars

11 Alchemy, which comprised the preparation of gold (*suvaṇṇapāga*), silver (*hvaṇṇa*), reverting the killed metals to their natural state (*sajīva*), and killing of the metals such as gold etc (*myjīva*)⁴⁰

12 Architecture, which comprised the science of building (*vatthuvijjā*), measurement of camps (*khandhāīamāna*), and cities (*nagaramāna*).

13 Art of fighting, which comprised fighting (*juddha*), wrestling (*myjuddha*), heavy fighting (*juddhā'ijuddha*), menacing glances (*ditthijuddha*), fist-fighting (*mutthi*), arm-fighting (*bāhu*), clapsed-fighting (*layā*), knowledge of arrows (*īsattha*), sword playing (*charupāvāya*), archery (*dhanuvveya*), formation of array (*vūha*), counterarray (*padivūha*), wheel-formation (*cakkavūha*), eagle-formation (*garuḍa*), and cart-formation (*sagaḍa*)⁴¹

CENTRES OF LEARNING

Capitals, holy places, monasteries and temples were the centres of education in ancient India. Kings and feudal chiefs were, as a rule, patrons of learning. Various capitals of prosperous kingdoms, which used to attract many a man of learning and thus become centres of education are mentioned in the Jain texts. Benares was the chief centre of learning.

⁸⁰ *Patracchejja* is mentioned in the *Kuṭṭiṇimata* (vs 236), also *Āṇḍambarī*, *op cit* where it is translated as "the art of painting figures on walls or the ground" (Kale). However, according to Cowell, it is the breaking and cutting of leaves (see E. G. Thomas's above-mentioned article)

⁸¹ Cf *Bṛhatsamhitā*, ch 67

⁸² Cf *ibid*, ch 65

⁸³ Cf *ibid*, ch 66

⁸⁴ Cf *ibid*, ch 60

⁸⁵ Cf *ibid*, ch 62

⁸⁶ Cf *ibid*, ch 72

⁸⁷ Cf *ibid*, ch 49, also *Asīlakkhaṇa Jātaka* (No 126), I, p 455

⁸⁸ Cf *ibid*, ch 79

⁸⁹ Cf *ibid*, ch 87 "Sariabhūtaruta" is mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda (p 32)

⁴⁰ The *Caraka* and the *Susruta* give various formulas for killing the metals. Killed metal sometimes means a metal deprived of its well-characterised physical properties, i.e., colour, lustre, etc., P. C. Ray, *History of Hindu Chemistry*, Vol I, Calcutta, 1904, p 62. However, cf *Dasakumāracarita* (2, p 66) for *sajīva* and *myjīva*, Kale's edition, Bombay, 1925

⁴¹ For a comparison between seventy two arts of the Jains and those of sixty four of the *Kāmasūtra* (I iii), see Bechardas, *Mahāvīra ni Dharmakathā*, p. 193 f; also cf. sixty four arts of women described in the *Jambuddhiva* commentary, 2, p. 139f; also Dr. Venkatasubbiah, *The Kalas*, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914

It is stated that the prince Aṅgaḍadatta of Saṅkhapura went there to study. He stayed in the house of his teacher and after completing the course of study returned home.⁴³ Sāvattihī is mentioned as another centre of education.⁴³ Pāḍaliputta is mentioned as still another seat of learning. It is mentioned that, when Rakkhia of Dasapura could not study further in his town, he proceeded to Pāḍaliputta for higher studies.⁴⁴ Paṭṭhāna is mentioned as a centre of learning in the south.⁴⁵ It is however significant to remark that Takḥasīlā, which is the most important seat of learning in the Buddhist scriptures, is not mentioned here.

OTHER CENTRES

Education was also imparted in the *upāśrayas* and the *vasatis* of the monks, which specialised in imparting instruction in the traditional learning by distinguished teachers (*uvajjhāya*). Besides teaching the twelve *aṅgas*, grammar (*sadda*), logic (*hetussattha*), philosophy, erotics and the science of casting spells⁴⁶ were also taught.

Every religious order of the *samanas* was a travelling school. The furtherance of the cause of truth and knowledge in all branches of learning by open discussions was a remarkable feature of their educational and cultural activities. We read in the *Byhatkalpa Bhāṣya* that there were assemblies of disputants (*vādapurisā*) where intricate discussions were held between the Jain monks and other ascetics, particularly the Buddhists. If the disputant was weak in logic or philosophy, he was asked to go to another *gaṇa* to study further. After completing the studies, he came back, defeated his opponent and propagated the cause of religion.⁴⁷ We hear of an eccentric mendicant, who tied his belly with an iron-plate and holding a branch of the *jambu* tree, roamed about. He told people that to check the bursting of his belly with knowledge he had tied the iron-plate, and the branch of the *jambu* tree signified that there was nobody in Jambuddīva who could face him in argumentation.⁴⁸

Among the popular teachers of piety and morality mention may be made of the ballad-reciters and the story-tellers (*kāhīya*) through whom the profound truths of philosophies permeated even to the lowest stratum of society. Their preachings were enlivened by quotation of various stories, fables, legends and recitation of songs and riddles (*chalitakāvya*).⁴⁹

⁴³ *Uttarā*. Tī 4, p. 83 af.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 8, p. 124

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* 2, p. 22 a.

⁴⁶ *Kalpa*. Tī 4, p. 90a, also see D. C. Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 20 f. For the Buddhist education in the *Jātakas* see Dr. Radhakumud' Mookerjee's article in the *Buddhist studies*, pp. 236 ff.

⁴⁷ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4. 5179; 5431; *Vya Bhā* 1, p. 57 af

⁴⁸ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4. 5425-31.

⁴⁹ *Uttarā* Tī. 3, 72, cf. also the com. on the *Sutta Nipāta* (ii, p. 538 ff); also *Cullakālīṅga Jātaka* (No. 301), III, pp. 1 ff.

⁵⁰ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 2564.

CHAPTER V

ARTS AND SCIENCES

(1) WRITING

The art of writing was known in ancient India.¹ We have seen that *lekha* occurs in the list of seventy two arts. The *Rāyapaseṇi* refers to various kinds of writing materials and accessories such as *paṭṭaga* (leaves), *kambiyā* (wooden board), *dora* (thread), *ganthi* (knots), *lippāsana* (ink-pot), *chandaṇa* (lid), *saṅkalā* (chain), *masi* (ink), *lehaṇī* (pen), *akkhara* (letters) and *poṭṭhaya* (book).² *Lehāyariya* (*lekhācārya*, teacher) is mentioned in the *Avāśyaka Bhāṣya*,³ and in the *Cūrṇi*.⁴

The commentary on the *Samavāyāṅga* refers to writing, engraving, sewing and weaving of letters on materials such as leaves,⁵ bark, wood, ivory, iron, copper⁶ and silver and forming them by cutting the material, burning it, breaking it, and joining one with another (*saṅkramaṇa*).⁷

We hear of *Cakravartins* writing their names on the mountain with *Kākiṇī* jewel.⁸ We also meet the caravans which during the course of their journey used to make signs and marks on stones etc.⁹

We have referred to sending of letters (*leha*) to the enemy before entering into actual warfare. Love-letters,¹⁰ sealed letters,¹¹ and forged letters¹² (*kūṭalekha*) were also known.

THE EIGHTEEN LIVIS

The following *livis* or scripts are mentioned :—

(1) *Bambhī*, (2) *Javanāliya* or *Javanāmyā*, (3) *Dosāuriā*, (4) *Kharott-hiā*, (5) *Pukkharasāriā*, (6) *Paharāriā*, (7) *Uccattariā*,¹³ (8) *Akkharaputt-*

¹ According to Dr. Gauri Shankar Ojha, writing in India goes back to the 5th century B. C. (*Bhāratiya Prācīna Lipimālā*, p. 2 ff.)

² Su 131, *Āva Tī* (Hari.), p. 384 a. *Gandī*, *kacchavī*, *muṭṭhī*, *samputaphalaka* and *chedapālī* are mentioned as five types of *poṭṭhaya* (*Bṛh Bhā* 3:3822). For a detailed description of these see Muni Punyaviṇaya's scholarly monograph, *Jain Citra-kalpa-drūpa*, also Prof. H. R. Kapadia's *Outlines of Palaeography in J. U. B.*, Vol. VI, pt. VI, p. 87 ff., also Ojha, *op cit.*, pp. 4-8, 142-158.

³ 76 (*Niryuktī Dīptikā*, I, p. 90a).

⁴ p. 248.

⁵ Writing on *bhujapatta* is referred to in the *Āva cū.* p. 530. The material on which the signs have been traced in Babylon was clay. They were traced in India on leaves or on pieces of bark. These were mere scratchings, and ink was not used, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 117.

⁶ The *Vasudevahindī* (p. 189) mentions of writing a book on the copper leaf.

⁷ p. 78.

⁸ *Jambu* 3:54; for references in the Buddhist literature see Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 108.

⁹ *Āva Tī* (Hari.), p. 384a.

¹⁰ *Uttarā. Tī.* 13, p. 191 a.

¹¹ *Bṛh. Bhā. Pī.* 195; *Nisī cū.*, 5, p. 87 (MSS)

¹² *Uvā.* 1, p. 10.

¹³ According to the *Paṇṇa* (1:55a), we have *Antakkhariyā*, *Uyantarikkhiyā* or *Uyantarakariyā* in place of *Uccattariā*, and *Āyāsa* in place of *Ādamsa*, *Punyaviṇaya, Jain Citra-kalpa*, p. 6.

hiyā, (9) *Bhogavayatā*, (10) *Veṇatīyā*, (11) *Niṇhaiyā*, (12) *Anka lvi*, (13) *Gaṇia lvi*, (14) *Gandhavva lvi*—*Bhūya lvi*, (15) *Ādamsa lvi*, (16) *Māhesarī lvi*, (17) *Dāmūlī lvi* and (18) *Polindī lvi*.¹⁴

BRĀHMĪ AND KHAROṢṬRĪ SCRIPTS

Brāhmī and *Kharoṣṭrī* are the two most important scripts mentioned in the Jain and Buddhist texts.¹⁵ The former was written from left to right and the latter from right to left. The *Kharoṣṭrī* alphabet was introduced overland into the extreme north west of India about 500 B.C. and was used locally in *Gandhāra*. Later on, gradually *Kharoṣṭrī* disappeared from India and was replaced by *Brāhmī* from which all other alphabets used in India have evolved. Buhler has adopted the designation *Brāhmī* for the characters in which the majority of the Asoka edicts are written. According to him, the *Brāhmī* alphabet has been formed by phonologist or grammarians for scientific use.¹⁶

In Jain texts *Bambhī* occupies the first and fundamental place in the enumeration of the eighteen *lvīs* to which homage is paid in the beginning of the *Bhavagatī*.¹⁷ According to the *Samavāyāṅga*, *Bāmbhī lvi* comprises forty six *māryakkharas* (*mātrkāksaras*) or the original letters excluding four liquid vowels, viz. *Ṛ* (ॠ), *Ṝ* (ॡ), *Ḍ* (ॢ), *Ḍ̄* (ॣ), and *L* (।).¹⁸

It is stated that *Bambhī* was not only a specific name of a script but a generic name which stood for the eighteen scripts mentioned above.¹⁹

The rest of the *lvīs* seem to have disappeared and no trace of these has been found so far.

LANGUAGE

As we have seen among various classes of *Āryans*, *Bhāṣāyās* or the *Āryans* by language are mentioned. It is said that they spoke *Ardhamāgadhi* and knew the *Brāhmī* script.²⁰

¹⁴ The *Viseṣā Tī* (V 404) mentions the following eighteen *lvīs*: (1) *Hamsa lvi*, (2) *Anka lvi*, (3) *Jakkhī*, (4) *Rakkhasī*, (5) *Uddī*, (6) *Javanti*, (7) *Turukki*, (8) *Kūi*, (9) *Daṇḍī*, (10) *Sindhavayā*, (11) *Mālavī*, (12) *Nadī*, (13) *Nāgarī*, (14) *Lāḍa lvi*, (15) *Pāravī*, (16) *Anumitrī*, (17) *Cānakkī* and (18) *Mūladevī*. For some of these *lvīs* such as *Anka lvi*, *Nāgarī*, *Cānakkī* and *Mūladevī* see Punyaviyaya, *op cit*, p. 8 f note. The other lists of the *lvīs* are given by Lāvanyasamayagani in his *Vimolaprabandha* (p. 123) and Lakṣmīvallabha Upādhyāya in his commentary on the *Kalpasūtra*, (H. R. Kapadia, *op cit*, p. 84).

¹⁵ The *Lalitavistara* (p. 125f) mentions sixty four *lvīs*, the first two being *Brāhmī* and *Kharoṣṭrī*.

¹⁶ Ojha, *op cit* pp. 17-36, 1, 4, Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 124.

¹⁷ According to Muni Punyaviyaya, it commemorates the fact that the Jain *Āgamas* were first written in the *Brāhmī* script, *op cit*, p. 5.

¹⁸ Dr. Gaurishankar Ojha admits *Kṣa* as an alternative for *L* (।), *op cit*, p. 46.

¹⁹ According to Muni Punyaviyaya, however, all the eighteen *lvīs* are not necessarily the varieties of *Bambhī* (*ibid.* p. 5).

²⁰ *Pāṇṇa*. I. 37.

It is stated that Mahāvīra preached his religion in *Ardhamāgadhi*.²¹ The Jain saints are said to have preached in this language for the benefit of women, children, old men and illiterate people.²² The Jain authors, however, explain the term *Ardhamāgadhi* differently. According to the *Nisītha cūṛi*,²³ *Ardhamāgadhi* either was the language of half of Magadha or it comprised the eighteen kinds of *Desibhāsā*.

It may be noted, however, that Hemacandra in his *Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa* deals with *Prākṛta*, *Saurasēṇī*, *Māgadhi*, *Paśācī* and *Apabhraṃśa* languages, but not with *Ardhamāgadhi* or *Ārsa Prākṛta*. Haribhadra sūri also quotes a verse in his commentary on the *Dasaveyāliya*²⁴ which indicates that the language of the Jain Canons was known as *Prākṛta* and not *Ardhamāgadhi*. However, it must be admitted that the language of the present Jain Canons has undergone considerable changes and should be considered different from that in which the canons were originally composed.²⁵

(2) MATHEMATICS, ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

The Jains have memorable achievements in secular sciences, such as mathematics, astronomy and astrology. The *Suriyapannatti* and the *Candapannatti*, the fifth and the seventh *Upāṅgas* of the Jain Canon respectively, deal with astronomy, the latter being completely identical with the former. The *Suriyapannatti* deals with various astronomical views of the Jains such as the orbits which the sun circumscribes during the year, the rising and the setting of the sun, the speed of the course of the sun through each of its 184 cubits, the light of the sun and moon, the measure of the shadow at various seasons of the year, the connection of the moon with the lunar mansions (*nakṣatra*), the waxing and waning of the moon, the velocity of the five kinds of heavenly bodies (the sun, the moon, planets, *nakṣatras* and *tārās*), the qualities of the moon light, the number of suns in Jambudvīpa, etc.²⁶ *Vivāhapāḍala* was another work on astrology.²⁷ Then we had *Jonpāhuda*²⁸ and *Gūḷāmani*²⁹ dealing with astrology.

²¹ *Sama* p 57, also *O ā sū* 34, p 146

²² *Ācā cū* 7, p 235 According to the Jain mythology, the preachings of Mahāvīra in *Ardhamāgadhi* were understood by all alike without any distinction whatsoever, (*Sama* p 57), cf *Vibhaṅga* com (387f) where it is stated that if children grow up without being taught any language, they will spontaneously use the Magadha language, it is spread all over *mṛga*, among, lower animals, *paṭa*, human beings and *devas*

²³ II, p 733 According to Hemacandra, the main characteristic of *Māgadhi* noticed in *Ardhamāgadhi* is the termination 'e' in nominative singular in masculine (*Prākṛta Vyākaraṇa*, sū 287), also *Bhag ī t*, *O ā sū* I, 34

²⁴ p 203

²⁵ See Pt. Bechard's article on *Ardhamāgadhi Bhāsā* in the *Purātattva* 3 4 p 346, also *Gugarūti Bhāsā in Utkranti* pp 107-20, Bombay 1943, also B V Bapat, *I H Q*, 1928, p 23, A B Keith, the II mc of Pali, *Buddhist Studies*, pp 728ff

²⁶ Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, Vol II, p 437, also see Thibaut, *Astronomic Astrologic and Mathematic in Buhlei-Knithorn's Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie*, *J A S B*, Vol 49, pt I 1880, Sukumar Rangan Das, School of Astronomy, *I H Q*, Vol VIII, pp 30ff, and 565 ff For the knowledge of astronomy among the Buddhists see Dr F J Thomas's article Sun, Moon, and Stars (Buddhists, in Hasting's *Ency. of Religion and Ethics*).

²⁷ *Nisī cū* 12, p 854.

²⁸ *Bṛh Bhā* I, 1303.

²⁹ *Ibid.* I, 1313.

The knowledge of astronomy was considered necessary to find the time and place for the religious ceremonies.⁸⁰ *Saṅkhāna* (arithmetic) and *jōsa* (astronomy) are mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*⁸¹ and the *Uttarādhyayana*⁸² and are included among the fourteen branches of learning stated above.

The early Jain and Buddhist texts provide ample testimony to the progress made by *jyotiṣa*. The science was otherwise known as *nakkhatta-vijjā*.^{82a} The experts in *jōsa* were required to make forecasts of all coming events. It is said that Mahāvīra was versed in arithmetic and astronomy.⁸³ Arithmetic (*ganyā*) is counted among the seventy two arts already referred to, which is said to have been taught by Usabha to Sundari.⁸⁴ *Gaṇita* is also described as one of the four expositions of the principle (*anuyoga*) in the Jain texts.⁸⁵ The *Thānāṅga* mentions ten kinds of science of numbers, viz *parikamma* (fundamental operation), *vaṇahāra* (subject of treatment), *raju* ("rope" meaning geometry), *rāsi* ("heap" meaning measurement of solid bodies), *kalāsavanna* (fractions), *jāvaṃ tāvaṃ* ("as may as" meaning simple equations), *vagga* ("square" meaning quadratic equation), *ghana* ("cube" meaning cubic equation), *vaggavagga* (liquidratic equation) and *vikappa* (permutation and combination).⁸⁶

(3) MEDICINES, DISEASES AND TREATMENT

Ayurveda is defined as the science and art of life. It deals with life in all its phases—philosophical and biological—and comprises both preventive and curative medicine and surgery. It is the great healing art of ancient India which aims at giving us "a happy and benevolent life" by showing the ways and means to it.⁸⁷

The science of Medicine (*teguccaya* or *āyuvveya*), which is counted among the nine false sciences (*pāvasuya*) in the Jain texts,⁸⁸ is said to have been discovered by Dhannantari.⁸⁹ Dhannantari was well-versed in the medical science which comprises eight branches: Pediatrics (*kumārabhica*), surgery and midwifery (*salāga*), the treatment of eye, ear, nose and throat (*sallahalla*), the treatment of bodily diseases (*kāyatugucchā*),

⁸⁰ *Jambu Tī* p 2, cf *Digha I* p 10f where the study of astronomy and other arts is condemned by Buddha to the monks

⁸¹ 2 1.

⁸² 25 7, 36.

^{82a} *Das sū* 8 5.

⁸³ *Kalpa*. 1. 10

⁸⁴ *Āva cū*, p 156.

⁸⁵ *Das cū* p 2

⁸⁶ 10. 747, Bibhutibhusan Datta, The Jaina School of Mathematics, The *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, Vol XXI, p 115ff, 1929, also Sukumar Ranjan Das, A short Chronology of Indian Astronomy, *I H Q* 1931, H R Kapadia, Introduction to *Gaṇitātīlaka* (G O S No LXXVIII), D M Roy *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, 1920-7, pp 145 ff

⁸⁷ The Spirit and Culture of *Āyurveda*, p 411f, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol III

⁸⁸ *Thā* 9. 678.

⁸⁹ *Nisī cū* 15, p. 944, cf. *Milindapañha*, p. 272, also *Ayogharā Jātaka* (No. 510). IV, pp 496, 498.

toxicology (*jāṅgola*), demonology (*bhūyaṁjā*), the science and art of restoring health in old age (*rasāyaṇa*) and sexual rejuvenation (*vāyīkarana* or *khāratanta*).⁴⁰

The physicians carried their bags of surgical instruments⁴¹ (*satthakosa*) and gave various treatment according to the nature of the disease by treating the patient by methods such as rubbing with oil (*abbhaṅga*), rubbing with powder (*uvattapa*), oil drinks (*siṇehapāna*), vomiting (*vamaṇa*) purging, (*vireyaṇa*), branding (*avaddahana*), medicated baths (*avaṇhāṇa*), oil enema (*apuvāsana*), head bath (*balthikamma*), purging by drugs (*nirūha*), opening veins (*sinūveha*), cutting (*tacchana*), scrapping (*pacchana*), bathing the head with oils (*sirobatthi*), nourishing the body with oils (*tappana*), by means of ingredients roasted on fire by *putapāka* method, barks, roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds, butcis (*silikā*), pills, drugs (*osaha*) and mixtures (*bhesajja*).⁴²

We are told how a Jain monk, when suffering from sickness, should procure the services of a physician. It is said that the physician was to be approached in an auspicious moment and his advice was to be carefully followed. Sometimes, the sick persons were taken to the physician's residence. After examining the case, the *vaidya* made a diagnosis and suggested appropriate treatment and diet. If a *vaidya* was brought to the home of the patient he was provided with a hot bath and other comforts. He was to be fed on old rice and was provided with costly utensils. After the examination the physician was to be given his proper fees.⁴³

There were state physicians as well. It is said that once a physician did not treat the queen of a certain king properly and so he was put to death.⁴⁴ Another physician was addicted to gambling and he did not attend to his work. His book on medicine was stolen by robbers and his surgical instruments rusted. When this was brought to the notice of the king, he stopped his salary.⁴⁵

Hospitals (*tiṅcchayasālā*) are nicely mentioned. The *Nāyādharmakāhā* mentions that a hospital was built on hundred pillars where a number of physicians and surgeons were employed who treated various kinds of patients with various kinds of medicines and herbs.⁴⁶

The *Ācārāṅga* mentions the following sixteen diseases: boils (*gandī*), leprosy (*kutṭha* of eighteen kinds),⁴⁷ consumption (*vāyamsi*), epilepsy (*avamārya*), blindness (*kānya*), stiffness (*jhumiya*), lameness (*kuniya*),

⁴⁰ *Vivā* 7 p. 41, also cf. *Susruta Samhitā*, ch. 1. 8, p. 4f.

⁴¹ The following instruments are mentioned: *angulīsatthaya*, *siṇehasatthaya*, *pacchana*, *kapāna*, *lohakantiyā*, *sandāsaa*, *anuvahasalāgā*, *vismuḥa* and *sūmuḥa* (*Nisī cū*, 11, p. 701.)

⁴² *Vivā*, 1, p. 8.

⁴³ *Bṛh. Bhā* 1. 1910-70, cf. for a similar description *Susruta Samhitā*, ch. 29. sū. 13 p. 175 ff.

⁴⁴ *Bṛh. Bhā* pl. 376.

⁴⁵ *Vya. Bhā*, 5. 21.

⁴⁶ 13. p. 143.

⁴⁷ For eighteen kinds of *kutṭha* also see *Susruta Samhitā*, *Nidānasthāna*, 3. 4-5, p. 342, *Cāraka*, ch. 7, pp. 2069-73.

humpback (*khujja*), dropsy (*udari*), dumbness (*mūya*), swelling (*sūmya*), over-appetite (*gulāsaṇi*), trembling (*vevai*), disablement (*pīḍhasa-ppi*), elephantiasis (*silivaya*) and diabetes (*madhumeha*).⁴⁸

The following are mentioned as the causes of diseases. Over-eating, eating unwholesome food, over-sleeping, over-walking, checking calls of nature, travelling, irregularity of food, and indulgence in sexual intercourse.⁴⁹

Meat and wine were freely prescribed as diet by physicians⁵⁰ The practice of using skin with or without hair (*saloma-nilloma*) for the Jain monks and nuns is pretty old and is referred to in the *Brhatkalpa sūtra*. It is laid down that if a nun suffered from flatulence (*uddhavāta*) or from paralysis (*dhanuggāha*), or from piles or from acute pain, or her hand or foot was dislocated, or her whole or a part of the body was affected by 'wind', she was made to lie down on a skin⁵¹ Similarly, if her waist or hand was affected by rheumatism (*vāta*) the skin of a hyena (*taraccha*) was wrapped around the affected part, and if she were bitten by a dog she was made to lie down on a tiger skin (*dīvicaṃma*).⁵² In the same way the hairless skin was prescribed for the Jain monks, who suffered from bad leprosy (*galantakodha*), piles, *kacchu*⁵³ or *kulubha* (a kind of leprosy).⁵⁴ Droppings of a ram and cow urine were used to cure leprosy known as *pāmā*⁵⁵ The leg of a vulture was tied to cure paralysis (*vāyu*) ; the teeth and the nails of the bear and the hair of the ram were also used for similar purposes⁵⁶ Then *gosīsa* sandal was used to cure leprosy full of maggots (*kimikuttha*).⁵⁷

The drinking of urine (*moya*) was another old practice described in the *Brhatkalpa sūtra*.⁵⁸ The Jain monks and the nuns drank each other's (*annamannassa*) urine to cure snake-bite,⁵⁹ cholera and fever The mud

⁴⁸ 6. 1. 173 Cf the list in the *Vivā* (I, p 7) asthma (*sāsa*), cough (*kāsa*), fever (*jara*), inflammation (*dāha*), intestinal colic (*kucchsūla*), fistula (*bhagandara*), piles (*arisā*), indigestion (*ajīra*), optic neuralgia (*dīptisūla*), cerebral neuralgia (*muddhasūla*), loss of appetite (*akāraya*), pain in the eye (*acchiveyanā*), pain in the ear (*kannaveyanā*), itches (*kaṇḍu*), and dropsy (*nyara*) The *Jambu* (*Sū* 24, p 120) adds family disease (*kularoga*), village disease (*gāma*), country disease (*mandala*), pain in the hips (*oṭṭhaveyanā*), pain in the nose (*nakkaveyanā*), toothache (*dantaveyanā*), jaundice (*panduroga*), intermittent fever coming at the interval of one, two, three or four days (*egāha*, *beāha*, *teāha*, *cautthāha*), obsession by Indra (*Indaggaha*), paralysis (*dhanuggaha*), obsession by Skanda (*khandaggaha*), Kumāra (*kumāraggaha*), heartache (*hayaasūla*), stomachache (*poṭṭasūla*) vaginal pain, (*jousūla*), and pestilence (*māri*), also *Nisī cū* II, p 737 f *Jīvā* 3, p 153, *Bhag* (Abhaya), 3 6, p 353, also cf Law B. C, *History of Pali Literature*, p. 281. Also see *Mahābhārata*, III 230, 44 ff

⁴⁹ *Itthā* 9 667 Compare ten causes of disease in the *Milindapañha*, p 135

⁵⁰ Cf. *Vivā* 7, *Nāyā* 5, p 80, cf also *Mahāvagga*, VI, 10 2 where in the case of a disease not human, Buddha allowed them the use of raw flesh and blood

⁵¹ 3 3-6, *Bhā* 3839-41.

⁵² *Brh Bhā* 3816-18

⁵³ *Kacchu* is also mentioned in the *Dhammapada* A. I, p 299.

⁵⁴ *Brh Bhā*. 3839-40

⁵⁵ *Ogha*. p 134 a.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p 134 a; also *Pinda. Nir.* 48 ff.

⁵⁷ *Āva. cū* p 133.

⁵⁸ 5, 37.

⁵⁹ In Buddhist texts in case of snake biting four kinds of filth were given : dung, urines, ashes and clay ; *Mahāvagga*, VI. 14-6.

from the ant-hill, salt, gold and incantations were other means to cure snake-bite.⁶⁰ Water was sprinkled over the blisters caused by the spider and snake-bite.⁶¹ The fly dropping was used in case of vomiting, and the horse-fly (*āsamakkhyā*) to remove dirt from the eye.⁶² There were pills to cure eye-sore.⁶³ Flesh was used to cure fistula and in its absence rice powder (*kaṇikkā*) mixed with honey and *ghee* was used.⁶⁴ For madness, it is stated that if a monk or a nun became mad, they were tied gently and were kept in a room or a well without water.⁶⁵ A novel method of curing the madness of a nun due to her attachment to the sexual part of a person is mentioned. A slave was made drunk and made to sleep. His body besmeared with vomit, attracted flies, seeing which the nun was cured of her obsession.⁶⁶

Besides, various oils such as *hamsatella*, *satapāgatella*, *sahassapāgatella* and *marutella* are mentioned in Jain canonical literature.⁶⁷

Sores were healed by applying oil, *ghee* and powder, by bandaging the injured parts and by stitching them properly. In the battle field the physicians carried these articles with them.⁶⁸ The fringe of the garments was used in case a monk was suffering from carbuncle (*visakumbha*).⁶⁹

Pearl oysters (*suktikā*) were used for storing medicine.⁷⁰

Besides medicinal treatment, surgical operations also seem to have been carried out. We read that once a fish bone (*maccha-kaṇṭaka*) stuck into the throat of a fisherman; the surgeons were called. They tried to extract the bone with an instrument (*salla*) and tried other means but could not succeed.⁷¹

Lastly, the knowledge of physical science was not confined only to human beings, but it was also applied to animals. We read in the *Nisītha cūṛṇi* how a thorn was extracted from the body of a horse.⁷²

(4) ARCHERY

The science of archery (*dhanuvveya*) was highly advanced in ancient India and heroism in this country is invariably associated with proficiency

⁶⁰ *Nisī cū. Pi.* pp. 58, 121, *Ogh.* pp. 129a, 134 a.

⁶¹ *Ogh.* p. 129 a.

⁶² *Ibid.* p. 134 a.

⁶³ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 1277.

⁶⁴ *Nisī. cū.* p. 89.

⁶⁵ *Vya. Bhā.* 2. 122-5.

⁶⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 6. 6267.

⁶⁷ *Nisī. cū. Pi.* p. 109, *Bṛh. Bhā.* 5. 6031.

⁶⁸ *Vya. Bhā.* 5. 100-103, cf. *Arthasāstra*, p. 397.

⁶⁹ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3. 3907.

⁷⁰ *Ogh. Nir.* p. 134 a.

⁷¹ *Vivā* 8, p. 48; also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1051. That medical science including, surgery was fairly developed in ancient India, is revealed from the stories of the physician Jivaka told in the *Vinaya-vastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp. 27-43.

⁷² p. 1244; cf. also *Susruta Saṁhitā*, 26. 13, p. 163.

in this art.⁷³ *Dhanuvveya* and *isattha*, as the sciences of archery, are counted among the seventy two arts, as we have already seen. We have seen hunters running here and there with bow and arrow in their hand in search of a forest-animal. The archer took the bow, chose a suitable position, pulled it up to the ear and shot the arrow. Various terms such as the back of the bow (*dhanupittha*), bow-string (*jīvā*), gut (*phāru*), arrow (*usu*),⁷⁴ and awl-tipped arrow (*ārāmuha*)⁷⁵ are mentioned. Shooting at a sound without seeing (*saddavehā*) is mentioned.⁷⁶

It was compulsory for princes to acquire proficiency in the science of archery. We come across various kings and princes who were adepts in this science. Reference has been made to king Cedaga who was a skilful archer. He used to shoot one arrow a day which proved fatal for the enemy. Cedaga's charioteer also was an adept in archery and is said to have killed thirty two warriors with one arrow.⁷⁷ Jarākumāra was another expert marksman who is said to have shot dead Kaṇhavāsu-deva by his arrow.⁷⁸ Then Aḡaḡadatta is described as another shooter versed in the science of archery.⁷⁹ We also come across Jain monks who were experts in archery (*kayakaraṇa*) and who, at the time of difficulty, fought with the enemy and saved the *Śaṅgha*.⁸⁰

Proficiency in archery was greatly prized and we hear of the prince Surindadatta who obtained a princess by shooting an effigy that stood on an axle to which were attached eight wheels.⁸¹ We are told that a shepherd who perforated the foliage of a bunyan tree with his small bow (*dhanuhuyā*), at the command of a prince shot through the eyes of the king, and was offered a village in reward.⁸²

(5) MUSIC AND DANCING

The people of ancient India loved music as we have already seen. Not only kings and nobles were surrounded with musicians and dancers but even ordinary people loved singing and dancing or hearing and witnessing others doing so. The seventy two arts, referred to above, included the arts of dancing (*natṭa*), singing (*gīta*), vocal music (*saragaya*), instrumental music (*vāditta*), drum music (*pukkkharagaya*), and timing in music (*samatāla*), which shows that music and dancing were widely cultivated in ancient India.⁸³

⁷³ *Dhanur-maha* is mentioned as a festival by *Bhāsa*, Dr. A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa—A study*, Lahore, 1940, p. 440 f.

⁷⁴ *Bhag.* 5 6.

⁷⁵ *Uttarā.* *Ṭi.* 4, p. 89.

⁷⁶ *Nāyā.* 18, p. 208, also cf. *Sarabhanṇa Jāḷaka* (No. 522), V, p. 129.

⁷⁷ *Avā. cū.* II, p. 173.

⁷⁸ *Uttarā.* *Ṭi.* 1, p. 40.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.* 4, p. 89.

⁸⁰ See supra, 166, cf. *Nisī. cū. pī.* p. 146.

⁸¹ See supra, p. 158 f.

⁸² *Uttarā.* *Ṭi.* 5, p. 102 a; cf. *Dhammapada A II*, p. 69

⁸³ For characteristics of Indian music, see Coomaraswamy's *The Dance of Śiva*, pp. 72-81.

On the occasions of feasts and festivals we come across men and women dancing and making merry. We have seen, during the festival of the god of Love in Vānārasi how Citta and Sambhūya, who were versed in the art of singing and dancing, captivated the heart of the citizens, specially of the womenfolk, by playing on *ṭsaraya*, *venu* (flute) and *ṭvāṇā* (lute).⁸⁴ Udayana is mentioned as a great musician who by his music could control the loose elephants. He was asked by king Pajjoaya to teach music to the princess Vāsavadattā.⁸⁵ Uddāyana was another musician king, who used to play *ṭvāṇā* while his queen danced.⁸⁶

Music was accompanied by pipes (*vaṃsa*), *ṛiṇā* (*ṭanti*), clapping (*ṭala*) and the rhythmic beating of the drum (*tālalaya*), following the instrumental music (*gaha*).⁸⁷ Even *svaras* (notes) are mentioned in the *Thānāṅga*. According to the Jain tradition, a full description of the *svaras* and the eleven *alankāras* (rhetoric) was contained in the *Svaṇapābhṛta*, one of the fourteen *Pūrvas*, which is extinct now. It is stated that this subject should be studied from the works of Bharata, Viśākṣiḥa and others which are only a part of the *Pūrvas*. Then are mentioned the seven places of origin of the *svaras*, the birds and beasts that utter these notes, the musical instruments which give rise to these notes, the advantages occurring from singing these notes, three *grāmas* (gamut), twenty one *mūrchanās* (intonation), qualities and defects of singing, and the like.⁸⁸

Various musical instruments (*turiya*) are referred to, which may be classified as under . *tata* (stringed instruments) such as *vinā* etc., *vitata* or *ānaddha* (percussion) such as drums etc , *ghana* (concussion) such as symbols etc , and *susna* (wind instruments) such as lute etc The *Rāyā-pasenya* mentions the following sixty instruments . (1) *sankha*, (2) *singa*, (3) *śankhya*, (4) *kharāmuhi*, (5) *peyā*, (6) *pūṇṇṇiya*, (7) *panava*, (8) *paḍaha*, (9) *bhambhā* (also known as *dhakkā*), (10) *horāmbhā* (also known as *mahādhakkā*), (11) *bherī*, (12) *jhallarī*, (13) *dunduhi*, (14) *muraya*, (15) *munga*, (16) *nandī munga*, (17) *ālinga*, (18) *kutumba*, (19) *gomuhi*, (20) *maddala*, (21) *vinā*, (22) *vpañci*, (23) *vallakī*, (24) *mahāī*, (25) *kacchabhī*, (26) *cittarīnā*, (27) *baddhisā*, (28) *sughosā*, (29) *nandīghosā*, (30) *bhāmarī*, (31) *chabbhāmarī*, (32) *paravāyanī*, (33) *tūnā*, (34) *tumbarīnā*, (35) *āmota*, (36) *jaññhā*, (37) *nakula*, (38) *mugunda*, (39) *hudukkī*, (40) *vicikkī*, (41) *karādā*, (42) *ḍindima*, (43) *knīya*, (44) *kāḍamba*, (45) *daddariyā*,⁸⁰ (46) *daddaragā*, (47) *kalasiyā*,

⁸⁴ Also cf. *Avadāna sataka* III, 30, p. 163, II 17, p. 93, also 'the Parts of a *Vinā*', by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. 50-3, 1930.

85 *Ā, a cū* II, p 161.

⁸⁵ *Uttarā Tī* 18, p. 253

87 *Rāya* sū 63

⁸⁸ *Thā* 7 553, *Jñā. Tī*, 3, p 103af, *Anu sū* 127, *Anu cū*, p 45, also see Śārngadeva's *Saṅgīta Ratnākara*, ch I, Poona, 1896, *Nāṭyaśāstra*, ch 28

80 Also known as *gohia*

(48) *maḍḍaya*, (49) *tala*, (50) *tāla*, (51) *kamsatāla*, (52) *ringirisiyā*, (53) *lattiya*, (54) *magariyā*, (55) *suṣsumāriyā*, (56) *vaṁsa*, (57) *veḷu*, (58) *vālī*, (59) *parillī* and (60) *baddhagā*.⁹⁰

DANCE

Music is incomplete without dance and expression. Dance has found copious mention in Indian literature from the earliest period.⁹¹ We are told that Meghakumāra after marrying eight girls passed the time happily in his palace, having before him plays of thirty two performers, accompanied with song and music of drums played by damsels.⁹²

The *Rāyapasenya* describes thirty two kinds of dramas :

(1) The first dance drama was shown with the accompaniment of orchestral music representing the eight symbols, viz. *soththiya* (*svastika**) *sirivaccha*, *nandiyāvatta*,⁹³ *vaddhamānaga*,* *bhaddāsana*, *kalasa*, *maccha* and *dappana*.

(2) In this dance drama were shown *āvaḍa*, *paccāvaḍa*, *sedhi*, *pasedhi*, *soththiya*, *sovaththiya*, *pūsa*, *mānavaka*, *vaddhamānaga*, *macchanḍa*, *magaranda*, *jāra*, *māra* *phullāvali*, *paumaḥpatta*,* *sāgarataranga*, *vasantalatā* and *paumalaya-bhatticitta*.*

(3) In this they showed *ihāmiga*, *usabha*, *naraturaga*, *magara*,* *viḥaga*, *vāḷaga*, *kinnara*, *ruru*, *sarabha*, *camara*, *kuñjara*,* *vanalayā*, and *paumalayabhatticitta*.

(4) In this they showed *egao vanka*, *egao cakkavāla*, *duhao cakkavāla*, *cakkaddhacakkavāla*.

(5) In this was the representation of *āvalis* such as *candāvali*, *sūrāvali*, *valiyāvali*, *hamsāvali*,* *egāvali*, *tārāvali*, *muttāvali*, *kanagāvali*, and *rayanāvali*.

(6) In this was shown the rise of the sun and the moon such as *canduggamana* and *suruggamana*.

⁹⁰ Sū 64. The *Bṛh. Bhā. Pi* (p. 12) mentions the twelve musical instruments *bham-bhā*, *mukunda*, *maddala*, *kadamba* or *kadava*, *jhallarī*, *hudukka*, *kamsāle*, *kāhala*, *talimā*, *vamsa*, *panava* and *senkha*, see also *Bṛh. Bhā. Pi* 24, also *Bhag* 5 4, *Jīvā* 3, p 145 a, *Jambu* 2, p 100 f, *Anu Sū* 127, *Nisī cū* 17, p 1158. The last mentioned work adds *damaruga*, *vinā*, *dhankuna* and the like. The *Acā* (II 391) adds *littiya* and *kiriṣṭriyā*. The *Sūya* (4 2 7) mentions *kukkayaya* (lute) and *venupalāṇiya* lute, the latter was a thin piece of bamboo or bark held between the teeth and the left hand, and played by the right hand just like a *vinā* (com.) Also see *Sangitaratnākara*, chapter 6 where the details of the musical instruments are given. The *Rāmāyana*, V 11, 38 ff. mentions *madduka*, *patāha*, *vamsa*, *vipañci*, *mṛdaṅga*, *panava*, *dindima*, *ādambara* and *kalasi*, also see *Mahābhā.* VII 82 4.

⁹¹ Three types of Śiva dances are mentioned in Hindu literature (1) evening dance in the Himālaya with a divine chorus which was the source of all movement within the cosmos, (2) *Tāṇḍava* dance was performed in cemeteries and burning grounds which released the countless souls of men from the snare of illusion, (3) *Nadanta* dance of Natarāja was performed before the assembly in the golden hall of Chidambaram or Tillai, the centre of the universe which shows that the place of dance, the centre of the universe is within the heart (Coomaraswamy, *op cit*, pp 56 f, 65, also C R Srinivasa Aiyangar, *Cultural aspects of Indian Music and Dancing*, *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, p 586.

⁹² *Nāyā* 1, p 23.

⁹³ *Svastika*, *vaddhamāna* and *nandiyāvarta* are also mentioned in the *Mahābhā.* (VII, 82. 20) In the com. of the *Anguttara*, *nandiyāvatta* is mentioned as the name of a fish (Malalasekara, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 29).

- (7) In this was shown the movement of sun and moon such as *candāgamana* and *sūāgamana*
- (8) It showed the lunar and solar eclipse such as *candāvarana* and *sūāvarana*
- (9) It showed the setting of sun and moon such as *candatthamana* and *sūratthamana*
- (10) It showed the *candamandala*, *sūamandala*, *nāgamandala*, *jakkhamandala*, *bhūtamandala*, *rakkhasamandala*, *mahāgamandala* and *gandhāvamandala*.*
- (11) It showed the gait of *usabhamandala*, *sīhamandala*, *hayavilambiya*, *gajavilambiya*, *hayavilasiya*, *gayavilasiya*, *mattahayavilasiya*, *mattagajavilasiya*, *mattahayavilambiya*, *mattagajavilambiya*, and *duyavilambiya*
- (12) It showed *sāgaraparibhatti* and *nāgaraparibhatti*.
- (13) It showed the drama of *Nandā* and *Campā*
- (14) It showed *maccharaparibhatti*, *māyānāḍakaparibhatti*, *jāaparibhatti* and *māaparibhatti*
- (15) It showed the representation of letters from 'ka' to 'na'.
- (16) It showed the representation of 'ca' to 'ña'.
- (17) It showed the representation of 'ta' to 'na'.
- (18) It showed the representation of 'ta' to 'na'.
- (19) It showed the representation of 'pa' to 'ma'.
- (20) It showed *asoyopallavaparibhatti*, *ambapallavaparibhatti*, *jambupallavaparibhatti*, and *kosambapallavaparibhatti*.
- (21) It represented *paumalayāparibhatti*, *nāga*, *asoga*, *campaka*, *amba*, *vana*, *vāsantī*, *kunda*, *atimuttaya*, and *sāmalayāparibhatti*.
- (22) *Druva* (*druta*) dance *
- (23) *Vilambiya* dance.
- (24) *Duyavilambiya* dance.
- (25) *Añciya* dance *
- (26) *Rābhīya* dance
- (27) *Añjyābhīya* dance
- (28) *Ābhada* dance *
- (29) *Bhasola* dance *
- (30) *Ārabhaḍabhasola* dance
- (31) *Uppayanivayaparavatta*, *sankuciya*, *pasāriya*, *rayāriya*,+ and *bhanta-sambhānta* dance
- (32) In this drama the actors and actresses forming a row represented the story of Mahāvīra's early life, his conception, exchange of foetus, birth, lustration, boyhood, youth, sexual sport, renunciation, penance, attainment of kevalahood, the propagation of his message and finally his *mrvāna* ⁹⁴

—*Recakarecita* in the *Jambū*

* These are mentioned in the Bhārata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*. It mentions *gajadanta* in place of *kūṣṭhara* (5) *hamsa*, *akti* and *hamsapāl* in place of *hamsāśatikā* (6), it gives twenty kinds of *maṇḍala* (7), and mentions *bhṛāṇara* in place of *thovola* (11), and *recita* instead of *recakarecita* (12); see *Bhag. Pt. II* (Bechardas ed.), p. 43.

⁹⁴ *Sū.* 66-84,

Then other dramas known as *mahuyarīgīya* and *soyāmani* are mentioned.⁹⁵ The *Pinḍa niryukti* refers to the *ratthavāla* drama which was staged in Pāṭaliputra by the monk Āsādhabbūi. It depicted the life of Bhārata, the universal monarch, and it is stated that after seeing this drama a large number of kings and princes retired from the worldly life and joined the ascetic order. Later on, thinking that the drama might do great harm to the world and the earth may be devoid of the *Kṣatryas*, it was destroyed.⁹⁶

(6) PAINTING

The art of painting was considerably developed in ancient India.⁹⁷ The painters are mentioned along with brushes (*tūliyāo*) and colours (*vannaya*), first they divided the wall surface (*bhūmibhāga*) and then prepared the surface (*bhumum sajjei*). There were painters who were adepts in their profession. One painter is mentioned who, could portray the complete figure of bipeds (*duvaya*), quadrupeds (*cauppayā*) and things without foot (*apaya*) even if he saw a part of their body.⁹⁸

Trees, mountains, rivers, seas, houses, creepers, full vessel and *sovatthiya* etc.⁹⁹ were painted.

Pictures were drawn on walls as well as on panels or boards (*phalaka*). A courtesan, who got painted the characteristics of different castes, different phases of the art of love depicting the reconciliation of lovers, has been already referred to.¹⁰⁰ Paintings on panels were a very helpful medium in encouraging love affairs. We are told that a *parivāṇā* painted the portrait of the princess Sujetthā on a board and showed it to king Seniya,¹⁰¹ who fell in love with her. Similarly, prince Sāgaracanda became enamoured of Kamalāmelā when her portrait was shown to him.¹⁰²

Picture-galleries (*cittasabhā*) are mentioned which were a matter of great pride for the kings in ancient India. These galleries were constructed on many hundred pillars. One such picture-gallery was built by a banker of Rāyagiha in the adjoining forest of the city which was decorated with wooden (*katthakamma*), earthen (*potthakamma*)¹⁰³ and plaster decoration (*leppa*), wreaths (*ganthima*), images (*vedhima*), and dolls (*puṇṇima*)

⁹⁵ *Uttarā Pi* 13, 196, 18, 240

⁹⁶ 474-480

⁹⁷ *Citta* or painting is mentioned in the *Kuttinimata* (vs. 124, 236) among various arts to be studied by a courtesan. The following six great requisites of painting are mentioned: knowledge of appearances, correct perception, measure and structure of forms, action of feelings on forms, infusion of grace or artistic representation, similitude and artistic manner of using brush and colours (*P B I*, p. 316), see also A. K. Coomaraswamy's *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art* pp. 164 ff.

⁹⁸ *Āṇā* 3, p. 106 f., also cf. *Uttarā* 35, 4.

⁹⁹ *Brh Bhā* I, 2429

¹⁰⁰ *Supra*, p. 275

¹⁰¹ *Āṇā cū* 11, p. 165

¹⁰² *Brh Bhā Pi*, 172

¹⁰³ See also *Kuttinimata* (vs. 124).

which were stuffed and made of cloth (*sanghāim*).¹⁰⁴ We are told that in the picture-gallery of prince Malladinna the pictures were imbued with coquettish sentiments and feelings (*hā abhāva*), the play of the eyes (*vilāsa*) and amorous gestures (*hibboya*).¹⁰⁵ Jiyasattu is mentioned as another king who owned a picture-gallery. We are told that, when the construction of this gallery was in progress, a painter's daughter formed the design of a peacock feather in the mosaic floor (*kottimolala*). The king under the false impression of its being natural was tempted to pick it, but in his attempt the nails of his fingers struck against the floor and he hurt his hand.¹⁰⁶

Dammuha is mentioned as still another king to have a picture-gallery. When this painted gallery was ready he entered it with great ceremony.¹⁰⁷

(i) SCULPTURE

Sculpture or the art of image making is considerably old in ancient India.¹⁰⁸ The earliest materials for carving selected by Indian artists seems to have been wood. *Katthakanura* or the work in wood has been referred to above. The *Iyasa'āra Bhāṣya* refers to the sage Vāṭattaka whose wooden figure was built and worshipped by his son.¹⁰⁹ We also hear of images made of plaster (*puttha*), ivory (*danta*) and stone (*śila*).¹¹⁰

The *Nāyārdhammakāṇḍī* mentions a golden image of Mañi with a hole in its head which was covered with a lid.¹¹¹ Then we come across a mechanical image (*gantepeḍamē*) of a human being which could walk, open and shut its eyes. It is said that in Yavana country such images were turned out in great number.¹¹² Another specimen of fine workmanship in mechanical toy is supplied by the mechanical elephant (*jānamayahatthi*) manufactured by King Pradyota to capture Udayana of Kosambi.¹¹³

(ii) ARCHITECTURE

The art of house building (*vetthavayyā*) was an important art in ancient India. There were *vetthapūṭṭhagā* or men qualified for testing sites for house building.¹¹⁴ *Vadidhai* or an architect is counted as one of the fourteen 'jewels'.¹¹⁵ In building a new house in the city it is said that, firstly, the land is examined, then it is levelled, then rings (*undiyāo*)

¹⁰⁴ *Nāyā* 13, p. 142.

¹⁰⁵ *ibid.* 8, p. 106 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Uttarā Tī* 9, p. 111 ff.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid.*, p. 135. Dhinapālī has mentioned three types of *trāsāṇi*. See Art notes from Dhānapālī's *Īlakamānari* by C. Sivaramamurti, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 199-210, also the Indian Painter and his art in the *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, p. 555 ff. by the same author.

¹⁰⁸ For characteristic features of the sculptures of the various periods see Gopinath, *The Elements of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 33-37, O. C. Gangohy, *Indian Sculpture: The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III, pp. 536-554.

¹⁰⁹ 2, 11.

¹¹⁰ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1, 2469.

¹¹¹ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4, 4915.

¹¹² 8, p. 95.

¹¹³ *Āra. cū.* II, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ *ibid.* II, p. 177.

¹¹⁵ *Jambu Sv.* 3.55, p. 229, also see *Rāmāyana* II, 50, 1 ff.

are cast on different places fit for different constituents of the building. Then the ground is dug and the foundation is laid and a well pressed and then a platform of brick masonry is added.¹¹⁶

Three kinds of buildings are mentioned : an underground cell (*khāya*), a palace (*ūsiya*), and a combination of the two (*ubhaya*)¹¹⁷

The *Rāyapesenīya* mentions a number of architectural terms, which show the development of the science to a great extent in those days. Mention is made of *Suryābhadeva's Vīmāna* which was surrounded on all sides by a rampart (*pāgāra*) and which was embellished with beautiful cornices (*kavisāsaga*). In every direction there were gates (*dāra*) with cupola (*thūbhya*) decorated with the figures of *ihāmiga*, bull (*usabha*), horse with a man's head (*naraturaga*), crocodile (*magaia*), bird (*vihaga*), serpent (*vāлага*), *kinnara*,¹¹⁸ deer (*ruru*), *sarabha*, yak (*camara*), elephant (*kuñjara*), creeper (*vanalayā*) and lotus creeper (*paumalayā*). They had capitals (*veryā*) decorated with the figure of the pair of the *vidyādharas*. The doors had landings (*nimma*),¹¹⁹ foundation or pedestal (*partilāna*), pillars (*khambha*), thresholds (*eluyā*), bolts (*undakūla*), door-posts (*cedā*), lintels (*uttaraṅga*), small door bolts (*sū*), joints (*sandhi*), sockets (*samuggaya*), wooden cross bolt pin (*aggalā*), sockets for wooden pin (*aggalapāsūya*), hinges (*āvattanapedhiyā*), and left wings (*uttarapāsaga*). There were heavy doors fitting closely (*nirantarīyaghanakavāḍā*) ; in their panels (*bhutti*), there were globular bosses (*bhuttiguliyā*) and cushions (*gomānasīyā*). In the doors the figures of *sālabhañjika*¹²⁰ in various playful attitudes were carved. Then the doors had pinnacles (*kūda*), elevation (*usseha*), the tops (*ulloya*), lattices (*bhoma*), pinions (*pakkha*), pinion supports (*pakkabāhā*), cross beams (*vamsa*), ribbings (*vamsakavelluya*), panels (*pathiyā*), thatches (*ohādanī*) and thatches under the ribbings (*uvaripuñchanī*).¹²¹

Then there were pegs (*nāgadanta*) on both sides of the gates, from which were hung hangers (*sikkaga*) and on which were suspended incense pots (*dhūvaghadī*).¹²²

We learn about a Thiatric hall¹²³ (*picchāgharamanilaya*) which was supported by many columns (*anegakhambhasayasamuvuttha*), and was furnished with huge altars (*vedikā*), arches (*torana*) and *sālabhañjika* figures, it was decorated with *ihāmiga* etc., was fitted with a mechanism to show the moving figures of the pair of *vidyādharas*, had hundreds of

¹¹⁶ *Bṛh Bhā Pī* 331-3, also cf. *Digha* I, p. 9, *Mūlindapañha*, pp. 331, 345.

¹¹⁷ *Bṛh Bhā* 1 827

¹¹⁸ The *Kinnara* motif in decorative art is mentioned by the Sinhalese painters. The *Kinnaras* are beings, human above and bird-like below, like a siren or harpy, with human arms and shoulders and the wings not large enough for flight, A. K. Coomaraswamy *Medieval Singhalese Art*, Gloucestershire, 1908, p. 81f.

¹¹⁹ *Dvārānām bhūmbhāgād ūrdhvam nīskramantah pradesah*, com.

¹²⁰ For a beautiful description of *sālabhañjika*s read sū 101. The *Aradānasataka* (VI, 53, p. 302) mentions *sālabhañjika*, a festival celebrated in Srāvastī.

¹²¹ *Rāya. sū.* 97f.

¹²² *Ibid. sū.* 100, p. 164

¹²³ Almost the same description is given of a royal house (*bhavana*) in the *Nāyā* 1, p. 22 ; also cf. the description of a litter (*sīyā*), *ibid.*, p. 31. Also vide *Aśvinasāra*, ch. XLVII

figures decorating it (*rūvagasahassakalyam*), had many domes (*thūbhya*), was decorated with flags and bells, was well-plastered (*ulloya*) and bore the palm impression inside and outside, its gates had sandal pitchers and arches; there were flowers, garlands, perfumes and incense, and the ceiling (*ulloya*) was decorated with lotus creepers. In the centre of the Theatre hall there was a stage (*akklāḍaga*) which had a jewelled seat (*maniprēḍhiya*) in the centre. On that there was a throne having discs (*cakkala*), lions (*siha*), feet (*pāya*), tops (*pāyasisaga*), the body (*galla*) and the joint (*sandhi*)¹²⁴

The stair-cases are mentioned which were well-equipped with landings (*nemma*), plinth (*avalambana*), balustrade (*avalambenālāha*), etc.¹²⁵ Then the *Nāyāḍhammakahā* describes the sleeping chamber (*raagharaya*)¹²⁶ of queen Dhārīnī as having an outer court yard (*chekattū*, com. *lāṇyātundaka*), polished and well-set pillars endowed with statues (*sāi.bhaṇṇiyā*), bird-perches (*vidanku*),¹²⁷ latticed windows (*jāla*), circular stairs (*addhacanda*), brackets (*niyūha*), apertures (*kanayāli*, com. *sūnā.ṇesuh*), and a room on the roof called (*candusālaka*), it was coloured with the dye of clear mineral rock (*ālāṇṇala*), the outside was white-washed (*dūmva*) with stone and therefore it had a smooth surface (*ghattamattha*) and the inside was decorated with pictures (*chakkammī*), its floor (*kottimatala*) was richly studded with various gems and jewels and the ceiling had a canopy of painted cloth (*ulloyaṭṭiya*) with lotus flowers (*perimlayā*) and flowering creepers laden with beautiful flowers, the door-ways were beautifully decorated with auspicious golden jars, with lotus flowers inserted in the mouth and these were worshipped with sandal wood, the door was decorated with *pratāḍaka* (an ornament) and hung with necklaces of pearls and jewels. Fragrant incense burnt in the room and the furniture consisted of rich upholstered beds, cushions and pillows, etc.¹²⁸

There were lofty mansions (*ipāsāya aradimsaya*) for rich and well-to-do people. Seven storeyed¹²⁹ mansions touching the sky and embellished with flags, banners, umbrellas and garlands are referred to.¹³⁰ Then we have reference to a post (*khundha*), pillar (*thambha*), raised platform (*mañca*), scaffold (*māla*) and flat roof (*hammiyatala*)¹³¹. The city of Rāyagīha was known for buildings made of stone and bricks (*kāṇulla*)¹³². The mirror-house (*āyamsagīha*) of Bharata was well-known.¹³³ *Sīyahara* or the cool-house was a marvellous house of a *Cakravartin* which remained

¹²⁴ *Rāya* 41 f. For the description of *Sudhamā* Hall and other buildings see *Rāya*, 120-131.
¹²⁵ *Ibid* sū 30, of three kinds of stairs, viz., brick stairs, stone stairs, and wooden stairs, *Cullaṅga*, V 11 6.

¹²⁶ Also compare the description of dwelling place (*āsagāra*) in the *Kalpa sūtra*, 3 32.

¹²⁷ *Vitanka* is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, II 80 20.

¹²⁸ I, p. 3 f, also cf. *Brh Bhā Pī* 582 ff.

¹²⁹ *Uttarā Tī* 13, p 189.

¹³⁰ *Nāyā* 1, 22.

¹³¹ *Ācā* II 1 7 260.

¹³² *Brh Bhā* 3 4768.

¹³³ *Uttarā Tī* 18, p 232 a.

unaffected by rains, cold and heat ¹³⁴ Then we had underground construction (*bhūmihara*), ¹³⁵ back door (*avaddāra*), ¹³⁶ big tunnels (*suwanga*) ¹³⁷ and lac-houses (*jauhara*) ¹³⁸

The *Svayamvara* halls have been already mentioned, they rested on hundred columns and were embellished with sportive *sālabhañjaka* ¹³⁹ statues We had *attanasālā* (hall for gymnastic exercises), *magganagāra* (bathing house), ¹⁴⁰ and *nhānamandapa* (bath room) containing windows, ornamented with pearls, its floor studded with various jewels and precious stones and equipped with a bathing stool (*nhānapītha*) ¹⁴¹ We also come across *uvattthānasālā* ¹⁴² (attendance hall) *posahasālā* ¹⁴³ (fasting hall), *kūddāgārasālā* ¹⁴⁴ (pinnacled hall) and square tanks ¹⁴⁵ (*phokkharinī*)

(9) FORTIFICATION

The principles of fortification of towns were well understood We read that the city of Campā was solidly built and it was hard to enter Its moat (*phalīhā*) was broad on top and cut deep down, it had discs (*cakka*), clubs (*gaya*), maces (*musundhī*), barriers (*oioha*), war-machines (*sayaggāhi*) and double doors (*jamalakavāda*); it was surrounded by a wall (*pāgāra*) bent in a curve like a bow, and decorated with cornices (*kavisīsa*) arranged in circles, its bastions (*attālaya*), rampart paths (*cariya*), door-ways (*dāra*), gates (*gopura*), and arches (*torana*) were lofty, its high roads (*rāyamigga*) duly divided, its gate bars (*phalīha*) and bolts (*indakīla*) were strong and fashioned by skilful artificers ¹⁴⁶

Of religious architecture we find mention of the *devakulas* or temples We are not told in details about the nature and architectural feature of these buildings, except that they were resorts of the travellers

We have references to *thūbhas* and the *ceyyas*, built upon the remains of the deceased persons. Such *thūbhas* are said to have been built on Atthāpada in memory of Usabha by his son Bharaha. ¹⁴⁷ We are told that in the village of Vaddhāmānaya a *Jakkha* temple was built on the bones of the deceased persons of the town, and hence this village came to

¹³⁴ *Assi cū* 10, p 559.

¹³⁵ *Uttarā*, *Ti*, 13, p 185 a

¹³⁶ *Nāyā* 8, p 111.

¹³⁷ *Assi cū* 11, p 163

¹³⁸ *Uttarā* *Ti* 13, p 188 For the construction of lac-house, see *Mahābhārata*, I 150

¹³⁹ See supra, p 154

¹⁴⁰ Hot-air baths are described in the *Cullavagga* v 14.

¹⁴¹ *Kalpa* 4 61 f

¹⁴² *Ibid* 4-58, also see *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udāna*, p 102

¹⁴³ *Nāyā* 1 p 19

¹⁴⁴ *Rāya* 94 p 150

¹⁴⁵ *Nāyā* 13, p 142 f

¹⁴⁶ *Q.ā* 1 also *Uttarā* 9 18-24.

¹⁴⁷ *Assi cū* p 223 f, cf *Tittira Jātaka* (No 438, III, p. 537); for the construction of a *Vihāra* see also *Avadāna Sātaka*, II, 15, p. 87, *Mahāvamsa*, chs, XXVIII, seq, Indian Architectural Terms by A. K. Coomaraswamy, *J. A. O. S.* 48-3, 1928

be known as Atthiyagāma.¹⁴⁸ The temple (*devakula*) built on the remains of the dead was also called *maḍagaleṇa* or *matagagīha*.¹⁴⁹

Layana is mentioned as a resort of the ascetics in caves.¹⁵⁰ We hear of the *mangala ceyas* in Mathurā. It was a belief here that if a Jain image was not put in the lintel, then the house would fall.¹⁵¹

In furniture we also come across rich beds, cushions, pillows, chairs, etc.

Among marriage gifts mention has been made of *pāvīdha* (foot stool), *bhisiyā* (seat), *pallanka* (couches) and *paḍisijjā* (sofas). Various kinds of *āsanas* have already been noted.¹⁵²

Dandasampucchanī and *venusampucchanī* are mentioned as brooms attached to the bamboo-sticks.¹⁵³

Among other domestic furniture we have the fan (*vījana*), the umbrella (*chatta*), sticks (*danda*)¹⁵⁴ jak-tail (*camara*), the mirror (*ādamsa*), the box (*mañjūsa*), the casket (*samugga*), a basket (*piḍaya*) and cages (*pañjara*).¹⁵⁵

¹⁴⁸ *Āva cū* p 272

¹⁴⁹ *Nisī. cū* 330, *Ācā cū* 370

¹⁵⁰ *Amu. Sū* 99, p 145

¹⁵¹ *Brh. Bhā* 1 1776

¹⁵² See supra, p 157, also see *Rāya Sū* 113, *Kalpa* 4 49,63. For references to cushions, coverlets, counterpanes, chaus etc see *Mahāvagga* v 10 3, *Cullavagga* vi. 2 4, also *Indian Culture* Vol. II, July, 1935 pp 271 ff, Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on Furniture, also *Mānasāra*, chs. XLIV, XLV, R. L. Mitra *Indo-Aryan*, Vol I pp 250 ff.

¹⁵³ *Rāya Sū* 21.

¹⁵⁴ *Brh. Bhā* 3 4097, for umbrella, foot-velar and stick, also see Girija Prasanna Majumdar's article on Dress in the *Indian culture* (I, 1-4, pp. 203-208).

¹⁵⁵ *Uttarā*. 14.41.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

I

THE SAMANAS

India has been a land of religions. From the earliest times religion forms a central motif in the pattern of ancient Indian life.

According to Megasthenes, the Indian sages were divided into two sects, *Brahmans* and *Sarmans*; among the latter the *Hylobioi* (living in woods) were honoured most ¹ The term *Samana* or the recluse philosopher and *Māhāna* or the hermits are referred with equal respect in the old texts of the Jains as has been stated already. The *Samanas* played a very important role in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people. They were highly respected by the common-folk as well as by kings and nobility. These ascetics wandered about eight or nine months of every year from country to country (*janavayavahāra*) engaging themselves in religious discussions and preaching the *dharma*. We meet them usually in the groves adjoining the settlement set up by the people for the common use of the travellers. The common people paid them respects, called on them in their temporary residence at the parks, put them their queries, offered them food, provided them with shelter (*vasahī*), seat (*pīdha*), a piece of a wooden board (*phalaga*), a bedding (*sejā*), a mat (*santhāraya*), and other necessities of life. We are told that, when Mahāvīra arrived in Campā there arose a great uproar in the town and many people set out to pay a visit to the Lord; some went to pay him reverence, some simply to see him, some to satisfy their curiosity, some to ascertain the truth and some simply to put questions ² The same enthusiasm is noticed among the citizens when the mendicant Suya visited the town of Sogandhiyā ³ In fact, people considered it a great privilege even to hear the name and title (*nāmagoya*) of such saintly lords, how much more to approach them, pay reverence to them and wait upon them.⁴

The *Nisītha cūṛṇi* mentions five classes of the *Samanas*: (1) *Niggantha*, *Sādhu* or *Khamana*, (2) *Sakka*, (3) *Tāvasa*, (4) *Gerua* (*Parivrajaka*) and (5) *Ājivika* ⁵ We shall deal with them one by one.

¹ Mc Crindle, *The invasion of Alexander the Great* p 358, See also Parmatthadīpani the com on the *Udāna*, p 338, The *Anguttara* (IV, p 35, I, p 157) mentions two classes of *Paribbājaka*, the *Aññatitthiya Paribbājakas* and the *Brahmana Paribbājakas* (Law *Historical Gleanings*, p 9); Law, Gautama Buddha and the *Paribbājakas*, *Buddhist Studies*, pp 89 ff, also see Winternitz's, article "Jainas in Indian literature" (*Indian Culture* Vol I, 1-4, p 145.

² *Ovā*, 27, pp 107-111.

³ *Nāyā*, 5, p. 73

⁴ *Ovā.*, 27, p. 108.

⁵ 13, p. 865.

(1) THE SAMANA NIGGANTHAS

Monasticism

Persons desiring to renounce the world and embrace the life of a monk or a nun were allowed to be admitted in the Jain congregation without any distinction of rank or caste. Not only the world-sick ordinary people renounced the world but also warriors and bankers, who were members of the upper class and who were endowed with personal grace, learning, valour and splendour. They left their riches, corn, and the family, and considering sensual pleasures worthless and life transitory as the water bubbles and dew drops, exchanged the glitter and pomp of worldly life for the homeless condition of the ascetics.

People dissatisfied with the condition of society around them such as the political conflicts, resulting in tyranny and lawlessness, domination of one class over another, the ruthlessness of criminal laws, the system of usury etc., and disappointed in their cherished expectations, fled away from deceptive pleasures and wickedness of the world and sought quietude and peace of mind in solitude in a wood. The question is asked :—

By what acts can I escape a sorrowful lot in this unstable internal *samsāra*, which is full of misery?

The answer is :—

Severing your former connections, place your affection on nothing; a monk who loves not even those who love him, will be freed from sin and hatred.⁶

This is the keynote of the whole pessimistic philosophy.

CAUSES OF RENUNCIATION

Various causes are assigned to renunciation. The *Thāṇāṅga* mentions the following ten kinds of renunciation (*paṇvayjā*) :

(1) Voluntary renunciation of the world, (2) renunciation due to sudden anger, (3) renunciation due to poverty, (4) renunciation on seeing a dream, (5) renunciation in fulfilment of a vow (*padisuga*), (6) renunciation because of recollecting previous birth, (7) renunciation due to sickness, (8) renunciation due to insult, (9) renunciation by being enlightened by gods and (10) renunciation out of affection for a son who had already taken to order.⁷ We come across instances when sentimental people escaped from the worldly state at the slightest provocation. We are told that the queen of Devīāsatta of Ujjeni saw a grey hair on her husband's head, which she took out coiling round her finger. The king said that an envoy of old age had come, and keeping it in a golden plate, covering it with a pair of silken garment, took it around the city. The

⁶ *Ovā*, 14, p. 49

⁷ *Uttarā*, 8. 1, 2. trans. by Jacobi, p. 31

⁸ 10. 712.

king anointed his son on the throne and pronouncing "our forefathers renounced before their hair turned grey", retired from the world along with his queen.⁹

Even at times very trifling causes and incidents stirred deep religious feelings. Bharata, for instance, saw his finger devoid of the ring and it looked ugly and this cause was sufficient enough to make him renounce the world.¹⁰ King Dummuha beheld the banner of Indra fall down and adopted the ascetic life.¹¹ Ariththanemi saw the animals kept in enclosures for slaughtering purposes and it induced in him a sense of the transitoriness of things.¹²

Although as we have seen that the membership of the Jain ascetic order was open to all, there were exceptions to the general rule and the following persons were excluded from entering the monastic order — Children,¹³ old man,¹⁴ eunuchs, dull (*jāda*), timid (*kīva*) and sick persons, robbers, king's enemies, lunatics (*umatta*), blind, slaves, wicked and stupid persons (*mūḍha*), debtors, deformed persons (*jātyaṅga-hīna*), attendants (*obaddhaa*), servants, forcibly converted (*sehanupphedā*), pregnant women, and young girls (*bālavaccha*).¹⁵

THE RENUNCIATION CEREMONIES

The renunciation ceremony (*nikkhamānasakkāra*) was held with great pomp and show in ancient India. Great enthusiasm was displayed on such occasions and even kings took active part in the ceremony and encouraged people to embrace asceticism. We hear of an announcement made by Kāṇha Vāsudeva that if any king, heir-apparent, queen, prince, chief (*īsara*), knight (*talavara*), head of a family (*koḍumbiya*), headman of a village (*māḍambiya*), rich men (*ibbha*), foremen of guilds (*setthi*), commander-in-chief and the leader of caravan would join the monastic order, he would look after his family and relations who might be left behind.¹⁶ *Pavvaṃjā* or "leaving the world, adopting the ascetic life" was conferred

⁹ *Āva cū* II, p. 202 f, cf "Dhammādāta" in the *Sthavirā. ālcarita*, I 94 f, also *Cullasutasaṃ* *Jātaka* (No 525), V, p. 177, *Nimi Jātaka* (541) VI, p. 95

¹⁰ *Uttarā Tī* 18, p. 232a

¹¹ *Ibid* 9, p. 136

¹² See *Supra*, p. 126 f

¹³ The exceptions are Amuttakumāra, managa and Vaira. It is stated that a child may be ordained under the following circumstances (1) If the whole family wants to join the ascetic order, (2) if the whole family of the monk has expired and only a child has been left, (3) an orphan child of a *sammadittī* (one who has right vision), (4) an orphan child of a *sejjātara* (one who gives shelter to the monk), (5) a child of a nun, who might have been raped and (6) if there is possibility of any good being done to the *kula*, *gana* or the *sangha* through minister or other state servants (*Visi cū* 11, p. 717 ff). Six years is stated to be the minimum period for *pavvaṃjā*, otherwise in ordinary course no one can be ordained before eight years (*Bhag Tī* 53).

¹⁴ The exceptions are Somila Brāhmana, the father of Mahāvīra in his previous birth, Usabhadatta, the father of Jambu, and Somadeva, the father of Ajja Rakkahia, (*Visi cū* 11, p. 718)

¹⁵ *Thā* 3 202

¹⁶ *Nāyā* 5, p. 71,

near a lotus-pond or a *caitya* shrine with a *sikhara*. An auspicious day under a favourable planet was selected except *caturthī* and *asīṃ* which were avoided.¹⁷ An essential condition for the admission into the monastic order was securing the permission of the parents or the guardians. Frequently we hear of gifts of a male or a female disciple (*sisṣabhikkham*, *sisṣinābhikkham*) offered to the teacher by the guardian of a person who wished to join the order.¹⁸

The *Nāyādharmakathā* gives a description of the renouncement of prince Meghakumāra. After listening to the preachings of Mahāvīra, Meghakumāra returned home and requested his parents to allow him to enter the order of the Teacher. When the mother of Meghakumāra heard this, she was overcome by grief and became unconscious. Meghakumāra's parents tried to dissuade him by various ways but he showed his stern determination towards renunciation. Then a sweeping duster (*īyoharana*) and a bowl (*paṭiggaha*) were bought from the shop (*kuttyāvāna*) and a barber (*kāsāvaya*) was called for hair-cutting. Then Meghakumāra was given a bath, his body was anointed with *gosiṣa* sandal and was beautifully dressed and ornamented. He sat in the palanquin with his mother on the right and his foster-mother with a sweeping duster and a bowl on the left. Meghakumāra arrived at the Guṇasīlaya shrine where he was presented to Mahāvīra to be initiated as his disciple. Then the prince with his own hands plucked out his hair in five handfuls and approached Mahāvīra and walking round him thrice praised and worshipped him. Mahāvīra admitted the prince into the order and preached him the law showing him how he should walk, stand, sit, lie, feed, speak, show forbearance towards living beings and pursue the path without negligence.¹⁹

A beautiful dialogue between Nemi and the Sakka is recorded in the *Uttarādhyaṃyana*. When the former giving up his kingdom and renouncing all his pomp and show, retired from the world, the Sakka approached him and tried to dissuade him from his determination, but Nemi remained steadfast in his purpose.²⁰

THE JAINA SANGHA

The religious corporation of the Jain monks was an important and unique organisation in ancient India. In fact, the Jains have remained as an organised community all through the history of India even before the rise of Buddhism down to the present day. The Jain *sangha* as it has been pointed out included the monks (*samana*), the nuns (*samanī*), the laymen (*sāvaya*) and the laywomen (*sāvayā*). Jain texts furnish us evidence about the existence of collective bodies of ascetics, who lived

¹⁷ *Brh Bhā Pī.* 413.

¹⁸ See *Nāyā* 1, 33, *Anta.* 5, 28

¹⁹ pp. 24-34

²⁰ 9. 20-22 trans. Jacobi, p. 37 f.

together under the leadership of one teacher in an *uvassaya* or a *vasati*, and who followed a code of rules and regulations laid down for them. We have seen that Pārśva and Mahāvīra had a large number of followers. Likewise Vairasāmi had a *gana* of five hundred monks under his supervision.²¹

The rule of a *Samana Niggantha* is stated to have been most difficult (*paramaduccara*) to practise. He had to keep a watchful eye over his observances. The path is compared to treading on the edge of a sword.²² There were two classes of Jain monks: (1) those who wandered about naked and used the hollow of their palms for an alms-bowl, (2) and those who put on clothes and kept an alms-bowl, sweeping-duster, a piece of cloth called *mukhavastrikā* and other necessary articles. They came out daily begging their food, and plucked their hair unlike the Buddhist monks.²³ They were called *Nigganthas* because they were unfettered. It is said that a monk had to guard himself against (1) destroying life, (2) telling a lie, (3) stealing, (4) sexual intercourse, (5) possessions, (6) taking meals at night, (7) injuring "earth-bodied" living beings, (8) "water-bodied" living beings, (9) "fire-bodied" living beings, (10) "air-bodied" living beings, (11) "vegetable-bodied" living beings, (12) mobile beings (*āsa*), (13) prohibited things, (14) taking meals in a householder's utensil, (15) using sofa (*palīyanka*), (16) seat (*ṇṣajjā*), (17) taking bath, and (18) decoration.²⁴

The *Nigganthas* were not allowed to eat or drink anything specially prepared for them, purchased for them, set aside for them or cooked for them; neither they were allowed to eat food meant for famine-stricken persons; food for foresters, food stored for rainy season, food meant for the sick persons, or roots, bulbous roots, fruits, seeds and green vegetables.²⁵ Thus the conduct of a Jain monk, down to the minutest detail, was regulated by specific ordinances and even the slightest violation of which was sure to bring down upon him the appropriate punishment. It is a difficult work to narrate these ordinances in detail, but it would suffice to say that these touched even the minutest details regarding their conduct in begging alms, their residence, medical treatment, their duty at the time of distress, lawlessness in the country, pestilence, behaviour towards the king, and the like.

THE HARDSHIPS UNDERGONE BY THE SAMANAS

There were days of endless troubles and difficulties for the Jain *Samanas*, who had to pass through various calamities to get on with their

²¹ *Āva cū* p. 394

²² *Nāyā* 1, p. 28

²³ According to Prof. Rhys Davids the *Blukku* order of homeless persons evolved originally from the *Brahmacārins* who did not enter upon the stage of the householder and who customarily begged their food (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, I, pp. 215 ff.).

²⁴ *Das. sū* 6.8

²⁵ *Nāyā* 1, p. 28.

religious life. Travelling was extremely difficult, organised bands of robbers and dacoits moved freely, there were political disturbances when lawlessness prevailed throughout the country, getting a shelter was no less difficult a problem, rivalry between the Jain *Samanas* and other heretical monks and the Brāhmanas was common, there was famine, flood, pestilence, sickness when the *Samanas* suffered to a great extent. Under such circumstances, however, the Jain *Samānas* tried hard to maintain the usual course of procedure laid down for them. Frequently there came critical moments in their life when they hovered between life and death, and ultimately they contented themselves by laying down their lives quietly without uttering a word.

TRAVELLING²⁵

Travelling was considered an important means of spreading religion. It is stated that a *sādhu* or a religious mendicant should be accomplished in various regional languages and in correct utterance and expounding of the *Sūtras* in different provincial languages. He should learn the regional languages and then convert the people of the land. He should also meet the great *Āryas* in his travel for the better understanding of the *Sūtras*.²⁷ The *Samānas* had to traverse long and dreary distances when travelling was most insecure and painful. They had to cross big wild forests, vast deserts and big mountains and rivers taking their lives in their own hands. Some lost their way in endless jungles, some were overpowered by snow and thorny bushes, some were devoured by wild beasts, some were done to death by robbers and dacoits, and some lost their lives for want of food and drink.

It is stated that in the course of the journey the *sādhus* should not transgress the fence laid by the caravan. Sometimes the caravan in deep forest came face to face with lions or robbers and the whole caravan was destroyed by wild beasts and robbers and if a *sādhu* was separated from the caravan, then he could ask the help of the sylvan deity, who would by means of a tremor show him the way or lead him to a *janapada*.²⁸ They were tied up²⁹ and there was risk of being put to death and flogged and, therefore, it is said that the boundary of the enemy territory should not be crossed by the *sādhus*.³⁰

The journey of boats was also a problem to the *Samānas*. We hear that considering the *Samāna* as an unrenumerative encumbrance for the boat, people took hold of him and threw him into water.³¹

²⁵ See *Brh. sū.* 1.46 and its *Bhāṣya*, pp. 856-880 (chapter on *adhvaṇaprakāśana*)

²⁷ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1.1230 f., 1234

²⁸ *Ibid.* 1.3104-9

²⁹ Cf. *ibid.*, 3.3901

³⁰ *Ibid.* 1.2783, also cf. 1.3111

³¹ *Ācā. Sū.* II, 3.2.344. Also *Āva. Nir.* 470, cf. *Avāriya Jātaka* (*As.* 376), III, pp. 230 f.

ROBBERS³²

There were organised bands of robbers, already referred to, who attacked the travelling tradesmen and made good their escape. The robbers were not content with this, they also kidnapped men and women. They destroyed shrines and the articles thereof, they massacred the whole *gaccha* including the *ācārya* and carried off the nuns.³³ These robbers entered the residence of the *sādhus* and exacted trouble. The *Bṛhatskalpa Bhāṣya* refers to a robber who snatched an excellent blanket (*kambalajayana*) from an *ācārya* at the point of a dagger.³⁴

POLITICAL DISTURBANCES³⁵

There was another hardship caused by political disturbances in the country. The *Bṛhatskalpa Bhāṣya* divides the kingless state (*anājaka*) into four groups: (1) after the death of the king if there were two heirs-apparent and none of them so far anointed as the king (*anujāya*), (2) when one prince who had already appointed an heir-apparent in his turn took another joint ruler (*jurajāya*), (3) when the army of the enemy occupied the country (*zerajāya*), (4) when there was warfare between the two opponents claiming the throne (*zerajya*).³⁶

Frequently the *Samanas* moving about during disturbances were mistaken for spies and were arrested.³⁷ It is for this reason that the *Nigganthas* or *Nigganthinis* are prohibited from wandering about during the time of political disturbances (*sauddhaya*) in the country.³⁸

Then it was alright if the king was a devotee of the Jain faith, in that case the *Niggantha Samanas* were given facilities by the king and the state servants. But if the king belonged to a different faith, the lot of the *Samanas* was deplorable. Frequently they were banished, their food and drink were stopped and their ritualistic paraphernalia were confiscated and there were occasions when they were put to death.³⁹ It was a custom that at the time of the king's coronation everybody including the eighteen corporations and the *Samanas* should visit the king with respectful offerings (*aṅgha*); if the *Nigganthas* (*śeyabhiḥkku*) failed to do so they were dealt with severely.⁴⁰ Under such circumstances the *Nigganthas* had to go in the disguise of Buddhist monks and live on prohibited food, such as roots, flesh, stale food (*doṣina*), oil-cakes, and the food offered to the crows. In the absence of the ritualistic paraphernalia they picked up

³² See *Bṛh. Sū.* I 43 and its *Bhāṣya* pp. 848 to 856, chapter on *harivāhaṇavaprakṛta*.

³³ *Nisī. cū. Pī.*, p. 99.

³⁴ 3 3903, 4, also cf. *Mahāvastu* VIII 22.

³⁵ See *Bṛh. sū.* I 37 and its *Bhāṣya* pp. 778-787 (chapter on *vanāyā* in *sauddhaya* - *prakṛtam*).

³⁶ I 2763.

³⁷ Cf. *Uttarā Tī.* 2, p. 25a.

³⁸ *Bṛh. sū.* I 37.

³⁹ *Bṛh. Bī. ā.* I 3221.

⁴⁰ *Nisī. cū.* 9, p. 513; also cf. *Uttarā Tī.* 18, p. 248a.

rag from the dunghill, took a peacock feather broom (*pehunda*) used hide to cover their body, hid themselves behind the lotus-ponds or the *palāsa* tree during day time and travelled at night.⁴¹

RESIDENCE

Shelter was another problem before the *Sādhus*. In some countries it was very difficult for the monks to get shelter and under such conditions they had to put up in the shrine or a deserted house (*sunnaḡhara*) where there was trouble from women, eunuchs, wild beasts, snakes, mosquitoes, ants, dogs, and robbers.⁴² It is ordered that the monks should supervise their residence thrice a day, because it may so happen that the women might leave their new born babe there, or the robbers might leave the stolen property, or a person might murder his enemy and leave him, or a woman might commit suicide near their residence.⁴³ Nuns were more troubled due to want of residence and so often they lost their morals.⁴⁴

SICKNESS⁴⁵

During the period of sickness the *Samanas* had to depend solely on others for treatment. If a monk was seriously ill and the physician was not willing to come to *vasati*, the *sādhus* had to carry him to the physician's house. The *Samanas* approached him at an auspicious time and talked when he was seated happily. Sometimes the physicians prescribed such medicines and diets for the patients which were difficult to procure for the monks. In case the physician attended the patient in the *urassaya* the monks had to make arrangements for his bath, food and drink etc. Then the question of paying fees worried the *sādhus*. The greedy physician would not be contented without getting his dues and the poor *sādhus* had to provide for it getting it either from the treasure that one might have kept hidden under the earth before taking to the ascetic life or from the unclaimed treasure-trove found in a palace or a well or by earning by making mechanical swans and such other toys.⁴⁶

FAMINE

There were long famines in the country and it was extremely difficult for the *sādhus* to get their lawful alms during this period. We have seen how Ajja Vaira used to get alms by magical practices during famine and thereby maintained other monks. We hear from the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* how the monks fell a prey to women at such times of distress and lived with them as husband and wife.⁴⁷

⁴¹ *Vya Bhā.* 1, p. 122 f., *Brh Bhā* 1 3120-3136.

⁴² *Nirī cū* 5, p. 397.

⁴³ *Brh Bhā* 3 4747-4749.

⁴⁴ *Brh. sū* 2 11, *Bhā* 3484 ff.

⁴⁵ Vide *ibid.*, (1 1900-1972).

⁴⁶ *Vya Bhā* 5 89 f., p. 20, cf. the Buddhist monks who were allowed to the use of a loom and shuttles etc. as a handicraft by Buddha (*Cullavagga* V 28 2.).

⁴⁷ 4-4955-58.

PROSTITUTES

Then there were prostitutes who entered the residence of the *Samanas* during night and invited them to enjoy sexual intercourse. Sometimes the monks were forced to tie them and keep them there overnight and set them free in the morning. If the prostitutes made a case with the king, the monks had to appear in the court for self-defence.⁴⁸

WOMEN

Then we come to women. Throughout the Jain texts the Jain monks are warned not to have any association with women. It is stated that as a pot filled with lac thrown into fire melts quickly and is destroyed, so the monks are lost through association (*samvāsa*) with women.⁴⁹ A woman is compared to a poisoned thorn⁵⁰ and the monks are instructed to avoid a woman even if her hands and feet are cut off and her ears and nose mutilated.⁵¹

But it was no easy matter to have a thorough control over one's sex instinct. After all the monks had to come in contact with women-folk. They had to go out begging alms to them and preaching them religion. If a monk was living singly, there were chances of his breaking the law and falling into the snares of women. Sometimes the monks lived together with householders, when the householder's wives, daughters, daughters-in-law, nurses and slave girls approached them and requested them to indulge in sexual intercourse with them so that they might have a strong and illustrious son.⁵² The *Sūyagadāṅga* beautifully describes a monk, who, being absorbed by the passion towards a woman, became subject to her. Afterwards the woman scolds him, lifts her foot, and tramples on his head, saying "O monk, if you will not live with me as a woman who has still her hair, I shall tear it out; but do not live separated from me." Then she asks the monk to bring wood to cook vegetable, to paint her feet, to rub her back, to get clothes, food, drink, perfume, collyrium-box, ornaments, powders, oils, pills, lipsalve, umbrella, slippers, comb, ribbon, looking-glass, tooth-brush and various other articles for use. If the woman got pregnant she ordered her husbands like slaves to fulfil her cravings. If a child was born to her, she asked the monk to hold the baby, and getting up in the night they both lulled the baby to sleep like nurses, and, though they are ashamed of themselves, they washed the clothes of the baby like washerfolk.⁵³

A number of monks are mentioned who fell into the snares of women. We have already seen how the monk Rahanemi fell in love with

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 4.4923-25, also *Sūya* 4.1.2, also cf *Dhammapada A*, II, p. 201

⁴⁹ *Sūya*, 4.1.27

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, 4.1.11

⁵¹ *Das*, sū 8.56.

⁵² *Ācā* II.2.1.294, p. 332 f; cf *Vinaya* (III p. 134) where sexual union with a *Bhikkhū* is recommended as a remedy for sterility or a means to procure a son or the husband's love.

⁵³ 4.2.

Rājimatī and courted her. Then the monk Sambhūya, who, being touched by the hair of the queen Sunandā lost his self-control and resolved to be born as a *cakravartin* in the next birth as a reward of his penance.⁵⁴ A similar story is told about the monk Addaya who gave up asceticism and married a merchant's daughter. After his wife gave birth to two sons, Addaya asked her permission to resume his wandering career. But at this time his wife was spinning. When her child asked her mother what she was doing, she replied that as his father wanted to become an ascetic, she was spinning in order to support her family. Then the child tied his father with twelve rounds of a cord and listening his child's request Addaya remained in the house for a further period of twelve years.⁵⁵ Then we read of the monk Āsādhavū, who, in spite of his teacher's warning, abandoned his ascetic life and married the two daughters of Viśvakarmā, an acrobat of Rāyagīha.⁵⁶

THE IDEAL OF THE JAIN SAMANAS

It is stated in Jain texts that a *sādhu* should not be negligent in his duties, and it is commendable for him to enter into fire rather than to violate his long-cherished vow.⁵⁷ But it should be borne in mind that the ideal of *sramana*hood was not to be followed literally. It is laid down that in order to cherish the greater vow one can sacrifice the lesser one, just like a merchant who abandons the lesser quantity of wealth in preference to the greater quantity.⁵⁸ The Jain *Samanas* are strictly warned against violating their religious vows, but at the same time it is stated that the life is not without merit and it must be guarded thoroughly even at the risk of *sañjama* (*sañamāṇo appānameva rokkhanto*), for, it is said that if a person came out safe from the calamity, he could purify himself by making confessions (*pacchitta*) and could practise more religious tenets.⁵⁹ It is stated that one's body must be guarded with care as it were a mountain, as a mountain is the source of water so is the body of religion.⁶⁰

On many occasions the *Nigginthas* or *Nigganthunis* were oppressed by wicked kings and ministers. Under such circumstances, failing to pacify the oppressor by peaceful means, it was the duty of the *Samana Sangha* to punish the evil-doer properly. It is stated that as Cānakya uprooted the Nanda family, or the weaver Naladāma the species of ants, so a hostile king must not be spared. It is laid down that the holy persons who help the cause of religion in this way, or those who render help to

⁵⁴ *Uttarā Tī* 13, p. 186 af

⁵⁵ *Sūya Tī* II, 6, p. 388, also cf. *Bandhanāgāra Jāṭaka* (201) (I, p. 139 f), *Dhammapada A.* I, pp. 306 f, IV, pp. 54 f

⁵⁶ *Piṇḍa Nir.* 474 ff

⁵⁷ *Brh. Bhā.* 4. 4940

⁵⁸ *Nisī cū pī* p. 138

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* cf. *Jivandharman carivāyām* (*Mahābhā* XII 141. 07).

⁶⁰ *Brh. Bhā.* Vr 1. 2900

such holy persons in their enterprise, are entitled to achieve liberation within a short period (*acirānmoṃśagamanam*) The saint Vinhukumāia is cited as an example of a great saviour of Jain religion⁶¹ There are other examples when under extreme circumstances the *sādhus* were forced to violate their vows. It is stated that in order to save an *ācārya* from the hands of a robber-leader, a weak-bodied *Samana* might declare himself as an *ācārya* and offer his life for the sake of his teacher⁶² We have seen how a monk concealed his disciple in a nunnery when the latter was chased by the royal servants Then, if a *Śramaṇa* failed to control his sexual urge he could indulge in sexual enjoyment by way of masturbation⁶³ (*hatthakamma*), associating with a woman or by visiting a public woman by paying fees⁶⁴ Similarly at the time of emergency the *Samanas* were forced to take medicine at night and to use hide, bone teeth or ivory, nails, hair, goat-dung or cow-urine as medicine⁶⁵ But as it has been pointed out, this was not the usual course of conduct of the *Samanas*. It should be treated as *apauṇḍamārga* or exception to the rule when a monk under extreme distress had to set aside the *utsaṃgamāṅga* or a general rule for which he had to undergo a *pāyachitta*⁶⁶ It is stated that as magical spells removed the effect of poison, similarly if violence is committed according to law (*vidhi*) purified by chanting magical formulae, sacrifice (*janna*) and recitation (*joṣa*), it does not lead to baneful result; in this way what is permissible (*kappa*) becomes impermissible and *vice versa*.⁶⁷ Thus a *Samana* could violate the general rules only under exceptional circumstances with the idea of practising greater *sañjama*, i.e., with the idea of doing greater good, which was the ideal of *Śramaṇahood*.

(2) THE SAKKA SAMANAS

The *Sākya Śramaṇas* are very frequently referred to in Jain texts They were also known as *rattavādas* or *taccanniyas* A discussion between Addayaputta and the *Sākyaputriyas* has been already mentioned⁶⁸ The Buddhist doctrine of five *skandhas* is also referred to⁶⁹ The Buddhist were known as *akriyāvādins* as we shall see later on⁷⁰ The doctrine of

⁶¹ *Vya Bhā* 7.545-547, 1. 90 f, p 76 f

⁶² *Brh Bhā* 1.3005 f

⁶³ Cf *Vinaya* (III, pp 112, 117) where emission of semen with a desire to remove nervous tension by using the hand or other methods is referred to as an offence for the Buddhist monks

⁶⁴ *Vya Bhā* 2.245-254, p 52 f. 2.257 f, p 57 f. 5.71 f. p 17, *Nisī cū* 6, pp 451 ff, 464, *Brh Bhā* 4.4952-4956

⁶⁵ *Pinda Nir* 50 f

⁶⁶ The *Ōvā* (*sū* 20, p 77) describes ten kinds of *pāyachitta aloara, paḍikkhamana tadū-bhaya, virega, usagga, tava, cheda, mūla, anataṭṭhaṭṭha* and *parañcia*

⁶⁷ *Nisī cū* 15, pp 955, 957, also p 1036

⁶⁸ See *Supra*, p 127.

⁶⁹ *Sāya* I, 1. 17.

⁷⁰ For other references see Amulyachandrasen, *schools and sects in Jaina literature* pp. 23 ff

Buddha (*Buddhasāṇam*) have been included among those false beliefs which are said to be the products of false knowledge.⁷¹ As a matter of fact, the *Śākya Śramanas* were the worst opponents of the *Nigganthas*, who suffered most at their hands, specially after Mahāvīra's death.

(3) THE TĀVASA SAMANAS

The institution of hermits or *Tāvasas* is very old. We hear that on one of the journeys he made during his ascetic life, Mahāvīra put up in a hermitage (*āśamaṇa*) in Morāga Sannivesa.⁷² Mahāvīra came across another hermitage named Kanakakhala in Uttaravācāla where five hundred hermits were staying;⁷³ still another hermitage is referred to in Poyanapura where Vakkalacīri was born.⁷⁴

The hermits lived in the forest⁷⁵ where they occupied themselves either in meditation or in sacrificial rites, or in practice of self-torture or studying the *Suttas* containing the texts of their school. Much of their time was spent in gathering fruits and roots for their sustenance, or in going into villages for alms. The *Vyāraḥāra Bhāṣya* tells us that the *Tāvasas* picked up rice-grains scattered around the mortar (*udukkhala*), or the threshing floor (*khalaya*) and ate them after cooking. Sometimes they collected as little quantity of grains as could be held in a spoon (*darvī*) or stick (*danda*) or between the thumb and the forefinger (*sanilāsaya*) or as much as adhered to a piece of cloth (*potṭiya*).⁷⁶

The *Ovāya*⁷⁷ mentions the following classes of *Vāṇapattīha Tāvasas* residing on the bank of the Ganges:

Hottiya—They offered sacrifice.

Kottiya—They slept on the bare ground.

Pottiya—They belonged to the class of ascetics who wore clothes.

Janṇā—They performed sacrifice.

Saddha—They belonged to the devotional class of ascetics.

Thāla—They carried all their belongings with them (*grhītabhāṇḍa*).

Humbauttha—They carried a vessel with them (*kundikāśāmana*).

*Dantukkhaliya*⁷⁸—They used their teeth for a mortar, grinding the grain to be eaten between their teeth.

Ummajjaka—They bathed taking only a dip.

Sammajjaka—They bathed by taking dips several times.

Nimajjaka—They remained in water only for a short while.

Sampakkhāla—They rubbed and cleansed their body with mud.

⁷¹ Supra, p. 238.

⁷² *Āva Nir* 463.

⁷³ *Āva cū* p. 279.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 157; cf. *Bāhuyā Dārucīriya* in the *Dhammaṭṭha* 4. II, p. 209.

⁷⁵ *Nāsi cū* 965.

⁷⁶ 10. 23.

⁷⁷ *Sū* 38, p. 170, also *Nirja* 3, p. 39.

⁷⁸ *Dantolūkkhalin* and *ummajjaka* hermits are also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana*, III, 6-9; also *Dharmapala*, Vol. I, p. 270. Here eight kinds of ascetics are mentioned.

Dakṣhīnakūḷaga—They dwelt on the south bank of the Ganges

Uttarakūḷaga—They dwelt on the north bank of the Ganges

Saṅkhaḍhamaga—They had meals after blowing a conch-shell to keep people away

Kūḷaḍhamaga—They blew a conch-shell on the river bank to keep people away while they took their meal

Miyaluddhaya—They killed animals

Haṭṭhātāvasa—They killed an elephant with arrows and made their livelihood by eating its flesh for months together. The *Haṭṭhātāvasas* claimed that they committed but one sin, the killing of the elephant in a year or so which was counterbalanced by the merit earned by not killing other lives during this time. They are also mentioned in the *Sūyagadāṅga*. According to the commentary, they were Buddhist monks.⁷⁹

Uddandaga—They moved about raising their staff. They are referred to along with *Bodhiya* and *Sasarakkha* mendicants who went about naked and used the hollow of their hands as alms-bowl.⁸⁰

Disāpōkkhī—They sanctified all sides by sprinkling water and then collected flowers and fruits. The *Bhagavatī*⁸¹ refers to the royal sage Siva of Haṭṭhināpura, who joined the order of the *Disāpōkkhiyas* on the bank of the Ganges. He practised *chatthama* (a fast, broken at the sixth meal) and on the day on which he broke fast, he sprinkled the eastern quarter, propitiated *Soma*, the lord of east, and collected bulbous roots, leaves, flowers, fruits, seeds and green vegetables. Then he returned to his hut, cleaned the sacrificial altar (*vedikā*) and went to bathe in the Ganges. He made another altar with grass and sand, kindled a fire by the friction of pieces of wood, and keeping ritualistic paraphernalia by his side, offered honey, *ghee* and rice to the fire. Then he prepared *caru* (oblation), worshipped *Vaiśadeva* and the guests and then took his meal. Then Siva observed the *chatthama* fast again and proceeded to the south to propitiate *Yama*, then to the west to propitiate *Varuna* and finally to the north to propitiate *Vesamāna*. Somila was another hermit of Vānārasī who belonged to the same order and was a worshipper of the four *dīśas*.⁸² King Paśannacanda also belonged to the same order; he joined the order along with his queen and the nurse.⁸³

Vakavāsi—They put on dress of bark

Ambuvāsi—They lived in water

Bilavāsi—They lived in caves

Ḍalavāsi—They remained submerged in water

Velavāsi—They lived on the sea-coast

Rukkhamaṇḍita—They lived under the trees.

Ambubhakkhī—They lived by drinking water only.

⁷⁹ II, 6, The *Lalitavistara* (p. 248) mentions 'Haṭṭurata' ascetics.

⁸⁰ *Ācā cū* p. 169.

⁸¹ II, 9

⁸² *Niryā* 3, pp. 39 ff

⁸³ *Āva. cū* p. 457.

*Vāubhakkhi*⁸⁴—They lived by inhaling air only

*Sevālabhakkhi*⁸⁵—They lived by eating moss

Other hermits lived on roots, bulbous roots, peels, leaves, flowers and seeds, some on rotten roots, bulbous roots, skin, leaves, flowers and fruits,⁸⁶ their body became rough due to constant bathing and they practised the *pañcagga* penance. These *Tāvasas* followed the rules of the *Vānaprastha āśrama*. Like other ascetics the *Tāvasas* also moved in a body. We hear of three hermits named Kodinna, Dinna and Sevāli, who were followed by a body of five hundred disciples each. They lived on roots, bulbs, decayed leaves and moss; they set out to pay a visit to Atthāvaya.⁸⁷

(4) THE GERUYA OR PARIVRĀJAKA SĀMANAS

The *Parivrajakas* or the wanderers were great teachers of the Brāhmanic lore and were greatly respected throughout the country. It is stated in the *Vosistha Dharmasūtra* that a *Parivrajaka* should shave his head, clothe himself with one piece of cloth or skin or cover his body with grass pulled off by cows or he should sleep on bare ground.⁸⁸ They maintained their regular monasteries (*avasāha*) and they wandered about in a body with the object of engaging themselves in conversational discussions on matters of ethics, philosophy and various other topics of public interest. They allowed even women to enter their order. The *Olāya*⁸⁹ gives the following description of the wandering mendicants.

They were versed in the four *Vedas*, *Itihāsa*, *Nigghantu*, six *Vedāngas* and six *Upāṅgas* noted already. They preached the doctrine of clarity (*dānadhamma*), purity (*saddhamma*) and that of bathing at holy places (*tūthābhiseyya*). According to them whatever was impure became pure by applying mud and washing with water. They believed that they were pure themselves and by taking bath they would attain heaven. They never travelled in a cart or a litter, never entered a lake or a river for bathing, never rode on a horse or an elephant, never visited the performance of a dancer or a bard, never trampled upon or rubbed the green vegetables (*hariāna*), never indulged in talks regarding women, food, country, king and thieves, never kept any costly pots except a bottle-gourd, wooden or an earthen pot, never put on garments of various colours except one pair dyed with red-clay (*dhāvanalla*), never wore any ornaments except one copper ring (*pavullaya*), never wore any garland except a pair of flower carings, never besmeared their body with any fragrant substance except the clay of the Ganges, and they took only one *Magadha prastha* (a measure used in Magadha) filtered (*paripūya*) water for drinking purposes.

⁸⁴ The *Rāmāyana*, III, 11-13 mentions Māndakarnī a hermit, who lived on air; also *Mahābhārata* (I 96-42)

⁸⁵ Cf. *Laṭṭhastara*, p. 218

⁸⁶ Cf. the ascetic practices in the *Dīgha* I pp 166 f

⁸⁷ *Itarā* Ti 10, 151a

⁸⁸ 10-6-11, also see *Maṭṭasāra*, op cit Vol II, p. 159 f, *Malāṭhā* XII 190, 3.

⁸⁹ *Sū* 38, p. 172.

Jain Texts describe some prominent wandering mendicants and nuns who seem to have exercised considerable influence on the public. We hear of Ajjakhanda of Kaccāyana gotta, who was putting up in Sāvattī. Once he took his ritualistic paraphernalia viz., triple staves, water pot (*kundī*), rosary (*kañcaṇiyā*), earthen bowl (*karodiyā*), seat (*bhisiyā*), sweeping duster (*kesariyā*), teapoy (*chaṇṇāliyā*), hook (*ankusaya*), ring (*pavittaya*) and the forearm ornament (*kalācikā*) and putting on an umbrella and wearing shoes and dyed robes proceeded to pay a visit to Mahāvīra.⁹⁰ Suva was another wandering mendicant who was well-versed in the four *Vedas*, *Saṁhitānta* and the Sāṁkhya system. He preached ten kinds of a mendicant's religion (*parivāyagadhamma*) based on purity. When Suva arrived in the company of one thousand mendicants in Sogandhiyā, people set out to pay him reverence with great enthusiasm.⁹¹ Then the *Ovāya*⁹² describes the mendicant *Ammada* and his seven disciples. It is said that Ammaḍa and his disciples did not pay respect to any other deity except the *Arhat* and they attained heaven after death. Ammaḍa sojourned in Kampillapura and he received alms from hundred houses (*gharasaya*). He observed the *chatthamachattha* fast with his alms stretched and his face turned towards the sun. He never accepted food which was prepared for him or brought for him or set aside for him or cooked for him; neither he was allowed to eat food, meant for famine-stricken persons, for rich persons, or roots, bulbs, fruits, seeds and green vegetables. Once the seven disciples of Ammaḍa were travelling from Kampillapura to Purimatāla in summer; they arrived in a dense forest and felt extremely thirsty. They did not get water to drink and so setting aside their ritualistic paraphernalia they went to the sand of the Ganges and by giving up food and drink submitted to *pāvovagamana*. Puggala is mentioned as another mendicant who sojourned in⁹³ Ālabhiyā. We have already referred to the nun Cokkhā who was wandering about in the company of other nuns in Mithilā.

Besides, other *parivājakas* are mentioned⁹⁴.—

*Caraka*⁹⁵—It is said that they begged alms while moving in company (*dhāṭṭvāhaka*) and they moved on while eating. They accepted cleansed (*dhōvita*) alms and put on a lion-cloth (*kacchoṭaka*). It is said that these mendicants were the direct descendants (*sūnu*) of Kapilamuni.⁹⁶ These mendicants got up in the morning and swept the shrines of *Skanda* and

⁹⁰ *Bhag* 2.1.

⁹¹ *Nāyā* 5, p. 73 ff.

⁹² *Sū.* 39f. *Ambattha*, a learned Brahmin is referred to in the *Digha* I, pp. 87 ff.

⁹³ *Bhag.* 11.12.

⁹⁴ *Anu Sū* 20, *Nāyā* Ti 15.

⁹⁵ *Caraka* is mentioned in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka upaniṣad* where it denotes a wandering student (*Vedic Index* I, p. 256).

⁹⁶ *Pāṇṇa* Ti II, 20 p. 405; also cf. *Ācā cū* p. 205.

other deities, anointed them and burnt incense in the temple.⁹⁷ The *Vṛavahāra Bhāṣya* records religious discussion between a *Caraka* and the *Kṣullakas*.⁹⁸

Cirika—They picked up rags from the road side, ' or according to another interpretation their religious requisites were made of cloth

Gammakhandia—They put on a dress of hide or their religious requisites were made of hide

Bhikkahunda—They would eat nothing except what had been obtained by alms and would not take cow-milk etc., they are considered as identical with the Buddhist monks.

Panduranga or *Pandanaṅga*—They besmeared their body with ashes, they were Śaiva mendicants. According to the *Nisīltha cūṛṇi*,¹⁰⁰ however, the disciples of Gosāla were called *Pandaraabhikkhu*. The *Amogad-vāra cūṛṇi* identifies them with the *Sasa akkhu sariyaska* *Bhikkhu*.¹¹

Then they were other *Paniceae*, as ¹

Sankha—They followed the Sankhya system

for—They followed the Yoga system

Kautila Kapil was then lord they followed the atheistic *Sāṃkhya* system.

Bhucca They were the disciples of Bhingu

*Hamsa*¹¹⁰—I have lived in mountain caves, roads, hermitages, shrines and gardens and entered a village only to beg

*Paramahansa*¹⁰³—They lived on river banks, the confluence of streams, and discarded clothes before they died

*Bahūdaga*¹⁰³—They lived one night in a village and five nights in a town.

*Kudruvaya*¹⁰³—They lived in their own house and considered getting victory over gilded illusion and egotism as their goal.

Kaṇhapāṇṇāyaga—They worshipped the *Nāṇāyana* ¹⁰⁴

() III ʌIIVIY ʌ SʌMʌN ʌS

The order of the *Īyūrikas* is of older standing than that of Goswāhimself, who is considered as the third leader of the sect¹⁰⁵ It is evident from the *Bhagavatī*¹⁰⁶ that the history of the *Īyūrikas* commenced one hundred

97 *Avu Ti* p 87

98 2, 23a

⁸⁸ The *Digha* I, p 166 also mentions such ascetics (*śramaṇa*).

100 p 865, also mentioned in the com of the *Dhammasa* dī (IV, p 8)

101 p 12

¹⁰⁴ O a 38, p 172

108 Also Haribhadra *Saddarsanasamuccaya* p 87 V S 1971 Bombay, mentioned in the Hindu religion as well, see *Religion of the Hindu*, Vol I p 231 f by H H Wilson, London 1862

104 Kanlu (or Kuruṅṅa) Kanakandu Anba'ri Pu sari (also mentioned in the *Iherigathu* (116), *Mithatha* I 114 33) Kuthiduvuṅṅu (also in the *Kenhadiyana Titaka* IV pp. 83 87, *Mal'hi*, I 114 45) Deṅṅuturuṅṅu and Nu'wa are mentioned as Brāhmanical mendicants (*O* 1 36 p 172). Then Selai Sasil'ra (or Masihiri) Niggaṅṅa Phaggu, Vidhiṅṅa Rayaiṅṅu Rayaiṅṅu and Bila were the Khittiya mendicants (ibid).

105 *Majjhima I*, pp 524, 238 For a treatment of the subject see Dr Barua *The Ajulas*, also *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philos* *II*, 1p 237 318 by the the same author, also *Law, Historical Gleanings* pp 37ff 106 15

and seventeen years before Gosāla. It is stated that Gosāla lived twenty two years in the body of Enejjaga, twenty one in that of Mallārāma, twenty in that of Maṇḍiya, nineteen in that of Roha, eighteen in that of Bhāraddāja, and seventeen in that of Ajjuna Goyamaṇḍita.

Gosāla was well-versed in the eightfold *Mahānimittas* which he learned from the six *Disācāra* ascetics. It seems that other *Ājīvika Sramanas* also were adepts in this science, and so we are told that Ajja Kālāya, a great Jain saint, learned this science from them.¹⁰⁷

Another characteristic of the *Ājīvika Sramanas* was that they practised severe penance. The *Thāṇḍāṅga*¹⁰⁸ mentions four kinds of austerities practised by them such as severe austerities, fierce austerities, abstention from *ghee* and other delicacies and indifference to pleasant and unpleasant food. The *Ovāya*¹⁰⁹ describes the following classes of the *Ājīviyas* those who begged food at every second house, third house, fourth house, sixth house, seventh house, those who accepted lotus-stalk only those who begged in every house, those who did not beg if there was a flash of lightning, and those who practised penance by entering big earthen vessels (*utṭiyāsamana*). The *Ājīvika Sramanas* lived alone, used cold water, lived on seeds, accepted things prepared for them, had intercourse with women,¹¹⁰ and wandered about naked (*nāgnyadhārinam*)¹¹¹

THE LAY FOLLOWERS OF THE ĀJĪVIYAS

The names of the twelve adherents of the *Ājīvika* faith are given as follows :—

Tāla, Tālapalamba, Uvviha, Samviha, Udaya, Nāmudava, Nāmudaya, Anuvālaya, Saṅkhavālaya and Kāyaraya. They considered Arhat Gosāla as their God, were devoted to their parents, abstained from five kinds of fruits viz., *umbara*, *vada*, *boia*, *satava* and *pīlankhu*, gave up eating roots, bulbous roots, onions and maintained themselves by trade which did not involve killing and by means of uncastrated bulls. They did not indulge in the fifteen occupations mentioned above.¹¹² The potter Saddālaputta¹¹³ and his wife Hālāhalā are mentioned as other lay followers of the *Ājīvikas*. Sāvittī and Polāsapura seem to be the centres of activities of the *Ājīvikas* where an *Ājīvika*-hall is mentioned.¹¹⁴

DOCTRINES

From the story of Saddālaputta we learn that according to the doctrine of Gosāla Mankhaliputta, there is no such thing as exertion or labour

¹⁰⁷ *Pancakalpa cūṛṇi*, after *S. B. M.*, p. 260

¹⁰⁸ 4. 309, cf. *Naṅguttā Jātaka* (I, No. 144), p. 493.

¹⁰⁹ *Sū* 41, p. 196

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* II 6 7f

¹¹¹ *Bhag. Tī* 1. 2 p. 87. Makkhalī Gosāla is enumerated as one of the six teachers of renown others being Pūrāṇa Kassapa, Ajita Kesakambhī, Pakudhakaccāyana, Saṅjaya, Belatthiputta and Nātaputta, see *Digha* I, p. 48ff

¹¹² See supra, p. 106

¹¹³ *Uvā* 7.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

or power of vigour or human strength, but that all things are caused by destiny which is unalterably fixed¹¹⁵ The *Sūvagadāṅga* refers to the doctrine of *myatūāda*, according to which pleasure and pain are not caused by the souls themselves, nor by others, but the individual souls experience them, it is the lot assigned to them by destiny¹¹⁶

GOSĀLA AND HIS ASSOCIATION WITH MAHĀVĪRA

The *Bhagaratī* gives the following details of the life of Gosāla —

Gosāla Mankhaliputta was born in the settlement Saravāna in the cow-shed of a Brahmin. Gosāla's father was called *mankhalī* because he was a *mankha* or mendicant who went about begging alms by showing a picture which he carried in his hand. Once he came to Saravāna and took refuge during the rainy season in the cow shed where his wife bore him a son. Since the child was born in a cow shed (*gosā'ā*) he was called by the name of Gosāla. Gosāla grew up and having learnt the profession of a *mankha*, went about begging. Once he arrived in Rājagṛha and put up in a weaver's shed (*tantusālā*) in Nālandā. About that time Mahāvīra also was putting up there. In the course of his stay there, Gosāla observed extraordinary respect being paid to Mahāvīra and requested him to make him his disciple. Once they were travelling together from Siddhatthagāma to Kummagāma, on their way they passed a large sesame plant. On seeing it Gosāla asked Mahāvīra whether the plant would perish or not. The latter replied that the plant would perish, and the seeds would form in vessels. Later on, however, this prophecy of Mahāvīra came to be true. In the meantime, Mahāvīra and Gosāla passed on to Kummagāma where they met the ascetic Vesīyana who was sitting with upraised arms and upturned face in the glare of the sun while his body was swarming with lice. Gosāla teased him, whereupon Vesīyana attempted to strike Gosāla with his magic power, known as *tejohava*, but Mahāvīra interposed his own magic and saved Gosāla. Then Mahāvīra explained Gosāla the course to obtain the magic power. Shortly afterwards Mahāvīra and Gosāla returned to Siddhatthagāma and passed the same sesame plant. At this time there arose a difference of opinion with regard to the plant and Gosāla separated from Mahāvīra. Gosāla followed the course of asceticism, and after six months acquired the magic powers. He then professed himself as a *ṛṣi*, and became the head of a sect called the *Ājivikas*. Their chief centre was Sāvasthī where lived the woman Hatahalā, potter by caste, a lay disciple of the *Ājivikas*. Once Gosāla was staying in her shop in the twenty-fourth year of his ascetic life when the *Disāvās* came to visit him. At this time Mahāvīra also was staying in Sāvasthī,

¹¹⁵ *Ibid* 6, p. 44 of the *Dīpā*, I p. 33 where it was stated that according to Gosāla there is no cause for the depravity of things, they become pure without any cause. Nothing depends on human effort for there is no such thing as power or energy or human exertion or human strength. Every thing that thinks or everything that lives is destitute of power or energy. Their varying conditions are due to fate, their environments and their own nature.

and he related the above account of Gosāla's life and denied his claim to *Jinahood*. When Gosāla heard this he was greatly annoyed. He called Ānanda, a disciple of Mahāvira and told him that, if his teacher ever came in his way, he would destroy him by his magic power. Ānanda went to Mahāvira and told him what Gosāla had said. Mahāvira admitted Gosāla's power, but added that it could have no effect on an *Aśhat*, because the magic powers of the latter were still greater. He further told Ānanda to forbid his followers to hold any intercourse with the heretical Gosāla. In the meantime Gosāla with his followers went to Mahāvira and said that his pupil, Gosāla Mankhaliputta, is long since dead, while he was really Udāyī Kuṇḍīyāniya. He then proceeded to explain in detail his theories and enumerated his own seven births. In reply Mahāvira told him that he acted like a thief imagining that he could not be recognised. Gosāla now getting angry, began to abuse Mahāvira and destroyed his two disciples by means of his magic power. Now Gosāla shot forth his magic power of destruction against Mahāvira, and declared that he would die of bilious fever within six months. But Mahāvira replied that he would yet live sixteen years longer, while on the contrary, Gosāla's magic power would recoil on him and that he would perish of bilious fever within seven days. The rumour of this dispute spread through the town and there was much discussion among the people as to whose threat would prove true. Now Mahāvira told his ascetics that they might go to Gosāla and worry him with questions and discussions. Gosāla returned to Hālāhalā's shop, where in the delirium of fever, he gave himself up to drinking, singing, dancing, soliciting Hālāhalā and sprinkling himself with cool muddy water. On this Mahāvira took occasion to explain his followers that the magic power discharged by Gosāla was powerful enough to cause the destruction of the people of the sixteen traditional *janapadas*. At this time a layman of the *Ājīvika* sect, happened to go to visit Mankhaliputta, but observing him in his delirious state he felt ashamed and wanted to retire quietly, but the *theras* about Mankhaliputta called him to stay. Later on feeling certain of his death Mankhaliputta instructed his *theras* to bury him after his death with every mark of honour and to proclaim publicly that with him the last *Tīrthankara* had passed away.

But, as the Jain canons would make us believe, at the last moment, overwhelmed by the sense of his evil deeds, he declared that Mahāvira alone was the true Jina and that Mankhalī himself was a wicked man, and that his *theras* should bury him with every mark of dishonour and publicly proclaim his shame. Gosāla died and was born as a *deva* in the heaven. It is said that in course of time he would attain salvation.¹¹⁷

ĀJĪVIKA AN IMPORTANT SECT

It seems from the Jain and Buddhist records that the sect of the *Ājīvikas* was an important sect and the *Ājīvikas* exercised considerable in-

¹¹⁷ Bhag, 15, Dr. Hoernle's appendix to *Uvāsagadasāo*.

fluence in Indian society¹¹⁸ The contents of the *Ditthvaya* in the *Nandi*¹¹⁹ mention the eighty eight *Sūtras* out of which twenty two are said to have followed the tradition of the *Ājīvikas* and twenty two those of the *Terāsiyas*, who were the disciples of Gosala according to Abhayadeva¹²⁰ There is no wonder if Mahāvira were influenced by Gosala's doctrines¹²¹ Unfortunately, no authoritative statements recording the tenets of the *Ājīvikas* have come forth so far, for which we have to depend solely on the Jain and Buddhist records The order of the *Ājīvikas* is twice mentioned in the edicts of King Asoka whose grandson Dasaratha gave them some cave dwellings at the Nagaum and Barabar hills Then Varahamihara (about 550 A D) mentions this sect as one of the seven sects of his time In the *Nisātha curni* (6th century) as pointed out above, the *Pandavabhikkhus* are identified with the disciples of Gosala Silanka (876 A D) identifies the *Ājīvikas* with the *Digambaras*, both being the followers of¹²² Gosala, and Bhattotpala the commentator of the *Bhāṣyavākyā* identified them with the *Ekadandins*¹²³

OTHER SCHOOLS AND SECTS

II

THE FOUR GREAT SCHOOLS

The *Sūyagadāga* describes the four heretical creeds of the time of Mahāvira, which are *Kūṣyam* (*Kūṣyā āda*), *Ikūṣyam* (*Ikūṣyā āda*), *Annānam* (*Ajñānā āda*) and *Vinayam* (*Vinayā āda*)¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Buddha considered Makkhali as the most dangerous of the heretical teachers (*Jingittara* 133)

¹¹⁹ *Su* 57

¹²⁰ *Sama* 12 22 p 387 However, according to the *Kūṣyā āda* (4 p 225) the *Terāsiyas* were the descendants of Makkhali

¹²¹ Cf. Jacobi's *B. E.* XX p 115 If the rigid rules found in part of the ancient creed of Jainism and Mahāvira might have borrowed them from the *Ājīvikas* or *Anugrahas* the followers of Gosala with whom he is said to have lived for six years Prof. Jacobi has also pointed out the resemblances between the doctrine of Jains and that of Gosala (1) both believe in a fallacy of living beings possess life (2) both have the division of animals according to their senses which having one sense two senses etc (3) both believe in the doctrine of six *leśas* (*ibid* p XXX)

¹²² *Sūya* 71 1335

¹²³ Kalyan Vajirā's *B. M.* p 251 Dr. Vaidya (*as nals* notes p 239 f) This sect is also mentioned in the South Indian inscriptions of *Raj* the Chera king of the 13th century of the Vikram era But this is a mistake This inscription is meant for the *Digambara* Jains and not for the *Ājīvikas* The sect of the *Ājīvikas* was no more in existence during this period and because the *śāstras* of the *Ājīvikas* and the *Digambaras* both went about naked one was conveniently identified with the other (*ibid*).

¹²⁴ 1 121

KRIYĀVĀDA

Kriyā denotes the existence of soul (*jīva*) and those who admit the existence of soul are called *Kriyāvādins*.¹²⁵ It is stated that one who knows the tortures of beings below in hell, one who knows the influx of sin and its stoppage, one who knows misery and its annihilation is entitled to expound the *kriyāvāda*.¹²⁶ *Kriyāvāda* comprised one hundred and eighty schools.¹²⁷

AKRIYĀVĀDA

The *Akriyāvādins* deny the existence of the soul etc., for according to them every thing is of a momentary existence and a state comes to an end the moment it comes into existence, and therefore it can not have any *kriyā*. They are identified with the Buddhists, who hold the doctrine of *ksanikavāda*.¹²⁸ *Akriyāvādins* were also called *Viruddhas*, since they held the doctrines opposite to other heretics.¹²⁹ *Akriyāvāda*, it is said, comprised eighty four schools.¹³⁰

ĀJÑĀNAVĀDA

The *Ājñānavādins* deny the necessity or importance of knowledge to attain salvation, since there is assertion of contradictory statements in it.¹³¹ It comprised sixty seven schools.¹³²

¹²⁵ *Ibid.* I. 12, p. 208

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* I. 12, p. 223a. This definition of *Kriyāvāda* is applied to Jains themselves. However, it may be noted that according to *Śilāṅka* (*Sūya Tī* p. 218a), *Kriyāvādins* held that action (*kriyā*) alone leads to liberation even though it be unaccompanied by right knowledge and right faith; also cf. *Uttarā Tī* 18 p. 230 cf. also *Ingūthara* IV, pp. 180-181 where Mahāvīra is represented as an exponent of the doctrine of five-vill activity (*kriyāvāda*).

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* II. 2. 40. There are nine categories *jīva, ajīva āvāta, bandha, sam āvāta, mokṣa, punya* and *pāpa*. Each of them may be regarded as *śatah* and *parāśat* *nutya* and *anutya* with regard to *kāla, īśvara ātmā, nityatā* and *śābhitā*. Thus by multiplying $9 \times 2 \times 2 \times 5$ we have one hundred and eighty possible schools of *Kriyāvādins* (*Sūya Tī* I. 12, p. 208a).

¹²⁸ *Sūya* 12-4-8. The *Thā* (8. 607) gives the eight divisions of the *Akriyāvāda*: *Ēgācī* (phonists), *Anegācī* (pluralists), *Miyatā* (extensionists), *Nimmiyatā* (cosmogonists), *Samucchedatā* (annihilationists), *Niyatā* (eternalists), and *Nā Santī Parahatā* (materialists), cf. the same method of classification in the *Brahmajāla* sūtra of the *Digha*, (Barua *Pre-Buddhist Indian Philosophy*, p. 197). In Buddhist works *Petudhakkaccāyana's* doctrine is also called *akriyāvāda* (Law, *Historical Gleanings* p. 34).

¹²⁹ *Anu Sū.* 20, *Nāyā Tī* 15 p. 194a, *Oṣā* 38 p. 169.

¹³⁰ Leaving out *purā* and *pāpa* take the seven categories. Each of them may be regarded as *śatah* (subjective) and *paratah* (objective) with regard to *kāla, īśvara ātmā, nityatā* and *śābhitā* and *śābhitā* and *śābhitā* (cf. *Śīlāṅkavāda up* 1. 2). Thus by multiplying $7 \times 2 \times 2 \times 5$ we have eighty four divisions (*Sūya Tī* I. 12 p. 209).

¹³¹ *Sūya* I. 12. 2.

¹³² There are nine categories each one of which may be regarded as *śat*, *asaś*, *śadaś*, *śakṣatāśa*, *śadaśakṣatāśa*, *śadaśakṣatāśa* and *śadaśakṣatāśa*, which comes to $9 \times 7 = 63$ to these may be added *śat*, *śadaś* and *śakṣatāśa* which gives us sixty seven schools (*Sūya Tī* I. 12, p. 209).

VINAYAVĀDA

They are also called as *Vaiṇayikas* or *Avuuddhas*¹³³ They do not accept external rules of ceremony, but uphold the supremacy of reverence as the cardinal virtue leading to perfection¹³⁴ The upholders of this faith paid equal reverence to god, king, monk, elephant, horse, cow, buffalo, goat, jackal, crow, crane, crocodile and others¹³⁵ By paying reverence to god or master, ascetic, man, and aged persons, inferior, mother or father by body, mind, speech and gifts, the school is divided into thirty two (8 x 4) divisions¹³⁶

We have already referred to Vesāyana, a *Vinayavādī* who was practising *pāṇāmā parajjā* with his arms uplifted when Mahāvīra and Gosāla arrived in Kummagāma¹³⁷ Mauryaputra Tāmali of Tāmaliṭṭi was another *Vinayavādī*, who had a wooden begging pot in which he received rice from every class of people He washed his rice twenty one times and by paying reverence to crows, dogs, *cāṇḍālas* etc, practised the *pāṇāmā parajjā*¹³⁸ Then pūrāṇa is said to have practised the *dāṇāmā parajjā* He divided his alms into four parts one was given to travellers, another to crows and dogs, a third to fish and tortoises and the remaining part he kept for himself¹³⁹

Then we had various other religious sects,¹⁴⁰ which have been arranged here alphabetically

Attukkosya—They belonged to the class of ascetics who were proud of themselves.¹⁴¹

Bhūkammya—They administered ashes to the people suffering from fever etc¹⁴²

Bhujjo bhujjo kōṇyakaṭṭaka—They administered auspicious baths for procuring good luck¹⁴³ They are also known as *Ībhrogias*¹⁴⁴

Gandīvaga—They had hangers (*sikkaka*) as their ritualistic paraphernalia.¹⁴⁵

¹³³ *Oṣā op cit*, *Nāyā op cit* *Avuuddhakkas* are mentioned in the *Anguttara* III, p. 276

¹³⁴ *Sūya* I 22 f

¹³⁵ See infra

¹³⁶ *Sūya* Tī 1 12, p. 209a

¹³⁷ *Āva Nū* 494

¹³⁸ *Bhag* 3 1, cf. the practice of Kalāṇa a gymnosophist of Taxila who left India with Alexander and buried himself alive on a funeral pile at Sousa He was so called because in saluting those he met he used the word hail (McGindie *The invasion of Alexander the Great* p. 386)

¹³⁹ *Bhag* 3 2 For other schools in the *Sūyagadanga* see Bechindas's article in the *Purāṭṭha* (3 2 p. 112 ff)

¹⁴⁰ For other sages such as Vakkalakūṭi, Astadevala, Divāyana, Parāśara Nārada, Bāhuka, Mātanga and others, see *Ībhāyana* and *Sūyagadanga* (3 4 2 ff) All these sages were highly honoured by the Jains and according to them they attained salvation

¹⁴¹ *Oṣā Sū* 41, p. 196

¹⁴² *Ibid*

¹⁴³ *Ibid*

¹⁴⁴ *Bhag* 1 2

¹⁴⁵ *Sūya* Nū 7 90, p. 154, *Brh Bhā* 1 285b *Cakincaras* are mentioned in the *Bhāratas* *Nātyasāstra* 17 36, also cf. *Baudhāyana* (III 1, 5)

Dagasoyariya—An adherent of the *Dagasogariyas*, also known as *Suvvādi*, who took bath after cleaning his body sixty four times if touched by anybody, is mentioned.¹⁴⁵ Mention is made of a *Dagasoyariya* ascetic who was putting up in the *Nārāyana kottha* in Mathurā. After breaking his three days fast he pretended to have taken cow-dung, he never uttered the word *itthi* (woman) and observed silence. People were so much attracted by his practices that they offered him robes, food and drink.¹⁴⁷ According to Malayagiri, however, these ascetics were the followers of the Sāṃkhya religion.¹⁴⁸

Dhammacintaka—They studied religious books,¹⁴⁹ and contemplated on the *Dharmasamhitās* composed by Yājñavalkya and other sages and acted accordingly.¹⁵⁰

Gīyara—They devoted themselves to songs and the pleasures of love.¹⁵¹

*Goamā*¹⁵²—They earned a living by making a young bull painted and decorated with cowries in his neck, performing tricks of touching feet etc,¹⁵³ and created amusement for the people.¹⁵⁴ These ascetics lived on rice.¹⁵⁵

Govvāra—They behaved like a cow and in order to support their bovine character they followed a cow wherever it went, grazed, drank water, returned home and slept. They lived only on grass and leaves.¹⁵⁶

Kammārabhikkhu—They led a procession with idols (*devadronivāhaka*).¹⁵⁷

Kucciya—They grew beard and moustaches.¹⁵⁸

Paraparivāiya—They spoke ill of other ascetics.¹⁵⁹

Pindolaga—They remained very dirty and their body which was an abode of lice emitted a foul smell.¹⁶⁰ A *pindolaga* is said to have crushed himself under a rock on the mountain Vebhāra.¹⁶¹

Sasarakkha—They were adepts in casting spells etc, and stored dust for the rainy season.¹⁶² They moved about naked, and used their hollow of hands as alms bowl.¹⁶³

¹⁴⁵ *Ācā cū* p 21

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid* p 163

¹⁴⁸ *Pinda Nir* Ti. 314

¹⁴⁹ *Ovā Sū* 38, p 168

¹⁵⁰ *Anu Sū* 20, p 21a

¹⁵¹ *Ovā* 38, p 171, *Panna* II, 20, p 405.

¹⁵² *Gotamakas* are mentioned in the *Anguttara*, III, p 276.

¹⁵³ Such bulls are even today common sight in Mahārāstra.

¹⁵⁴ *Ovā Sū* 38, p 168 *Anu op cit*

¹⁵⁵ *Nāyā* 13, p 194a

¹⁵⁶ *Ovā op. cit*, *Nāyā op cit*, *Anu. op cit*, *The Majjhima*, I, p 357 f and its commentary also refer to *Govatika* ascetics, also see *Lahlanitara* (p. 218)

¹⁵⁷ *Brh Bhā* 3 4321

¹⁵⁸ *Brh Bhā* 1 2822, *ogha Nir* 83. According to Pt Nathuram Premi the *Kāreaka* monks belonged to the Digambara sect (*Anekānta*, Aug-Sept, 1944)

¹⁵⁹ *Ovā. sū* 41, p 196, in the *Bhag* (1 2) they are also spoken as *Kibbiyjar*

¹⁶⁰ *Sūya cū* p 144

¹⁶¹ *Uttarā cū*, p 138 A *pindolaga* was highly respected and famous member of the Buddhist order (*Mātanga Jātaka*, IV, No 497), p 375, also the com on the *Sutta Nipāta* II, 514 ff.

¹⁶² *Brh Bhā* 1 2819, 3 4252.

¹⁶³ See supra, p. 204

Vanīmaga—They were greedy of food and begged alms by exhibiting themselves to the devotees of *Śākya* etc.¹⁶⁴ They put themselves in a pitiable state and in order to divert the attention of the donors spoke pleasing words.¹⁶⁵

Vārībhadraka—They lived on water or moss and engaged themselves in bathing and washing their feet.¹⁶⁶

Vārīkhala—They washed their pot with mud twelve times.¹⁶⁷

Then various other classes of ascetics are mentioned.¹⁶⁸ Some believed in abstinence from acids, salt, garlic, onions, young camel's milk, beef and liquors as the path of perfection.¹⁶⁹ Some lived in woods, huts, near the villages, practised secret rites and never abstained from killing living beings. They declared "I am not to be punished, tormented or deprived of life because I am a Brāhmana, Śūdras only must be put to such fates because they are mean and low."¹⁷⁰ Then there were various nuns such as *carikā*, *pruvijñā*, *kapulika*, *tiannukā*, *bhāzari* and the like. They moved in the country of Sindhu in huge numbers.¹⁷¹

POPULAR DEITIES

III

Religion in its essence is based more on intuition and emotion than a rational attitude of mind. It is with the help of religion that man tried to explain natural forces and phenomena of the universe by imagining the existence of ever present agencies which, he thought, controlled the cosmic system. Thus came into being the workshop of various gods and goddesses and ancestral spirits which were supposed to be the controllers of the universe.

The worship of various deities in India is quite ancient.¹⁷² Jain texts mention the festivities (*maha*) in honour of (1) *Indra*, (2) *Khanda*, (3) *Rudda*, (4) *Mukunda*, (5) *Siva*, (6) *Vesamāna*, (7) *Nrga*, (8) *Jakkha*, (9) *Bhūy*, (10) *Ajja* and (11) *Kotakiriyā*.¹⁷³ We shall deal with them one by one.

¹⁶⁴ *Panda Nir* 444 f.

¹⁶⁵ *Thā Iti* 5 454 also *Nir* 13 p 86; *Da* (1) 119.

¹⁶⁶ *Sūya Nir* 7 90 p 151.

¹⁶⁷ *Brh Bha* 1 173.

¹⁶⁸ Bloonsfield describes ascetics who practised atrocities: apostates who were smitten by love, who were greedy, gluttonous, or otherwise vicious and who shamed asceticism (7 4 O 5 Vol 44 pp 202-42).

¹⁶⁹ *Sūy* 1 7 131 and com.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, II 2 28 cf also *Iti alī Jata'a* (II No 246) p 202 f. *Mahadodhi Jataka* (No 528) V P 240.

¹⁷¹ *Brh Bha* 4 541.

¹⁷² There were images of gods and goddesses in the days of Pāṇini which were used for the purpose of making a living (Gopinath *Inventory of Hindu Iconography*, Introduction).

¹⁷³ *Naya* 8, p 100, *Bhag* 3 1. The *Lalitavistara* (p 120) mentions the images of *Siva*, *Śhanda*, *Nārāyaṇa*, *Kubera*, *Candra*, *Sūrya*, *Vaiṣṇavaṇa*, *Sakra*, *Brahmā* and *Lokaṇāla*.

(1) INDAMAHĀ

The *Indra* is a vedic god of great antiquity and is the chief of all other gods. He is famous for intemperence and adultery.¹⁷⁴ In the *Kalpasūtra* *Indra* enjoys divine pleasures in the heaven in company of various gods, eight chief queens, three assemblies, seven armies, seven commanders-in-chief,¹⁷⁵ and the body-guards (*āyarakkha*)¹⁷⁶ *Indramahā* was most prominent among all other *mahas* in ancient days.¹⁷⁷

The *Nisītha cūṛṇi*¹⁷⁸ refers to the four great festivals (*mahāmaha*), viz., *Indamaha*, *Khandamaha*, *Jakkhamaha* and *Bhūyamaha*, which were celebrated on the full-moon days (*punnimā*) of *āsāḍha*¹⁷⁹, *āsoya*, *kattiyu* and *cetta* months successively when people passed their time in eating, drinking, dancing, singing, and visiting friends.

The festival of *Indra* was celebrated with great pomp. The *Uttan-dhyayana* commentary refers to the celebration of this festival by king Dummuhā in Kampillapura. The banner of *Indra* (*Indakeu*)¹⁸⁰ was raised amidst loud and auspicious cries, which was flagged with white banners adorned with a number of little bells, covered with beautiful wreaths and garlands, decorated with a string of jewels and decked with pendent mass of various fruits. Then the dancing girls performed their dance, poetic compositions were sung, people danced, wonderful feats were shown by jugglers, betels were served, water mixed with camphor and saffron was sprinkled, large gifts were given and drums were sounded, and thus the seven days were passed in great rejoicing and revelry. Then approached the full-moon day when the king worshipped the banner of *Indra* with great pomp and ceremony with flowers, garments,¹⁸¹ etc.

¹⁷⁴ See Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 135, cf. *Brh Bhā* (I 1856-1859) where *Indra* seduced the wife of sage Udanka, who cursed him and as a result of which *Indra* became the guilty of murder of a Brāhmana (*bambhavyajhā*). *Indra* went to Kurukṣetra but the *bambhavyajhā* followed him there. Later on, the gods came down from heaven divided the *bambhavyajhā* into four parts, namely menstruation of women, passing urine in water, drinking wine of a Brāhmana and seduction of the wife of a sage and took him to the heaven. For the legend of Udanka see *Mahābhā* Vana 204 f.

¹⁷⁵ Harinegarasī was one of the commanders-in-chief (*pāyatiānyāyātāi*) of the celestial infantry of *Indra*, who played an important part in the conception and birth legend of Mahāvira (*Kalpa sū* 2 26). This deity is also mentioned in the *Antagada* (3 p. 12) and is connected with the procreation of children.

¹⁷⁶ 1 13.

¹⁷⁷ According to a Jain legend, Bharata was the first founder of this festival. It is said that *Indra* gave Bharata his finger decked with ornaments with which the latter celebrated the eight days festivals in honour of *Indra* (*Āva cū* p. 213), cf. also Hopkins *op cit*, p. 125. *Indramahā* is also mentioned by Bhāsa (*Pusaikar, Bhāsa, a study* ch. XIX p. 440 f.), also the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Vol. VIII, pp. 144-53), *Mahābhārata* (I, 64 33) also see Dr. Vasudeva S. Agravala's article in the *K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar Commemorative Vol.* p. 480 f.

¹⁷⁸ 19, p. 1174.

¹⁷⁹ In Lāḍa, however, *Indramahā* was celebrated on the full-moon day of *sāḍana* (*Nisītha cū* *ibid*). According to the *Rāmāyana* (IV 16 36), it was celebrated on the full-moon day of *āṣvini* in the country of Gauda. This festival was celebrated when rains were over and the roads were fit for war on the new-moon's days. (Hopkins, *op cit* p. 125 f.)

¹⁸⁰ *Indalatthi* is also mentioned in the *Nāyā* 1, p. 25, *Bhag* 9 6, also *Mahābhā* VII 49 12, the image of *Inda* (*Indapaṣṭmā*) is mentioned with a thunderbolt in hand (*Dharmmapada A*, I, p. 280).

¹⁸¹ 8, p. 136.

the deities *Nāga Bhūya*, *Jakkha*, *Inda*, *Khanda*, *Rudda*, *Sita* and *Vesamana* every *caturdasī*, *astamī*, *amāvāsa* and *pūrṇimā* as a result of which she gave birth to a son, who was called Devadinnā (given by gods)²¹⁸ The *Jakkhas* are also said to have cured diseases. The *Pinda Niyāhlu* refers to the shrine of Manubhadra *Jakkha* which lay outside the town of Samilla in a garden and was furnished with an assembly-hall (*sabhā*). We are told that once small-pox broke out in the town and people prayed to the *Jakkha*. In course of time the trouble subsided and the citizens besmeared the hall with cow-dung every *astamī* and other days²¹⁹. The *Jakkhas* were also believed to detect the unchastity of women²²⁰. The *Jakkhas* Punnabhadda and Manubhadda seem to be more popular to them offerings of food (*miccayāpinda*) were made²²¹.

So far the beneficial aspect of the *Jakkhas*²²² has been traced but they could also be evilly disposed. They caused trouble to the people and often were satisfied after killing them. We hear of Sūlipāṇi *Jakkha* who used to kill persons who stayed in his shrine. It is said that his shrine was built on the bones of the dead bodies²²³. Surappiṇa was another *Jakkha* who was painted every year and after the painting was over, the person who painted him was killed by the deity²²⁴. A *Jakkha* is mentioned who was satisfied after feeding the Jain *sādhus* at night and thus violating their vows²²⁵. Then obsession by spirits (*Jakkhaggaha*)²²⁶ played an important part in the life of the people. We have already referred to the garland-maker Ajjunava, who obsessed by the *Jakkha*, killed six gangsters and his own wife with the iron mace which he held in his hand²²⁷. The Jain monks and the nuns too were obsessed by the *Jakkhas* and were treated by exorcism (*Bhūyaṇṇa*)²²⁸. Then the north and east quarters were believed to be the haunts of the *Jakkhas*²²⁹. Vandanapūra was supposed to be the abode of the *Jakkhas*²³⁰. Then in Golla a sickly person was not exposed owing to the fear of a *Jakkha*²³¹. Another strange belief regarding the *Jakkhas* was that they enjoyed sexual intercourse with the girls. The *Uttarādyanaṇa ūṇi* refers to a certain Bāhmana who got enamoured of his own daughter. He sent a woman to her as a go-between, who explained her that it was customary in their family

²¹⁸ *Nāyā* 2, p. 49 f.

²¹⁹ 245 f.

²²⁰ *Das cū* p. 90, cf. *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, p. 162.

²²¹ *Nisī cū* 11, p. 709.

²²² For evil character of the *Jakkhas* in the *Jātaka*s see Mehta's *op cit* p. 324.

²²³ *Āta cū* pp. 272-4.

²²⁴ *Ibid* p. 87 f.

²²⁵ *Bṛh Bhā* 4.446.3 f.

²²⁶ The *Jambū* (p. 120) refers to *Indaggaha*, *Dhāvaggaha*, *Klāvaggaha*, *Kumārāggaha*, *Jakkhaggaha* and *Bhūyaggaha*, also cf. *Carako*, *cikāsitasthāna* ch. 9.

²²⁷ *Āta* 6.

²²⁸ *Bṛh Sū* 6.12 and its *Bhāṣya* also 5.518-26, 5540-7, 3.2494-7.

²²⁹ *Ibid* p. 450 f., also 4.4962-4.

²³⁰ *Ācā cū* P. 331.

²³¹ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1.2380, *Vīṣṇuśatruṇi*.

to have a sexual union with the *Jakkhas*.²⁸² We have already referred to the Gandatinduga²⁸³ *Jakkha*, who is said to have had sexual intercourse with the princess Bhaddā. Then there were low types of the *Jakkhas*. The Ādambara *Jakkha*, also known as Hiradikka *Jakkha*, and Ghantika *Jakkha*²⁸⁴ were believed to be the *Jakkhas* of the *Mātangas* and the *Dombas* respectively. The shrine of the former was built on the bones of human beings who had died recently.²⁸⁵ The Ghantika *Jakkha* was believed to whisper in the ear when questioned.²⁸⁶

Like *Jakkhas* the *Vānamantarīs* or the *Jakkhinīs* also played an important role in ancient Indian life. The *Vānamantarī* Sālejjā is said to have paid reverence to Mahāvira,²⁸⁷ whereas Katapūtānā gave him trouble.²⁸⁸ Then the *Gujhagas* are mentioned. There was a belief among the people that the *Gujhagas* were residents of Kailāsa and lived in this world in the form of dogs and hence dogs were to be treated with respect.²⁸⁹ It is said that the *Gujhagas* like the *Devas* neither touched the earth nor winked their eyes.²⁴⁰

Various feasts and festivals were celebrated in honour of the *Jakkhas*. The pilgrimage to Bhandīravana, the abode of Bhandira *Jakkha* was a popular deity in Mathurā.²⁴¹ Kundalamentha was another deity whose feast was celebrated near Bharuyakacchia.²⁴² Then the feasts were celebrated in honour of the *Vānamantara* gods after completion of a new site.²⁴³ and the drums were beaten in their honour.²⁴⁴

SHRINES AND TEMPLES OF THE JAKKHAS (JAKKHĀḌI YĀNA)

The abode of a *Jakkha* is often referred to as a *cetya* (Pali *cetiya*) or *āyatana* in the Jain canons. In the Epics *cetiya* was intimately associated with the place where Vedic sacrifice had been performed. Here sometimes *cetiya* is no more than a sacred tree or a tree with an altar which is termed as resort of the *Devas*, *Yaksas*, *Rāksasas* etc., and hence not to be injured. In the *Rāmāyana* we come across words such as *cetiyaḡiḡha*, *cetiya-prāsāda* and *cetiyaḡvrkṣa*. In the *Yājñavalkya smṛti*, *cetiya*s serve the boundary limits of a village or a *janapada*. Kautilya refers to *cetiya*s as houses of

²⁸² P 89

²⁸³ Gandatindu tree is mentioned in the *Gandatindu Jātaka* (No 520), V, p 99

²⁸⁴ A *Yaksa* with a bell round the neck is referred to in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, p 12, Gilgit Manuscripts, Vol 3, Pt 2, also *Mahābhā* IX 46-24

²⁸⁵ *Āva. cū* II, p 227 f

²⁸⁶ *Vya. Bhā* 7 313, *Āva. cū* II, p 220, *Brh. Bhā* 2 1312

²⁸⁷ *Āva. cū* p 294

²⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 490, cf the *Ayoghara Jātaka* (IV, No 510), p 491, also *Rāmāyana*, V 24

²⁸⁹ *Nisī. cū* 13, p 865

²⁴⁰ *Ogh. Nir* P 159a, cf Hopkins *op. cit.*, p 147f, "The world of *Guhya* was for those who died by sword, not ignobly, but not bravely." Also see *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, App 1

²⁴¹ *Āva. cū* p 281, the famous *nyagrodha* tree of Vrndāvana was called Bahandira (*Mahābhārata*, II 53 8)

²⁴² *Brh. Bhā*, 3150.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3 4769

²⁴⁴ *Das. cū* p 48.

gods and prominence is given here to the *cailya* worship.²⁴⁵ Its later meaning was explained by the commentator Abhayadevasūri as an image of a deity or the shrine which was the abode of a *ṛjan'ara*.²⁴⁶

In the period when Jainism and Buddhism were in ascendancy the word *cailya* was applied to the whole sacred enclosure containing a garden grove or park and a shrine.²⁴⁷ Mahāvīra, Buddha and many other religious ascetics are represented as halting or resting in these shrines. Some of these shrines had definitely architectural value of a temple equipped with doors and hall etc. We hear of a shrine (*id uliya*) about the size of a man's hand and built of one block of stone.²⁴⁸ The images were made of wood and some of the *Jakkha* images were equipped with iron mace as we have seen in the case of Moggallānāpāṇi. There was a hill (*sabhā*) attached to the shrine which was besmeared with cow-dung as we have seen. We hear of the Punnabhadda shrine of Campā which was decorated with umbrella standards *sayhara* bells, flags peacock feather whisk (*lomahattha*) and railing (*iccadā*), the inside floor was coated with cow-dung, walls were white-washed, it bore palm impressions in red *gosiṣa* or *dāḍāra* sandal-wood, it was beautiful with *candana* flowers and on the doors were erected *torāṇas* with *candanughata* decorations. The floor was sprinkled with perfumed water and garlands were hung, and it was odorous with flowers of fine colours, *kaṭṭagūṇa*, *kundurukka* and *trukka*; it was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers, wrestlers, boxers, jesters, ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers, picture-showmen, pipers, lute-players, and minstrels. Many people came to worship this shrine.²⁴⁹

THE BHŪTAS

Bhūtas or night wanderers go by with *bal* or *Rat* or the troops all described as fearful and flesh-eating in Indian mythology. *Bali* is offered to them²⁵⁰ and a wise man pays reverence to them before going to bed. Three types of *Bhūtas* are mentioned in the Epics: the indifferent, the hostile and the kind. All the night-wandering demonic *Bhūtas*

²⁴⁵ V. R. Dikshitar, *J. H. Q.* pp. 440 ff. Sept. 1935. Coomaraswamy, *Jck* as p. 19. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology* pp. 70-72.

²⁴⁶ *Bhag* I Uttara I. II mārāṇa li extends the word *uliyā* in the sense of a Jain temple (*Jinasādāna*). *Mahābhārata* IV. 60. In *Prā. Bhā* (I 177 ff.) four types of *cailya* are mentioned: (1) *cailya* mud for one's own religious use (cf. *Sū. 102*); (2) auspicious or *Man'ala cailya* (3) permanent or *dharmic* and (4) the one for *Bhāṭṭi cailya*. The *Parvataśloka* I p. 22 the term in the *Prā. Bhā* I. 177 ff. there are three kinds of *cailya*: *ta uliyā*, *ka uliyā* and *dharmic*. The *Uttara* (XXVII, 153) mentions *man'ala cailya*. *Cailya* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 2. 104). Also see Rev. *Liberal* ed. of *Uttara* I. V. *Prā. Bhā*, Vol. I p. 197.

²⁴⁷ Cf. In the *Vicagayana* (II) the *Dhūpali cailya* is called *Dhūpali sa ujjaya*.

²⁴⁸ *Uttara* I. 9 P. 142.

²⁴⁹ *Ora Sū* 2.

²⁵⁰ The *Āśca* (II p. 162) mentions the offering of '*bali*' to the *Bhūtas* by queen Sivi of Ujjain.

belong to the hostile group.²⁵¹ In Jain canons the term *vānamantara* is commonly used for *Yaksas* and *Rākṣasas*.²⁵² Like *Jakkhamaha*, *Bhūyamaha* was also considered as one of the four great festivals and was celebrated on the full-moon day of the month of *caitra* as we have seen. *Bhūyagga* or the obsession by the evil spirit is mentioned. The persons suffering from the obsession of the evil spirits were treated by *Bhūyavijjā*, which prescribed soothing rites (*sāntikamma*) and offering of *balī* to *deva*, *asura*, *gandharva*, *jakkha*, *rakkhasa* and other deities. The persons versed in demonology (*bhūyavāyā*) are referred to. There were dealers in antidotes and charmers (*gārūḍiyya* · *bhoiya bhatta catta*) who knew the science of spirits or exorcism and by means of various ceremonies, enchantments and preservatives (*rakkhāmandala*) cured²⁵³ those possessed.

The belief in ghosts in ancient days was so prevalent that the credulous people even thought it to be a marketable commodity. The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* refers to a shop called *kuttyāvāna*,²⁵⁴ where everything living or non-living was available. It is said that there were many such shops in Ujjeni during the reign of Candapajjova. Rāyagūḍa also had such shops.²⁵⁵

The *Pisācas* are smaller demons associated with *Bhūtas*. They were supposed to eat flesh and drink blood. The description of a *Pisāca* is given in the *Nāyādharmakāṇḍa*.²⁵⁶ The *Pisācas* were supposed to haunt the cemeteries and people offered them *balī* on dark nights. The wretches were asked to visit cemeteries on dark nights and offer food to a *Bhūta*. If they returned victorious they were appointed as king's wretches.²⁵⁷

(10) AJJĀ AND (11) KOTTAKIRIYĀ

Ajjā and *Kottakiriyā* are two different forms of the goddess Durgā,²⁵⁸ who is also called *Candīyā*. The *Ācārāṅga cūṇī* refers to the worship (*jāga*)

²⁵¹ Hopkins, *op cit*, p. 36f. Three tests of recognising a *Bhūta* are mentioned. It has no shadow, it cannot stand turneric and it always speaks with a nasal twang (*heṇḍā-arutsāgara* I, App. I). Also see Rose, *Tribes and castes of Punjab and N. W. Provinces* Vol. I pp. 205 ff.

²⁵² The *Uttarā* (36-207) gives eight classes of *Vānamantara* gods viz. *Prāyā*, *Bhūya*, *Jakkha*, *Rakkhasa*, *Kinnara*, *Kimpurisa*, *Mahoruga* and *Gandharva*. The following eight sacred trees are dedicated to these deities, *kalamba*, *tulasī*, *vata*, *kandaka*, *esuka*, *campā*, *nāga* and *tenduya* (*Thā* 8-654).

²⁵³ *Uttarā* Tī 1, p. 5. *Uttarā* Tī 12, p. 174, cf. *Āra* Tī (Hārī) p. 394a.

²⁵⁴ For the fanciful meaning of the term see *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* 3-4214, *Īlu* 11, p. 413a.

²⁵⁵ *Brh. Bhā* 3-4214-23.

²⁵⁶ 8 p. 99.

²⁵⁷ *Vya Bhā* 1 p. 92a f., *Uttarā* Tī. 3, p. 74a.

²⁵⁸ In Indian mythology *Durgā* is fond of drink and flesh and she is called *Durgā* because she saves from *durga* or difficulty. Her sign is a peacock's tail and she wears diadem and snakes. She has four arms and faces and carries bow, discus, noose and other weapons. As slayer she is *Kaṭabhanāsini* and *Mahā-sarkpriyā* (rejoicing in the blood of the demons she slays)—Hopkins, *op cit*, p. 224.

with snakes and his standard is a palm with three heads. His palm-sign indicates his love of wine.¹⁹³ The worship of the *Mukunda* and the *Vāsudeva* were prevalent during the life-time of Mahāvira near Sāvattihī and Ālabhiyā. The images of *Baladeva* were equipped with a plough-share (*nangala*).¹⁹³

(5) SIVAMAHA¹⁹⁴

Śiva or *Maheśvara* was the lord of *Bhūtas*, burner of *Kūma* and the father of *Skanda* in Indian mythology. His chief deeds were to drink the world-destroying poison, destroy *Dakṣa's* sacrifice and receive the falling Ganges in his matted hair. A festival in his honour as mountain-god is held in the spring-month *vaiśākha*. *Śiva* is also called *Umāpati*.¹⁹⁵ According to a Jain legend, *Śiva* or *Maheśvara* was the son of Sujetthā, the daughter of Cetaka by mendicant Pedhāla.¹⁹⁶

Like the worship of *Khanda* and *Mukunda* the worship of *Śiva* also was in vogue during the life-time of Mahāvira.¹⁹⁷ The worship of *Dhondra-sivā* also came into being from this time.¹⁹⁸ An image of *Śiva* is referred to which was worshipped with leaves, flowers and *guggulu* (bdellium) and was given a bath with the ichor of an elephant (*gallodaya*).¹⁹⁹

(6) VESAMANAMAHA

Vaistavana or *Kubera* is the guardian of the north and the lord of all treasure in Indian mythology. His floating palace is carried by *Gulhyakas*.

¹⁹² Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 212

¹⁹³ *Āra Nir* 481

¹⁹⁴ Certain stone *lingas* have been found in the Indus valley which show that the cult was a very popular one in those days. Przyluski in his paper on 'Non-Aryan Loans in Indo-Aryan' has shown that both the words *langula* (plough) and *linga* (image) are of Austro-Asiatic origin in their origin and in their etymology they mean one and the same thing. The *linga* worship was of an Aryan origin is clearly shown by the opprobrious terms applied to the phallic worshippers in *Rigveda* (Pre-Aryan Elements in Indian Culture. Atul K. Sur the *Calcutta Review*, Nov.-Dec. 1932, p. 244 f.) also cf. Rose, *Tribes and castes of Punjab and V. W. Province* Vol. I, pp. 260 ff.

¹⁹⁵ Hopkins, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-226

¹⁹⁶ It is said that once the nun Sujetthā was practising penance when Pedhāla approached her and creating must (*dhūmika*) before her eyes cohabited with her. In course of time, Sujetthā bore Satvaki, who became versed in magical spells (*vijjā*). The magical spell *Mahārōhini* made a hole in his forehead and entered his body. Later on this hole was transformed into a third eye. After some time Satyaki killed his father because he had raped the royal virgin Sujetthā. Then Satyaki became an overlord of magical spells (*vijjābhāratī*) and was called Mahesara by *Indra*. Mahesara did not like Brāhmanas and so he violated the chastity of hundreds of Brāhmana girls. He committed adultery with all other queens of Pajjaya excepting *Sivā*. Now Mahesara began to live with *Umā*, a beautiful courtesan of Ujjeni. Once when he was sporting with her he was killed by Pajjaya's servants. When Nandisara, a friend of Mahesara, came to know of this, he got very angry, and seized with the *vijjās*, in order to kill the citizens he ascended the sky with a slab of stone. Pajjaya asked his pardon and since then the phallus of *Śivā* was placed in each and every city for worship (*Āra cū* II, p. 175 f.), Hopkins *op. cit.*, p. 226

¹⁹⁷ *Āra Nir* 509

¹⁹⁸ *Āra cū* p. 312, *Brh. Bhā.* 5. 5928

¹⁹⁹ *Brh. Bhā. Pt.* 804.

where he sits clothed in jewels and surrounded by many women. He wears bright ear-rings, is very wealthy, has a heavenly seat and foot-stool and is refreshed by breezes from Nandana and Alakā Nalinī. His city Alakā is situated on mount Kailasa and he is over-lord of *Yaksas*, *Rāksasas* and *Guhyaśak*.²⁰⁰ We are told that *Viśamāna* was the lord of the *Yaksas* and guarded the northern direction.²⁰¹

(7) NĀGA MATI²⁰²

The general abode of the divine serpents, according to Indian mythology, is below earth, where is found Śa, the *Nāga* of a thousand heads, who supports the earth from beneath.²⁰³ According to a Jain legend, prince Bhāgīraha, the grandson of Bhavaha, was the first founder of *Nāgabali*. It is stated that after the sons of Sagara were²⁰⁴ burnt to death by the *Nāga* king, Bhagīraha went to draw the water of the Ganges from the neighbouring villages of Atthāvaya. Bhagīraha worshipped the *Nāgas* with *balli*, flowers etc., and since then the *Nāgabali* came into vogue.²⁰⁵

The worship of *Nāga* (*Nāgajaina*) is specially mentioned. In the north-east of Sāgerya²⁰⁶ there lay a *Nāga* shrine (*Nāgashvara*) with an image of a serpent.²⁰⁷ The festival of *Nāga* (*Nāgajālī*) was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony by the queen Paumāvatī. The city was swept clean and was sprinkled over with water. Then a flower-house (*pupphamandara*) was made near the shrine where a beautiful huge garland was suspended. The queen took bath and in the company of her friends and relations proceeded to the shrine. She bathed in the lake and with a till moist robe plucked the lotuses and with various flowers, fruits and the incense pot in her hand, entered the temple, where she cleaned

²⁰⁰ Hopkins *op cit* pp 142-143

²⁰¹ *Ji ā* 3, p 281

²⁰² There is a race of people called *Nāgas* residing upon the elevated region between Assam and Manipur, who are said to be universally dreaded for the devastations they commit upon the inhabitants of the plains, and it is possible that the mythological *Nāgas* may have had their origin in the fears produced by the ravages of the ancient mountaineers, Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p 45 London 1880 see also Rhys Davids *Buddhist India*, pp 220 ff. And K. S. Chatterjee *Religion in India*, p 239 Dr Vogel's *Indian Serpent Lore* (1916) for various theories of origin of *Nāga* worship

²⁰³ Hopkins *op cit* pp 212-9

²⁰⁴ The fire-like action ascribed to the *Nāga*'s poison is exemplified by various Brāhmanic and Buddhist legends. For example according to the *Jātaka* the *Nāga Takṣaka* by his fiery bite reduced a human fire to ashes and King Pankasita's hall on fire. Even the pool of the Yamuna is described as overcast with a dense smoke caused by the poison-born fire of the *Nāga Kiliya* (Dr Vogel *op cit* p 13)

²⁰⁵ *Uttarā* 11 18 p 231 ff

²⁰⁶ Mathurā is mentioned as a big centre of *Nāga* worship where numerous *Nāga* images have been recovered. Then in the Vitastā in Kashmir is said to be the abode of *Nāga Takṣaka* (Dr Vogel, *op cit*, pp 41f, 229). Also see Rose, *Trails and caves of Panjab and N. W. Province*, Vol I pp 147 ff

²⁰⁷ The *Arthashastra* (p 273) mentions an image of a serpent with a hole-hole in it

the image with a brush (*lomahatthaga*), burnt incense and worshipped the deity.²⁰⁸ Mention may be made of the worship of Pārśva by Dharaṇendra, who belongs to the *Nāgākumāra* gods.²⁰⁹

(8) JAKKHAMAHA

The worship of the *Jakkhas* was most common in ancient India and so every important city had its own shrine dedicated to the *Jakkha*.²¹⁰ We are told that by practising self-restraint one is born among the *Jaksas*,²¹¹ and the *Jaksas* including the *Devas*, the *Dānavas*, the *Gandharvas* and the *Kinnaras* pay veneration to those who practise celibacy.²¹² Reference is made to the *Jakkha* Ganditinduga of Vērānasi, who guarded the great sage Mātanga in the Tinduga garden.²¹³ Bihelaga was another *Jakkha* who paid reverence to Lord Mahāvīra when the latter was engrossed in meditation.²¹⁴ The *Nāyāddhammakahā* speaks of another *Jakkha* of beneficent character, viz., Selaga. This *Jakkha* had the appearance of a horse (*āsarūpadhārī*) and on every *catundasī*, *astamī*, *amāyāsi* and *pūrnāmāsī* helped people. He is said to have saved the two merchants from the clutches of a cruel goddess and carried them on his back to Campā.²¹⁵

The *Jakkhas* were believed to be the presiding deities of the expectant mother. The *Vuāgasuya* refers to Gangadattā who had no issue. She took plenty of flowers, clothes, scents, garlands, and ornaments and in the company of her friends and relatives visited the shrine of Umbaradatta *Jakkha*. There she cleaned the image with a brush of peacock feathers, sprinkled it with water, wiped it with woollen cloth (*pumbhala*) and dressed it nicely. Then she worshipped the *Jakkha* with flowers etc. and prayed to the deity to bless her with a child.²¹⁶ Then we hear of Subhaddā, who promised the Surambara *Jakkha* one hundred buffaloes if she was blessed with a son.²¹⁷ Bhaddā was another woman who waited upon

²⁰⁸ *Vāyā* 8, p. 97 f. for the Buddhist conception of a *Jakṣa* (*Devatārj* II, pp. 675 ff.; also *Uttindusaṭṭha* p. 271 f).

²⁰⁹ *Āra. Nir.* 335 *Ti* p. 385. This legend may be compared with the Bāṇdhya Muchilinda, the serpent king, sheltering Buddha against wind and rain (*Sop. cit.* pp. 102-4, 126).

²¹⁰ Even now such deities or *Jakshas* are regarded as protectors of the village and are worshipped by men of all castes and creeds believing that the deity protects each village from epidemics of diseases (*Dist. Gaz. of Madras* p. 52). The following thirteen *Jakkhas* are mentioned: Punabbhadda, Mamabhadda, Subhadda, Haritabhadda, Sumanabhadda, Vyāpātikabhadda, Subhadda, Samabhadda, Manusavaksa, Vanādhipati, Vanāhāra, Rūpajakkha and Jakkhamaha (*Abhidhāna Rājendra Kosa* under "Jakkha"). The first two *Jakkhas* according to the *Mahāmāyūrī* were brothers and were the presiding deities of Brahmanatī (The Contents of the Mahā by Dr. Sylvain Levi, tr. V. S. Agrawal, *Journal U. P. Ind. S.* Vol. XV, Pt. II). Mamabhadda is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 10).

²¹¹ *Uvārā Sū* 3.14f.

²¹² *Ibid.* 16.16.

²¹³ *Ibid.* 12 and the com. p. 173a.

²¹⁴ *Āra. Nir.* 487.

²¹⁵ 9, p. 127; cf. *Valāhassa Jātaka* (II, No. 196) p. 129, the ship-wrecked men are rescued by a winged horse.

²¹⁶ 7, p. 42 f.; also cf. *Hatthipālā Jātaka* (IV, No. 509), p. 474.

²¹⁷ *Āra. ca.* II, p. 193.

of *Candīyā* with the sacrifice of goats, buffalo and human brings to please the low type (*appasattha*) of god.²⁵⁰ According to the Commentator the peaceful goddess *Durgā* is called *Ipā* who stands like *Kūsmāṇḍinī*. The same goddess *Durgā*²⁶¹ when rides on a buffalo is called *Kot'at'innā*.²⁶¹

²⁵⁰ p. 61

²⁶⁰ The goddess *Devi* is worshipped in various forms according to her imagined age. When she is worshipped as an very old baby she is known by the name of *Saṅgā* of 10 years, *Sarasvatī* of seven years, *Candī'ā* of eight years, *Santhā* of nine years, *De'ā* of ten years, *Gaurī* of thirteen, *Vāhātā* of sixteen, *Ipā* (Gopināthi *Epithet* of *Madhava*, p. 332 f)

²⁶¹ *Āṅgī* ~ *De'ā*, p. 138a

CHAPTER VII

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

MAGIC AND SUPERSTITIONS

Jain monks and magical practices

From the earliest ages magic and superstition occupied an important place in the social life in ancient India. Here we come across a number of magical formulas and spells to heal sickness, exorcise demons and overpower enemies, love-charms, formulæ to encompass luck for women, to achieve victory in battles and to find out hidden treasures, etc. Innumerable references to magical practices are preserved in the canonical literature of the Jains.

The *Vyākṛāda Pūva* was one of the fourteen *Pūvas* of the Jain canon wherein various spells and charms were described.¹ According to the *Bhagavatī*, Gosāla was well-versed in eight divisions of *Mahānūmulla*² and could foretell the profit and loss, happiness and sorrow and life and death of the people. It is stated in the *Pañcakalpa śūtri* that the disciples ordained by Ajja Kālaka never stuck to asceticism and so the latter went to the *Ājīvika*s for the study of *Nimutta* as already stated. Later on Ajja Kālaka gave a show of his *Nimutta* in the presence of king Sālavāhana, who was very much pleased with him and wanted to offer him some ornaments which Kālaka refused to accept.³ Then Bhadrabāhu was a great *Naimuttika* and was versed in the science of spells (*mantracūḍa*), he composed the *Upasargaharasloka* and sent it to the *sangha* to avert trouble from a *vyantara*.⁴ Ajja Khaṇḍa was another Jain saint who is described to be a master of charms.⁵ Thus we notice that the Jain monks practised charms and were versed in exorcism. In time of emergency they got alms by conjuring (*vyjāpinda*),⁶ employing incantations (*mantra*), tricks (*joga*), and distributing roots and bulbs to cure various diseases.⁷ they

¹ *Sama* 11, p. 24a

² The eightfold division - (1) *bhoma* (earthquake), (2) *upāla* (any portentous phenomenon boding calamity), (3) *suṇa* (dreams), (4) *antahkha* (various colours and forms of the sky resulting from some unnatural phenomenon), (5) *anga* (movements of limbs), (6) *sara* (sounding of the birds), (7) *lakṣha* (fortune-telling from marks of the body) and (8) *vañjana* (signs of distinction)—*Thā*, 8 808, cf. *Uttarā* (15-7) which refers to *chinnu* (rending of clothes), *sara bhoma antahkha, summa lakṣha danda, catthavajja, anga, yāna* and *varavajja*, *Sūya* 12 9, *Jā Tī* (Hār) p. 660. Also cf. *Digha* I p. 9 which mentions *anga, nimutta, upāda, supina, lakṣha* and *mūṇichinnu*, *Lav. Hist. of Pāl literature*, I p. 82 f., also *Manu* VI 30.

³ See *Supra*, p. 208, also *S. B. M.*, p. 260 f.

⁴ *Gacchā* or pp. 93-96

⁵ *Āva cū* p. 542, *Nisī cū*, (MSS) 10, p. 101, also cf. *Brh. Bhū* 1511-11 f.

⁶ The *Piṇḍa*, 500 refers to two *ksullakas* who by applying collyrium to their eyes made themselves invisible and enjoyed the royal food with king Candragupta.

⁷ *Pāḍalitta sūtri* is stated to have cured the headache of king Muraṇḍa. *Āva cū* p. 501 also *Piṇḍa* Nū, 497 f.

also employed various medicines for causing impregnation and miscarriage.⁸ Sometimes when the Jain *sāttvas* were waylaid in a forest, they placated the sylvan deity by means of *kāyoteṅga*.⁹

The *Orāṅya* mentions the disciples of Mahāvīra who possessed various supernatural powers. Some cured the disease simply by touching a patient with their hand. At times, the phlegm of another deity and illness were used as medicines to cure diseases. By the aid of charms they could assume any form at will (*reṇḍiḍa*) could rise through a roof (*vaḥḥaḥḥaḥ*) could repeat the whole stanza by reciting the first quarter (*vaḥḥaḥḥaḥ*) and their speech became as sweet as nalk.¹⁰ Sometimes when people suffered from distress as the country was besieged by the enemy or people died of starvation or of enlargement of globe (*golaḥḥaḥḥaḥ*) or a wandering off from the preceptor made a statue (*phāṇā*) with a magic spell by reciting in the middle, which caused the enemy to die (*phāṇā*) and the world subsided.¹¹ During the time of religious discussions and also in achieving victory the monks employed various charms and spells.¹² There were books on magic. Reference has been made to *ḥṛḥḥaḥḥaḥ* which was an important work on this subject. It is stated that the person versed in this work could generate even animate objects. Siddhasena Dīpa is stated to have created magical horses following the directions laid down in this work.¹³ The devices such as making a buffalo unconscious were also mentioned in *Jonipāhuda*.¹⁴

The group of *ṛṇḍiḍa*, *joga* and *manta* is considered as one of the three super human qualities *amṛta*.¹⁵ The difference between *ṛṇḍiḍa* and *manta* is that the former is accomplished by certain magical practices and is presided over by certain female deity such as *Pratyakṣa* etc., while the latter is accomplished just by reciting *padhāras āḥḥaḥ* and is presided over by a male deity, such as *Hanvegaṇa* etc.¹⁶ *Joga* is a charm or magical incantation which produces enmity, allurement, eradication of the enemy and cures diseases,¹⁷ or it is defined as a magical power of rising through air by anointing one's feet.¹⁸ It is stated that the *kalapati* of Bambhadīva possessed this lore and on *ṛṣṭamī*, *caludaṣī* and other festival days, used to walk on the surface of river.¹⁹ Then Ajja Vana was accomplished in this lore and by rising in the sky he went from Puriya to Mahesari to

⁸ See *Pinda* Nr 497-511

⁹ *Brh. Bhā* 1 310f

¹⁰ *Kurāvaladūḥa*, *Sū* 15 p 52, also *Āra cū* pp 395 f

¹¹ *Brh. Bhā* 4 5106-5111

¹² See *Uttarā Tī* 3, p 72

¹³ Also cf. *Nisī* 1, p 375, *Brh. Bhā* 2 2681

¹⁴ *Īya Bhā* 1 58 also see *Sūya Tī*, 8, p 165a. *Pinda Bhā* 44, *Prabhāvakarita*, V, 115-127. Pambasavara Muni is stated to be the author of *Jonipāhuda* see *Irekānta*, July Sept., Oct. 1939

¹⁵ *Brh. Bhā* 1 1235

¹⁶ *Nisī cū* p 748, *Brh. Bhā* 1 1235; *Nāṇā Tī* 1, p 7

¹⁷ *Nisī. cū*, p 748,

¹⁸ *Brh. Bhā*, 1-1235, also *Dadhuvāhana Jātaka* (No. 186), II, p. 103.

¹⁹ *Nisī. cū*, 13, p 874.

get flowers for the festival of the *Pajjāsavana*.²⁰ Vinhukumāra was another saint who is stated to have made a flight from Gangāmandia mountain to Gayapura.²¹

The *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* describes various magical practices such as *Koua*, *Bhūa*, *Pasina*, *Pasināpasina* and *Nimutta*. *Koua*²² constitutes (1) *vinhavāṇa*, i.e., giving auspicious bath at cemetery or cross-roads to procure good luck for women for protecting children²³; (2) *homa*, i.e., offering oblation to the sacrificial fire for averting evil; (3) *śaṣṭarīya*, i.e., incantation accompanied with the movements of head (and hands?), (4) *khāradahana*, i.e., throwing salt in fire for the cure of the diseases; (5) *dhūva*, i.e., throwing incense in the fire; (6) *asarisavesaggahana*, i.e., changing apparel, the man taking to the costume of a woman, (7) *acayāsana*, i.e., embracing the trees; (8) *ulthubhana*, i.e., spitting with the sound *thu thu* for pacification of bad luck and (9) *bandha*, i.e., fastening a talisman. *Bhūikamma* means besmearing the body with the consecrated ashes as a protective charm.²⁴ Sometimes damp earth was applied or a thread was tied in place of ashes. The monks practised this charm for protecting their residence, body and ritual paraphernalia against thieves etc. *Bhūikamma* is also referred to in the *Āvāsaka curni*²⁵ where it is said that after performing this practice a protective amulet (*rakkhāpotaliya*)²⁶ was tied to a new born babe. In *Pasina* a question is asked to the deity who descended in a thumb nail, in the leavings left after eating *kamsāra* (a kind of sweet) etc., cloth, mirror, sword, water, wall or an arm. In *Pasināpasina* the question is answered by the deity possessed of charms who appears in dreams; or the Ghanṭika *yaksa*, the family deity of Dombī, when asked a question, whispers in her ear, and she refers it to others. *Nimutta* was another practice, by which one could have a knowledge of profit and loss regarding present, past and future. *Gūḍamāni* was an important work on *Nimutta*.²⁷ Then there were love-charms which were magically effective and by which women could regain their husband's lost affection.²⁸ The *Nāyādharmakakā* refers to the following contrivances: powder prepared from various ingredients causing stiffness (*cunnajoya*), employment of incantations (*mantajoya*), charms causing leprosy and other diseases (*kammanajoya*), causing beauty (*kamūajoya*),

²⁰ *Āva. cū*, p. 396

²¹ *Uttarā Tī* 18, p. 248a.

²² According to the *Vya. Bhā.* (I p. 116a), however, *Koua* means wonderful feats performed by a juggler by putting the iron balls in his mouth and taking them out through ear or nose, or taking out fire from his mouth.

²³ The king Siddhattha is described to have performed hundred protective charms (*kouyasaya*) after taking his bath (*Kalpa* 4.62), cf. *Asīlakkhana Jāḷaka* (No. 126) I. p. 43b.

²⁴ *Nisī cū* 13, p. 850

²⁵ p. 140

²⁶ *Raksasavahi* is described in the *Caraka, Śārīrasthāna*, VIII, 75, p. 155 f.

²⁷ *Brh. Bhā.* I 1308-13

²⁸ The *Sūya Tī.* (II, 2 p. 336) refers to a mendicant versed in the magical spells. He used to carry off the women of Rāyagīha by his charms. Once the king detected him and returned the women to their respective husbands. One woman did not want to go back but when the bones of the mendicant rubbed in milk were given to her she returned to her husband.

captivating heart (*śruaddāraṇa*), captivity of body (*kāuddā* and subjugation (*ābhoginā*), fascination (*astikāra*), roots, bulbs skin, cucumber, cello, *kirāta* herb²³ *śi* / *ā* , pills²⁰ medicine *cal* / *el* and mixture *phesai* *o* ²¹

ACQUISITION OF SPELLS

Various practices are described to acquire these spells. Rites were performed on the days of dark *catvādaśī* and *astamī*²² and the charms were acquired with the help of the dead body of an unimjured person, endowed with auspicious marks²³. The name of Satyakī has been already mentioned, who went to the cemetery for securing the *Malāṇol* *o* spell. Just he set fire to the pyre with the dead body of an orphan and then covering himself with a moist skin moved about slowly on his left toe till the pyre was kindled. Thus within seven nights Satyakī acquired the spells.²⁴

Then there was magical power of rising in the sky *khecaṭ vijjā*. We hear of a thief who went to the burial ground, put up a hanger there with burning charcoal and a pike below. The thief after chanting the spells eight hundred times cut off one string of the hanger and thus cutting off the four strings achieved the *vijjā*²⁵. It is mentioned in the *Uṭṭa ādha* *viya* *a* commentary that Nattumatta, a *vijjāhara*, in order to attain efficiency in certain *vijjā* went to a bamboo-grove (*camṣakuvāga*) and having fastened his feet up, and inhaling smoke started practising penance²⁶. Then we are told of a king who wanted to learn spells from a Mātanga which he could learn only when he occupied a lower seat²⁷. It was a belief that the spells lost their efficacy when one uttered falsehood²⁸.

Besides, gods with superhuman powers were also propitiated. We are told that in order to propitiate a god, Abhayakumāra went to his fasting-hall and sat there keeping aside his ornaments, garlands and perfumes observing a three days' fast. In course of time the god was forced to give up his seat in heaven and created artificial rains on the mountain Vebhāra as desired by Abhayakumāra²⁹. Another god, propitiated by king Paumanāha, kidnapped queen Dovaī and brought her from Hatthi.

²⁰ The *Vasi cu* (15 1007) refers to the consecrated flowers given to a woman to fascinate her by *vaicrājaka* ascetic.

²¹ The *Uṭṭerā T* (13 p 190a) refers to a pill given by a mendicant to Vāridhanu which, keeping in his mouth Vāridhanu felt unconscious and the royal servants taking him to be dead left him and went away. The same work (8 p 233r) refers to the maid-servant of King Udāyana who was turned beautiful by taking a pill. Also see 'Magic in the Sanskrit Drama' by Virginia Saunders 7 J O S Vol 45 2 192.

²² 14 p 162

²³ *Asī cū*, P₁ p 7, B₁ B₂ P 20

²⁴ *Ācā T*, 1 6, T₁ p 61 a

²⁵ *Ācā cu*, II p 17b

²⁶ *Ācā T*, (Hau), p 81 f a

²⁷ 3, p 189 a

²⁸ *Das cu* p 45, cf *Chācā Jātaka* (No 309) III, p 28

²⁹ *Das cu* p 100, cf *Anṭa Jātaka* (No 474) IV p 202

³⁰ *Āyā* 1, p 15 f

nāpura to Avarakāṅkā.⁴⁰ Still another god by means of his magical power is stated to have constructed a bridge over the Lavana ocean.⁴¹

Other Magical spells are arranged here alphabetically.—

Abhoginī.

By muttering this charm one was able to know the mind of others.⁴²
Addaa vījā.

By means of this charm a patient was cured after casting his reflection into a mirror.⁴³

Addhavelālī.

By uttering this charm a stick was put down, it was a counter-spell to the “*veyālī*” spell.⁴⁴

Āharvaṇī.

It produced instantaneous disaster.⁴⁵

Āmayakaraṇī.

It made a person sick.⁴⁶

Antaddhānī

It made a person disappear.⁴⁷

Antaurī.

In this charm, by uttering the name of a patient, if one's own body was wiped, the patient was cured.⁴⁸

Ayamini.

It forced a person to come to one.⁴⁹

Buālī.

It appeared like a cat, and was a counterspell to the “mouse” spell.⁵⁰
Capetī.

In this spell a patient being slapped was cured.⁵¹

Dabbha

In this spell a patient being wiped with *darbha* grass was cured.⁵²

Dāmulī.

It was a charm possessed by the Draviḍas.⁵³

Dubbhagākara.

It made a person miserable.⁵⁴

⁴⁰ *Ibid* 16, p. 186

⁴¹ *Ibid* 16, p. 190.

⁴² *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3-4633

⁴³ *Vya. Bhā.* 5-136-138, p. 27

⁴⁴ *Sūya* II. 2-30

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, *Āthabha* is also mentioned in the *Sutta Nipāta*, *Tuvattaka Sutta* 4-15-52-13

⁴⁶ *Sūya.*, *op. cit.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid*

⁴⁸ *Vya. Bhā.* *op. cit.*

⁴⁹ *Sūya*. II. 2-27 trans. by Jacobi, *S.B.E.*, Vol. XLV, p. 367.

⁵⁰ *Āva. Nir* 137 (Han.).

⁵¹ *Vya. Bhā.* *op. cit.*

⁵² *Ibid*

⁵³ *Sūya.* *op. cit.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Dūṭī

It cured snake-bite of a person even if the same spot of a messenger (*dūta*) carrying the news of snake-bite was rubbed ⁵⁵

Gabbhākara

It caused pregnancy in a woman ⁵⁶

Gaddabhī

In this spell whosoever heard the braying of a female donkey, vomited blood, was overpowered with fear and lost his senses. It is said that this spell was possessed by king Gaddabhūlla ⁵⁷

Gandhārī **

It was a spell of the Gandharvas ⁵⁸ It was one of the four important spells ⁵⁹

Gorī **

It was one of the four important spells ⁶⁰

Jambhanī

It was a certain magical formula used for exercising the evil spirits supposed to possess weapons ⁶¹

Jānāṭ.

By means of this spell one could find out the past history of a person ⁶²

Kāī

It appeared like a female crow and was a counterspell to the "she owl" spell ⁶³

Kalingī

It was a charm possessed by the Kalingas ⁶⁴

Kuhedariyā

It was a magic trick

Lesanī

It made a person cling to some thing ⁶⁵

Mīṭī

It appeared like a female deer and was a counterspell to the "tigress" spell ⁶⁷

Mohanakara

It was a magical charm used to bewilder an enemy, ⁶⁶ it was directed by Jain monks against thieves ⁶⁸

⁵⁵ *Iya Bhāṣya* op cit. It is an example of sympathetic magic

⁵⁶ *Sūtra* op cit

⁵⁷ *Viśva* cu 10, p 771 ff

⁵⁸ *Sūtra* op cit, The *Gandhara* charm is mentioned in the *Apurva* *Itihāsa* IX 118-119 as a charm for making oneself invisible. Also *Dhātva* I p 21,

⁵⁹ *Iya* op cit p 161 *Kāṭya* *Tr* 7 203. Also *Bṛh* *Bṛh* 1 2005

⁶⁰ *Itihāsa* op cit

⁶¹ *Sūtra* op cit. Of the *Jambhika* weapons mentioned in the *Uttara* *Itihāsa* is magic weapons *J* 1 0 5 1 2 112

⁶² *Uttara* *Tr* 13 p 159

⁶³ *Iya* *Viśva* op cit *Uttara* *Tr* 3 2

⁶⁴ *Sūtra* op cit

⁶⁵ *Uttara* *Tr* 13 p 159

⁶⁶ *Sūtra* op cit

⁶⁷ *Iya* *Viśva* op cit *Uttara* *Tr* 13 p 159

⁶⁸ *Sūtra* op cit

Morī

It appeared like a peahen and was a counterspell to the "scorpion" spell.⁷⁰

Mūsaga.

It appeared like a mouse and was a counterspell to the "cat" spell.⁷¹

Naulī.

It appeared like a female mongoose and was a counterspell to the "snake" spell.⁷²

Osavañī.

It was a charm for putting a person to sleep.⁷³

Ovāñī.

It appeared like a female hawk and was a counterspell to the "poyāñī" spell.⁷⁴

Ovayanī.

It made a thing fall down.⁷⁵

Pāgasāsāñī.

It was a magic art of conjuring or trickery⁷⁶ which produced illusion.

Pakkamanī **

It made a person giddy.⁷⁷

Pannatti.

It was one of the four important magic arts. It was an art of foretelling.⁷⁸

Poyāñī

It appeared like a female bird (*śakuntikā*) and was a counterspell to the "female hawk" spell.⁷⁹

Rohinī or *Mahārohinī.*

It was one of the four important charms.⁸⁰

Sankaiñī

This charm was acquired just by reciting *padhyasiddha*. After this charm was recited it was surrounded by friends, servants, etc. and carried out the commands.⁸¹

Sappā

It appeared like a snake and was a counterspell to the female mongoose⁸² spell.⁸³

⁷⁰ *Āra. Nir. op. cit.*, *Uttarā Tī* op. cit.

⁷¹ *Ibid*

⁷² *Ibid*

⁷³ *Sūya. op. cit.*, *Āra. cū*, p. 144; *Kalpa*, 2.27, also *Āyā*, 16, p. 186; *Āra. Nir. op. cit.*

⁷⁴ *Āra. Nir. op. cit.*, *Uttarā Tīkā*, op. cit.

⁷⁵ *Sūya. op. cit.*, *Das. cū*, p. 45

⁷⁶ *Sūya. op. cit.*

⁷⁷ *Arthamāgadhi Dictionary*, Vol. III, p. 384, Ratanchandrapāṇi *Sūya. op. cit.*

⁷⁸ *Āra. cū*, p. 161; *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p. 138, 18, 238a. It is mentioned in the *Āra. Nir. op. cit.* as a magical art personified as one of the *Vidyādevīs* (M. Williams' *Sa. Nir. op. cit.*)

⁷⁹ *Āra. Nir. op. cit.*, *Uttarā Tī. op. cit.*

⁸⁰ *Āra. cū. op. cit.*, *Falga. Tī. op. cit.*

⁸¹ *Uttarā Tī*, 13, 189a, 194.

⁸² *Uttarā. Tī. 3, 72*

Sz/hz. **

It appeared like a lioness and was a counterspell to the "female
boar" spell.⁸³

Sovāgī (or *Māyangī*)

It was a charm of the *cāndālas* ⁴¹

Sovarī,

It was a charm of sorcery (*sambarī*) °°

Subhagākara

It made a person happy⁸⁶

Tālaunta

By means of this charm by rubbing the charmed fan a patient was cured.³⁷

Tālugghādīnī

It was a spell used for opening a lock ⁸⁸

Thambinē.

This spell produced the magical arresting of any feeling or force, as of hunger, thirst, or of the forces of water, fire etc.⁹⁰ The Jain monks employed this magical spell to suppress water, fire or air when their residence was in danger, this spell was also directed against thieves.⁹⁰

It appeared like a female owl and was a counterspell to the "female crow" spell.⁹¹

Ucchitto

In this chain if a monk was driven out by a caravan or his food and drink were stopped or he suffered from intense pain or snake-bite, another monk applied filth to his lips, unced his mouth with wine (*moha*) and by chanting the magical formula relieved the fellow monk of his distress.⁸²

Uppayanī (or *Unnam nī*)

It made a thing assume the same position as previously⁹³

Vagghī

It appeared like a logic and was a counterspell to the 'female deer' spell.¹⁴

Vaṇyana

In this charm, by rubbing charmed food a patient was cured.^{8b}

83 *Ih, ?*

34 Sayu ef ul sy i v i Al B nt r B l l t l m l p 1421 B mbav
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35 *Suzna* 7/ 11

36 *Ib. l.*

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89 Suzanne op it

90 Brh Bh : 1 2-11 3 1501 52 11 1 103 1 1 7

11. *Ad. An. l. i. l. ii. l. i.*

2	Bh	Bh	98	1
12	1			

of which one is able to respond (Kaufman & Kaufman, 1989)

36 Am. Nat. Soc., Vol. 1, 1881

⁹⁵ *Vra* El op u l Hu fr aa P r, *Jaralarkhu* the name of a female demon supp... the hair of a woman's pudenda (M Williams Sanskrit *Fal sh D et oia y*)

Sanskrit Fzł sh D ct o/a y)

Varāhi.

It appeared like a female boar and was a counterspell to the "lioness" spell.⁹⁵

Vattha.

By uttering this spell or by rubbing a piece of cloth a patient was cured.⁹⁷ The Jain monks employed this charm for curing snake-bite and carbuncle.⁹⁸

Vegarati.

By means of this spell one is able to rise up swiftly.⁹⁹

Vetāli (or *Veyālini*).

This was a magic art which brought dead bodies to life.¹⁰⁰ According to the *Uttarādhyayana* commentary, by this spell a *Vijāhara* kidnapped a woman.¹⁰¹

Vīrchuya.

It appeared like a scorpion and was a counterspell to the "peahen" spell.¹⁰²

Viśallakarani.

It made a person free from a pointed weapon or from pain *viśalla*.¹⁰³

THE VIJĀHARAS

The *Vijāhara*, or "wisdom-holders" were spirits like fairies or alphas who occupied an important place in the Jain texts.¹⁰⁴ The *Vijāhara* were essentially spirits of the air (*khayara*), and were described as travelling in their excellent cars (*varatimāna*) which they could make at their will. They are represented as devotees of Jain religion and frequently we meet them bound for the pilgrimage of the Nandisara dīva or the Ardhavaya mountain.¹⁰⁵ The *Vijāhara*s also joined the Jain ascetic order.¹⁰⁶ They are

⁹⁵ *Acc. Nu. op. cit.*; *Uttarā. Ti. op. cit.*

⁹⁶ *Via. Bhā. op. cit.*

⁹⁷ *Śrī Bhā. 3-3907.* According to M. Williams *Sanskrit Dictionary* *vetāli* is a wrong reading for *vāta vetā* which is a science in building.

⁹⁸ *Uttarā. Ti. 1b. 247.* *Vegarati* is a name of a vidyadhari in the *Kāvya*. M. Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*

⁹⁹ *Sāya. op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ 1b p. 242a. *Vetāli* is mentioned in Buddhist literature.

¹⁰¹ *Uttarā. op. cit.*

¹⁰² *Sāya. op. cit.* Also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 25-3b

¹⁰³ These spells are also mentioned in the *Droṇoparva* (xxiii, 636 f.).

¹⁰⁴ The *Vijāhara* also appears in the Bharhut Inscriptions (309). The *Vijāhara* are said to be a kind of semi-human beings, possessing the knowledge of magic arts and are present in the Himalaya mountains (Hastin's Readings from the Bharhut stūpa in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (No. 391) III, p. 303 f. they are described as a being given to dalliance and seduction, and accustomed to perform by day penances by night indulgent in a cremation ground, standing on one leg while saluting the sun etc. *Journal of the Asiatic Society* (No. 396), III, p. 328. The *Vijāhara* (LXXIX) enumerates three groups of *Vijāhara*s, which gave rise to several groups of the *Vijāhara* etc. *Inscriptions*, p. 89 f.; Barua and Sinha, also see *Mārkandeya*, pp. 401-41.

¹⁰⁵ *Uttarā. Ti. 1b p. 137a f. 11. p. 136a.*

¹⁰⁶ *Prā. 4, p. 135.*

represented as wicked beings carrying off the maidens during the time of their wedding.¹⁰⁷ The home of the *Vijāharas* was chiefly the mountain Veyaddha. Several *Vijāhara* rulers are mentioned¹⁰⁸

RELATION BETWEEN HUMAN BEINGS AND THE VIJĀHARAS

There were congenial relations between the human beings and the *Vijāharas* and there were intermarriages. We are told that king Seniya had friendship with a certain *Vijāhara* and he gave his sister in marriage to him.¹⁰⁹ Then Bambhadatta,¹¹⁰ Sanakkumāia¹¹¹ and Mahāpauma¹¹² are stated to have married the *Vijāhara* girls. We are told that *Vijāhara* Nattumatta, unable to bear the prowess of a princess, went to acquire lore for achieving equality with her.¹¹³ Besides we are told that the *Vijāharas* attended upon human beings and helped them in time of distress.¹¹⁴ There were also battles between human beings and the *Vijāharas*.¹¹⁵

SUPERSTITIONS

Jain texts give us quite a number of superstitions¹¹⁶ some of which survive even to this day. In the Jain texts we frequently come across the stock-phrase “*nāhyam kayabalikammam kayakouyamangalapāyacchuttam*”¹¹⁷ i.e., having bathed, having made the offering to the house-gods,¹¹⁸ and having performed auspicious and expiatory rites (*pāyacchutta*). These rites were so common in those early days that they were performed before going to pay a visit to a temple, a saint, king or a great man.¹¹⁹

Various kinds of superstitions were in vogue in ancient days. The superstition regarding four directions is mentioned.¹²⁰ We hear that

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 9, p 137a, 13 p 189a, 18, p 235

¹⁰⁸ Cf *Uttarā Tī* 22 p 227, 19 p 241a, 18 p 239, 13 p 193a, 9 p 135, 16 p 247. It is stated that Nami and Vinami the sons of Kaccha and Mahakaccha were brought up like his own sons by Usabha. But when Usabha renounced the world and distributed the kingdom among his sons, Nami and Vinami were not present. Later on when they approached Usabha and asked for their share Dharana gave them forty eight thousand *vijās*, among which Mahārōhiṇi, Pannatti, Goṇi, Vajjumuhū, Mahājāla, Inikkhamani and Bahurūva were the chief. Afterwards in the northern region of Veyaddha Vinami established sixty towns such as Gaganavallaha, etc., and in the southern region Nami established fifty towns such as Rahaneuracakkavāla etc. (*Kalpa Tī* p 203, *Vasu* p 164), also *Paumacariya*, III, 144 ff., V 13 ff., *Āva cū* p 161 f)

¹⁰⁹ *Āva cū* II, p 160

¹¹⁰ *Uttarā Tī* 13, p 194

¹¹¹ *Ibid*, 18, p 237

¹¹² *Ibid*, 18, p 247

¹¹³ *Ibid*, 13, p 189a

¹¹⁴ See *ibid*, 18, p 238a, also cf *Vasu* p 243

¹¹⁵ See *Uttarā* 18 p 238a, *ibid* 18, p 247a

¹¹⁶ Cf the *Mahānāgala Jātaka* (IV No 153) p 75 ff where a variety of omens is preached and it is said that goodness and kindness are the best omens, also *Khuddakapāṭha*, *Maṅgala Sutta*, *Ramayana* II 25, III, 69 21 ff

¹¹⁷ Cf *Naya* 16 p 141 etc., *Kalpa* 4 67

¹¹⁸ *Balīkarma* is mentioned in the *Rveda* in the sense of tribute to a king or offering to a god (*Vedic Index* II p 62) *Gautama* V 9-17, also see *Māraṇa* (ch VIII) *Caraka*, ch XI 3 p 1657 *Kaṭhasūtrasāgara* I ch III, p 21n, *Ramayana* II 71.38

¹¹⁹ Cf *Naya* 16, 181, 2 51, *Kaya Śū* 148, *Kalpa*, 4 67

¹²⁰ See *Bṛhatsamhita* 85 20 ff and the whole chapter on other superstitions

when a person renounced the world and approached to the Teacher in a litter, he always occupied a seat facing the east.¹²¹ For disposing of the dead bodies, it is stated that first of all the monks should select the south-west direction, then south, then west, then south-east, then north-west, then east, then north and finally the north-east direction should be selected.¹²²

Then the ancient people were superstitious regarding planets. It is stated that at the time of taking out a dead body of a monk, a suitable planet must be selected, otherwise the monks would undergo *pūyachitta*.¹²³ Then superstitions are mentioned regarding travelling; when the monks travelled from one place to another, they took into consideration the *tithi karana* and the *nakkhatta*. The fourth, sixth, eighth, ninth and twelfth days of dark and bright months were considered auspicious.¹²⁴ The sight of the following objects was considered inauspicious: a person wearing dirty clothes, rags or anointed with oil, a dog going from left to right, a hunchback, a dwarf, a woman advanced in pregnancy, an old maiden, a person carrying a load of wood or wearing coloured clothes and a 'kuccandhara' ascetic.¹²⁵ It is stated that while going to a physician the monks should go in odd numbers either in three or five,¹²⁶ at the time of departure if somebody sneezed or asked question as to where they were going or the monks had a fall or stumbled or their head struck against something, it boded evil.¹²⁷

The auspicious *tithi*, *karana* and *nakkhatta*¹²⁸ were selected when tradesmen made a sea-voyage. We have already referred to Arhannaga and other merchants of Campā who, after feeding their friends and relations in auspicious time, left for the harbour, and when the *pūsa* (*pūṣya*) constellation was in ascendancy, released the ropes of the boat.¹²⁹

Among auspicious objects mention is made of twelve kinds of musical instruments being beaten simultaneously (*nandītūra*), full vessel,¹³⁰ the sound of conch-shell and drum, a golden pitcher, umbrella, chowries, conveyance (*vāhana*), carriage (*yāna*), the *samanas*, flowers, sweet-balls (*modaka*), curds,¹³¹ fish, bell, and flags.¹³² Although the *sramanas* in general were considered auspicious but it is said that the *rattapādas*, *carakas* and *tāpasas*, including the sick, crippled, those who suffered from sickness, the physicians, those who wore dyed clothes or applied dust to

¹²¹ Cf. *Nāyā* 1, p. 31.

¹²² *Brh. Bhā* 4.5505 f; also cf. *Bhag. Ārādhanā* V 1970 f, cf. *Manu* V 92.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 4.5527; also *Bhag. Ārā* 1988.

¹²⁴ *Vya. Bhā* 1, 125 ff, p. 40a.

¹²⁵ *Ōgha. Bhā* 32 ff p. 74; *Brh. Bhā* 1.1545 ff.

¹²⁶ *Brh. Bhā* 1.1028.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1.1921-24.

¹²⁸ See also *Brh. Samhutā*, chs. 98, 99 and 100.

¹²⁹ *Supra* p. 118.

¹³⁰ But the robbers and farmers took an empty jar as auspicious (*Brh. Bhā* pi 10).

¹³¹ Cf. *Caraka* (*Śarīrasthāna*), ch. xii, 70-8.

¹³² *Brh. Bhā*, 1.1549 f.

their body boded evil.¹³³ It is stated that the sight of a *caṇṇacara* indicated roaming about at random, that of a *paṇḍurāṅga* starvation, that of a *taṇṇamika* bloodshed and that of a *boḍḍiya* death without fail.¹³⁴ Fire in the country of Sindhu and burning of stung in Lāta were regarded as good omens.¹³⁵ Among animals and birds, the jackal,¹³⁶ *cāsa*,¹³⁷ peacock *bhāradvāja*, and mungoose were considered auspicious and if they were seen in the south they were considered to bring all wealth.¹³⁸ Then the trees without leaves such as *kaṭṭā* etc., the thorny bushes and trees, the trees shattered due to lightning, those having bitter juice such as *rohini*, *kutaja* and *numba* etc., and the trees burnt of conflagration, were considered as bad omens. Then the bones and the corpse were considered inauspicious and after seeing them a monk was prohibited from studying the scriptures.¹³⁹

Among other superstitions the following may be mentioned. The newly born babes were put under the cart for procuring a long life.¹⁴⁰ People put on moist robes while visiting sacred places¹⁴¹ or great persons.¹⁴² We read of the mother of Meghākumāra who at the time of renunciation of her son, collected his hair in a fine cloth, washed them with scented water, put over them the marks of five fingers, moistened with *gostāsa* sandal and tied them in a piece of white cloth. Then she kept them in a jewelled casket which she kept under his pillow with the hope of having a look at them on the occasions of various feasts and festivals.¹⁴³ The priests were employed to perform sacrifice for warding off evil.¹⁴⁴ Then, at the death of a monk various superstitions were observed such as spreading of grass and making images with ashes, brick powder or *nāgakesara* near the dead body.¹⁴⁵ *Chunna* (rending of clothes) was considered another superstition. It is said that when a cloth is smeared with collyrium or lamp-black or dirt, gnawed by rats, burnt by fire, destroyed or eaten at the borders, there arises a good or evil result out of that.¹⁴⁶ Then in a newly constructed house the living of the monks was considered auspicious and the entrance of the doves inauspicious.¹⁴⁷

¹³³ *Ibid* I 1548, cf I 2291 f

¹³⁴ *Ogha Bhā* 82 ff p 74, also cf *Brh Bhā* I 2637, I 1151

¹³⁵ *Āva Ti* p 5a

¹³⁶ Compare however, *Īa cū* II, p 179, See also ch 89 (Sivāruta) ch 94 (Vāvasaviruta) and ch 90 (nirgacchita) in the *Brh Samhū*

¹³⁷ There was a belief that by constructing a house at a place where *cāsa* was sitting a king got jewels (*Āva cū* II, 179). There was another belief that eating of a snake imparts the power of understanding the languages of birds and beasts (*Kathāsarttsāgara*, Vol II, ch xx, p 108, f n)

¹³⁸ *Ogha Bhā* 108 ff

¹³⁹ *Nisī cū* 19, pp 1171 ff

¹⁴⁰ *Vivā* 4, p 30

¹⁴¹ Cf *Rāya Sū* 170

¹⁴² Cf *Nāyā* 16, p 193, cf *Udāna* 2 17

¹⁴³ *Nāyā* I, p 30

¹⁴⁴ See *Supra*, p 58.

¹⁴⁵ See *Brh Bhā* 4 5533 ff, *Bhag .Īā* V 1982, 1996 ff

¹⁴⁶ *Uttarā* by Charpentier, p 336, Varāhamihira treats vastrarchedalakeṣaṇam in ch 70, also cf *Mangala Jātaka* (No 87), I, p 371 ff

¹⁴⁷ *Vya* 7 48. Also see *Tribes and castes of Punjab and N W Province* Vol. I, pp. 228 ff

SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS

Various sports and amusements were prevalent in ancient India when people enjoyed with their friends and companions. Various terms such as *chapa*, *utsava*, *pamoya pavva* or *saikhadi* are used to denote festivals or festivities in ancient days. A *chapa* was celebrated for a limited period and sweetmeats (*pakvāna*) were prepared on the occasion, whereas there was a time limit in *utsava* and even ordinary food was enough for the occasion.¹⁴⁸

Various toys and playthings are mentioned for small boys and girls. Reference is made to cowries (*khullaya*), lac-marbles (*vaṭṭaya*), game of tip-cat (*aḍoliyā*), ball (*tindusa*), doll (*pottulla*) and cloths (*sādollaya*).¹⁴⁹ Then we had bow (*sarapāyaya*), the bullock (*gorahaga*), earthen pot (*ghaḍiga*), drum (*ḍiṇḍima*), and the ball of cloth (*celagola*).¹⁵⁰

For grown-up people there were public gardens where people clad in nice dress, went hand in hand with their lovers for merry-making. They left their homes in the morning and spending the whole day in the open air returned in the evening. Reference has been made to two merchants of Campā who went for a picnic in the company of a courtesan.¹⁵¹ There were special parks for the kings.¹⁵² Then people went for picnics to a river (*nadi*), pond (*sara* or *taḍāga*), tree (*rukṣha*),¹⁵³ shrine (*ceyya*) and mountain (*giri*).¹⁵⁴

Jain texts mention various festivities and pastimes. The feast of *puṇṇamāsini* was celebrated on the full moon day of the month of *kārtika*.¹⁵⁵ On the day of *kaumudimahotsava* men and women left their residence after sunset and spent whole night in enjoyment.¹⁵⁶ *Madanatrāyodaśi* was another festival which was celebrated in honour of *Kāma*, the Indian cupid.¹⁵⁷ Then *ujjāṇiyā* feast is mentioned which was celebrated in Sindhunandana when the women of the town enjoyed in various ways.¹⁵⁸ The festival in honour of *Nagaradevatā* was celebrated in which the cir-

¹⁴⁸ *Vātsyāyana* classified the occasional festivities into five groups (1) The festivals in connection with the worship of different deities (*samāja*, *yātrā* and *ghatā*) sometimes attended with grand processions, (2) *goṭhis* or social gatherings of both sexes, (3) *āpānakas* or drinking parties, (4) *udyanayātrās* or garden-parties and (5) various social diversions in which many persons took part (*samasyākriḍā*)—*Kāmasūtra* Sū 26, p. 44.

¹⁴⁹ *Nāyā* 18, p. 207.

¹⁵⁰ *Sūya* 2.13 f., for other games and recreation see *Digha* I, p. 6, also *Majjhima* I, p. 266, *Sumaṅgala Vāṭṭaṇi*, Pt. I, pp. 84 f.

¹⁵¹ See *Supra*, p. 166, cf. *Kāmasūtra*, Chakladar, *Social life in ancient India* p. 163.

¹⁵² *Pinda. Nir.* 214-5.

¹⁵³ The *Jīvā* (3, p. 151a) refers to the festival of planting of trees (*rukṣharovana*).

¹⁵⁴ *Nāyā* 1, p. 39, *Jīvā* ap cit; *Nisūtha cūru* (12, p. 808) mentions *avadamaha*, *sāgaramahā*, *thūbha*, *gāmamahajattā*, *nagaramaha*, *madambamahā*, *donamaha*, *patṭana*, *āgāra*, *sambūhu*, and *sannivesa*. Mountain worship is mentioned in the *Arthsāstra* (p. 237). For river worship and tree worship see Rose, *Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N. W. Province* Vol. I, p. 134f.

¹⁵⁵ *Bṛh. Bhā* 2.1451, also mentioned in the *Vaṭṭaka Jātaka* (No 118), I, p. 432 f.

¹⁵⁶ *Sūya. Tī* 11.75, p. 413; also *Digha* I, p. 47, cf. *Kāmasūtra*, Chakladar, op cit p. 170.

¹⁵⁷ *Nāyā. Tī* 2, p. 80a.

¹⁵⁸ *Uttarā. Tī* 18, p. 246a.

cumambulation of the temple was held¹⁷³ In the festival known as *bahumilakkhamaha* many non-Aryan people (*mleccha*) assembled;¹⁸⁰ *dāsī-maha* was celebrated by the maid-servants,¹⁸¹ then *thānuppāyama* had no fixed day and it was held at any time whenever the guests were received.¹⁸² Then the feast of¹⁸³ noodles (*ittaga*, com. *sevokikā*) is mentioned. Then the birthday feast was celebrated with great pomp and ceremony as we have seen already.¹⁸⁴ *Cāummāsyamajjanaya* was another ceremony which was held after four months of rainy season. We are told that during this ceremony a flower-house was made on the high road which was decorated with beautiful huge garlands and the designs in five coloured rice grains were prepared over the city. Then the princess was seated on the throne facing the east and was given a bath with white and yellow pitchers and afterwards was decorated with all kinds of ornaments.¹⁸⁵ Then we had *samvaccarapadālehana* or the annual birthday feast.¹⁸⁶ The *Vivāgasuya* refers to ten days feast celebrated after the completion of a *kūḍāgārasālā*. We are told that during this period the king made his subjects free from taxes.¹⁸⁷

Among religious festivals the *payjōsana* was the most favoured festival of the Jains. This festival was held on *pīnīmā*, *pañcamī*, *dasamī* and other *pañva* days. Later on, we are told that from the time of Ajja Kālaga in place of *pañcamī* the day of *catvurthī* was declared as the day of *payjōsana*. It is stated that once Kālaga arrived in the city of Pātthana where he was received with great pomp by king Salivāhana. Kālaga had declared the fifth day of the bright half of *blāhapaḍa* as the day of *payjōsana* but since this was the day fixed for the festival of Indra, at the request of the king, Kālaga changed the day of *pañcamī* to *catvurthī*. This festival was also known as *samanapūjā*.¹⁸⁸

Sankhadī (*Sankhatī* in Pali)¹⁸⁹ or *bhojja* was another great feast which played an important part in ancient India. *Sankhadī* is so called because at this time animals were killed in large numbers.¹⁹⁰ This feast was celebrated either for one day (*egadūasam*) or for many days (*an gadivasam*) in the first part of the day (*purāsankhadī*) or after sunset (*pacchāsankhadī*). *Girjanna* (*giriyajña*) is mentioned in Vraja when food was taken at night and the milk was drunk early in the morning (*arunodayaśelā*).¹⁹¹ *Girjanna* was also celebrated in Lāta during rainy season.¹⁹² In order to enjoy a *sankhadī*, people made a pilgrimage to different places. In Selapura

¹⁸⁰ *Āva Tī* (Hārī) p. 397 a f

¹⁸¹ *Nisī* cu 12, p. 810

¹⁸² *Pinda Nir* 466 *Nisī* cu 13 p. 870. Perhaps it may correspond to the feast of *rakṣa-bandhana* or *śaluno* held in North India.

¹⁸³ See Supra p. 100

¹⁸⁴ *Nāya* 8, p. 103

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 8, p. 96

¹⁸⁶ 3 p. 27

¹⁸⁷ *Nisī* cu 10, p. 632 f

¹⁸⁸ See *Majjhima* I, p. 448

¹⁸⁹ See Supra p. 126 also *Bh.* 1 3110

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 4881 *Alc.* cf. *19* *bh.* 12, II 53 22, *Harimanasa*, II 17 11 ff

¹⁹¹ *Brh. Br.* 1 2800, *A.* 11 p. 690

¹⁹² *Uttar. Tī* 8, p. 124

¹⁹³ *Brh. Bh.* 1 1914

sankhaḍis were held every year at the lake *Isitalāga* for eight days. These feasts were also celebrated in Bharuyakaccha, Pabhāsa, Abbuya, at the eastern bank of the river Sarassā near Ānandapura, Ujjenta, Nāyasanda and Siddhasilā. In these *sankhaḍis* the monks of other sects such as *Sākya*, *Bhauṭa* and *Bhāgavatas* assembled; there were regular discussions between them. There in the gardens the drunken voluptuaries dressed in fantastic garments, gesticulated with their hands and sang erotic songs, and there the men and women, drunk and decked in fineries, played. The Jain monks were allowed to attend these feasts only if held at holy places, because only at holy places they could preserve their right faith (*samyaktva*), otherwise there was possibility of their being insulted, poisoned or even killed at the hands of heretics.¹⁷³

Then various household ceremonies are mentioned. *Avāha* was held before wedding when betel etc. were served; *vaāhā* was the wedding ceremony;¹⁷⁴ *āheṇa* was held at the time of the bride entering the bridegroom's house; *paheṇa* was celebrated when she returned to her father's house. Then *hinggola* was held in honour of the diseased person or *ajakha*, in *pindanigara*, food was offered to fathers. Then *sammela* or *gotthi* was a social gathering in which the relatives and friends assembled.¹⁷⁵ The *gotthis* are described as having been granted licences by the king, as given to much dissipation and as possessing considerable funds.¹⁷⁶ Then taverns (*pānāgāra*) and gambling houses (*jūyakhalaya*) are mentioned.¹⁷⁷

Lastly we come to combat or wrestling which was a favourite pastime of rich people. The kings took keen interest in it, and they appointed their own wrestlers. We are told that king Sīhagiri of Sopārāya offered money to wrestlers who came out victorious. The wrestler Attana of Ujjayini took part in the wrestling tournament (*juddhamaha*) every year and won the flag of honour. He went as far as Kosambī and defeated the royal wrestler and was honoured by the state.¹⁷⁸ There were wrestlers who could combat with one thousand persons at a time (*sahasavallī*).¹⁷⁹ Then cock and peacock fights were other popular pastimes in ancient India. Hundreds and thousands were staked and a huge number of people assembled to watch such fights.¹⁸⁰ Reference has been made to a peacock fight that was held in Campā. The peacock brought hundreds and thousands to its owner. Combats of buffaloes, bulls, horses and elephants are referred to.¹⁸¹

¹⁷³ *Bhīṣu* I, 47 and the *Bhāṣya* (I, 3139-3206) also *Ācā* II, 1, 2, 3, 296 ff., *Dac* 7, 36f.

¹⁷⁴ *Jīva* 3, p. 260a, cf. *Kusa Jātaka* (No 531 translation), p. 145 fn., *Uṭṭara* is called *Jīva* in marriage as opposite to *Uṭṭara*, a daughter's marriage in the 9th century of Pāṇini.

¹⁷⁵ *Vijñāna* 6, p. 302. *Jīva* II, 1, 3, 245. According to the Jain tradition in King Bala's first promulgated this feast, *Ācā* *cu* II, p. 172.

¹⁷⁶ *Āyā* 1b, p. 174. Cf. the *lavā* *gotthi* of Rayigra (*Ācā* 6, p. 32).

¹⁷⁷ *Āyā* 2, p. 15. ¹⁷⁸ *Uṭṭara* 4, p. 751f.

¹⁷⁹ *Jīva* *Bhā* 1, p. 92af. A wrestling match is described in the *Ghata Jātaka* (*Uṭṭara* 1, pp. 81f. in which the wrestlers Cānura and Mutthika took part, also cf. *Uṭṭara* 1, p. 81f. Poona, 1936 XXXVIII p. 218 ff. for a beautiful description of wrestling, also *Uṭṭara* IV, 15.

¹⁸⁰ *Uṭṭara* *Tī* 13, p. 131.

¹⁸¹ *Ācā* II, 11 p. 332, cf. *Dīgā* I, p. 6, also *Uṭṭara* 1, p. 17, p. 255.

Then we come across various people who earned their bread by exhibiting various performances. There were acrobats, dancers, rope-walkers, etc. already mentioned above. We hear of pole-dancer's tricks. At the top of the pole there was a horizontal wooden attachment on which were nails which attached themselves to the shoes. When the acrobat holding the sword and shield started walking, the nails attached themselves to the already prepared sockets in the shoes. Very carefully at every step he engaged and disengaged the nails, because a slight carelessness meant death. Even the kings in the company of their queens attended such performances.¹⁸²

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES

Dead bodies were cremated and shrines and *stūpas* (*thūbha lena*) were built over the ground in the Jain and the Buddhist age. The body was cremated with sandal wood, *aguru*, *tuukka*, *ghae* and honey and after the flesh and the blood was consumed by fire, the bones were taken and the *stūpas* (*ceiyathūbha*)¹⁸³ were erected. Paying homage to the dead (*madagapūyana*) and mourning (*runnasadda*) are mentioned.¹⁸⁴

Jain texts refer to another custom when the dead bodies were not duly disposed of, but were left uncared for at the mercy of wild beasts and birds.¹⁸⁵ Besides, sometimes according to the instructions of the king, the ascetics had to leave a dead body in a hollow (*agada*), lake or a flowing river or by the side of these places.¹⁸⁶ Mention has been made of *giddha-piṭṭhaka*, a kind of death in which a person threw himself among the corpses of human beings, elephants, camels, donkeys, etc., and allowed his body to be devoured by vultures. The bodies of criminals and the indigent were also thrown away to rot when vultures and jackals fed on them.¹⁸⁷ There are also references to the burial of corpses. This custom was in vogue among the *mlecchas*, who did not cremate the dead bodies but buried them at the burial ground (*madagaguha* : *madagalena*). Such burial houses existed in the country of Dīva and Jona.¹⁸⁸

The *Chedasūtras* have laid down elaborate rules for disposing of the dead body of the Jain *sādhus*.¹⁸⁹ It is stated that after the death of a monk, one monk should go in search of a bier to carry the corpse and should inspect the cremation ground (*thandila*) where the proper direction should be chosen for the disposal of the dead. The corpse should be covered with a clean white cloth, and as far as possible be taken out during day or night as the case may be after the monk dies. The corpse should

¹⁸² *Āva. cū* p 484 f, cf *Dhammapada Atthakathā* Vol IV, pp 59 ff

¹⁸³ The *Tutira Jātaka* (No 438), III, p. 537 mentions topes of sand (*śālukāthūpa*), also *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com on the *Udana*, p. 97, cf. the funeral ceremonies in the *Rāmāyana* (IV, 25, 16 ff)

¹⁸⁴ *Āva. Bhā.* 26, 27, Har. Ti p 133, *Āva. cū* 157, 222 f.

¹⁸⁵ *Mahā. Nī.* p. 25; cf. *Lalitavistara*, p. 265.

¹⁸⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3, 4824.

¹⁸⁷ See *Supra*, p. 174

¹⁸⁸ *Nisī. cū.* 3, p. 330, *Āva. cū* 370

¹⁸⁹ See *Viśvagbhavanaprakṛtāni Bṛh. sū.* 4, 20 and its *Bhāṣya* 5497-5565.

be carried by monks, or by laymen in a cart, or with the help of the Mallas or by the *Cāṇḍālas*.¹⁹⁰ Then after being carried to the cremation ground, with the permission of the keeper of the cemetery, the corpse should be disposed of duly.¹⁹¹

The ceremony of taking out the body of the dead (*nīharaṇa*) including the child was performed with great pomp (*iḍḍhisakkāra*) and many funeral rites (*mayakacca*) were performed on the occasion. Annual or monthly feasts were given in honour of the departed.¹⁹² Mention has been made of offering the *pinḍa* to the fathers. We are told that on the anniversary day the Brāhmaṇas were invited for feast.¹⁹³

Among the various causes of death the following are mentioned : swallowing the *tālapuṭa* poison, brandishing the sword on one's shoulders, hanging on a tree, fastening one's neck with a slab of stone and throwing oneself into the sea, and entering into fire.¹⁹⁴ Among other kinds of suicides mention is made of falling down from a mountain¹⁹⁵ (*giripadīyaga*), falling down from a tree, committing suicide in a desert, swinging from a mountain (*giripakkhandolaya*), jumping into a desert, entering into water (*jalapavesika*), swallowing poison,¹⁹⁶ committing suicide with a weapon (*sattthovāḍḍitaka*) or by hanging (*vehāṇasīa*). Then *sallekhanā* or voluntary submission to death was another custom in vogue among the Jain monks who ended their life for attaining higher world by withholding from food and drink.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁰ *Vya. Bhā.* 7. 449-462, p. 79 f. *Manu* (X. 55) also asks the Cāṇḍālas to carry out the corpses of persons who have no relatives.

¹⁹¹ *Vya. Bhā.* 7. 442-448 p. 76ff; also *Āva Nir. Dīpikā*, Vol. II, 95 ff; *Āta cū.* II, pp. 102-9, *Bhagvatī Ārādh.* 1974-2000. For the disposal of the dead see also Law, *India Described* p. 193.

¹⁹² *Nisī. cū.* 11, p. 709; *Nāyā.* 14, p. 151; cf. *Matakahhatta Jātaka*, No. 18, (I. p. 166), *Mahābhārata*, I, 134; 136; *Rāmayaṇa*, VI, 114. 101 ff.

¹⁹³ *Uttarā.* 13, p. 194a.

¹⁹⁴ *Nāyā.* 14, p. 156. Cānakya is said to have put an end to his life by entering into fire (see *supra*).

¹⁹⁵ Udayana of Kosambi is said to have departed from this world along with his queen by ascending the top of a hill and falling from the precipice, Pradhan, *Chronology of Ancient India* p. 246; also cf. *Cullapaduma Jātaka* (193) II, p. 118.

¹⁹⁶ For various kinds of poisons etc. see *Thā.* 4. 341, 6. 533, see also *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3. 4208; *Pinḍa* 274 com.; *Paṇṇa.* 1, p. 45a; *Jīvā.* 1, p. 36a; cf. *Arthasāstra* (p. 108).

¹⁹⁷ See *Anta.* 8, etc.

SECTION V

GEOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL IN THE JAIN CANONS

GENERAL OUTLOOK

CHAPTER I JAIN CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

CHAPTER II THE JAIN ARYAN COUNTRIES

CHAPTER III MAHĀVĪRA'S ITINERARY

CHAPTER IV GEOGRAPHICAL LEXICON _

GENERAL OUTLOOK

The Jain point of view of geography is governed by two conditions, mythological and scientific. The first category belongs to the fantastic geography of Jambudvīpa which is divided into seven zones bounded by mountain-ranges from which flow the fourteen great rivers. But it cannot be said even this section is entirely devoid of geographical knowledge as in between the fiction we catch glimpses of certain geographical knowledge which could be checked up. For instance, in the plethora of the rivers which the Jain mythological geography speaks of as flowing from the mountains Himavan, Mahāhimavan, Nisadha, etc., there are some which could be correctly identified, one such river being Sitā described as flowing from the mountain Nīla, and according to the fanciful notion of the Jains is supposed to flow to the eastern ocean. The fact, however, is that this Sitā or Si-to as it is known by the Chinese is apparently the same, though apparently Sitā never meets any sea but disappears in the sands of Kashgar. While speaking of the primitive notion of the geographical factors, such as the constitution of earth, mountains, oceans, the great islands, rivers, etc., the Jains were not the only sinners, even the Purāṇas and the Buddhist sources, more than often indulge in ludicrous speculations such as those of the Jains.

It seems that all these sources derived their information from some very remote origins which have not yet been traced. It seems that these fantastic geographical explanations were the direct outcome of man's claim to explain all and sundry though unfortunately his knowledge had not as yet developed to such an extent as to make his statements and explanations accurate from the scientific point of view.

The absurd measurements of the sea, mountains and rivers in the Jain canons readily support our view. Apparently there was a wish of the early geographers to give the measurements at least of the rivers which they saw very often but as yet there was no means to determine their extent nor had the people yet penetrated to the sources of the majority of them. The result was that fanciful stories were told for explanation's sake and their extent was stretched beyond all expectations to thousands and thousands of *yojanas*.

These primitive geographers retained certain true observations in their geographical descriptions so far as they confined themselves to the visible objects but as soon the question of the unknown came, their imagination indulged in fanciful flights.

But this primitive geography did not last for a very long time and though it became *sāstric* and thus became a sort of conventional geography of the Jains for all times, there are evidences from the Jain canon itself that the geographical conception developed with time.

This growth of geographical knowledge may be attributed to various factors, namely, the growth of trade, including both internal and external which afforded an opportunity to the traders and Jain merchants and

seamen to bring the stories of the manners and customs and also certain geographical names of the countries which they visited. There is no doubt while studying this information one has to be very critical as an element of marvel permeates these travellers' tales.

Secondly, we know from the Jain Sūtras that the country in which the Jain monks could preach was confined to Aṅga, Magadha, Kosambī, Thūṇā and Sāvattihī, or roughly speaking that tract of land which includes modern Bihar, eastern U. P., and a portion of western U. P., and therefore, it is natural that the geographical knowledge of the early Jain scriptures should be confined entirely to that area. Thus in the *Bhagavati*, the *Avaiyaka cūrṇi* and other scriptures we are told the names of number of towns, townlets, villages etc., mostly belonging to Aṅga-Magadha of which unfortunately there are no traces. It is, however, related in the Jain scriptures, and the tradition is very ancient and genuine, that in the time of Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, who was a devout Jain, other parts of the country including Mahārāstra, Āndhra, Saurāstra and Coorg (Kuḍukka) etc. were opened to the Jain monks for preaching and proselytizing. This fact alone increased the geographical knowledge of the Jains substantially.

The monks themselves realised the importance of seeing and studying the various factors in the countries which they visited. Thus in the *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya*, which may perhaps be dated to the early century of the Christian era, elaborate instructions are given to the monks who toured from year to year the various parts of the country. It is mentioned that by seeing the country the monks purify their souls and gain equanimity of mind. These regular tours taught them many languages and afforded them opportunities to examine the various republics which they visited at length. This knowledge they brought back home and utilised it instructing their pupils and followers (1.1226). Among the various requisites of a monk it was expected of him that he should be accomplished in various regional languages (*ibid.*, 1230). In the course of their *Janapada* tours the attention of the monks was also engaged by such worldly factors as the various means of irrigation, the products of the various parts of the country, various trade centres and the local habits of the populace (*ibid.* 1239).

Now it must be evident that there was a definite feeling in the Jain church in the early century of the Christian era to know thoroughly the parts of the countries which were under the sphere of the Jain influence. This growth of geographical knowledge may be further seen in the *Cūṛṇi* and even the *Ṭikās* where an effort to record truly and scientifically the ethnological and geographical facts is observed.

To sum up, we have tried to collect together this motley information of the Jain scriptures at one place so that students of ancient Indian geography may not have to grope into the thick and often badly edited Jain texts. In collecting, however, this information the difficulties have been to identify most of the obscure place-names visited by Mahāvīra and

his disciples and other Jain saints, kings, traders, etc. as they have disappeared without leaving any trace. However, if a detailed tour of the area covered by Mahāvira's *cārīkā* is made, that by the bits of information supplied by the Jain texts, one may be able to throw further light on their identifications. For the present, however, whatever information was available about these place-names from the Jain canons, have been recorded.

At several places in common with the Purāṇas there are lists of the Non-Āryan countries; Non-Āryan in this sense must be understood by those who had not come under the sphere of Jain influence. These lists are very important, though unfortunately the text is become so corrupt that nothing can be made out of majority of the geographical place-names in the names of the tribes which they hide under their corrupt texts. It would be really a great boon to indologists if some Jain scholar were to make up the scientific edition of these lists. For the present, however, one has to be content with whatever is at our disposal.

CHAPTER I

JAIN CONCEPTION OF THE WORLD

According to the Jain conception, the world consists of innumerable spheres, continents and oceans each one surrounding the preceding one like a sheath.

There are seven *kṣētras* or zones in Jambudvīpa which is the first continent, and may correspond to Asia (India, according to Buddhists). They are Bharaha, Hemavaya,¹ Hari,² Videha, Rammaga, Heranavaya and Erāvaya³. Bounding these zones are six mountain-ranges, viz., Himavata, Mahāhimavata, Nīśadha,⁴ Nīla, Rukmin and Śikharin⁵. In the centre of Jambudvīpa is located Meru.⁶

Bharaha is 526⁶/₁₅ *yojanas* in extent. It is situated to the south of Culla Himavanta and between the eastern and western seas. By the two large rivers Gaṅgā and Sindhu, and the Vaitādhya mountain-range it is divided into six portions.⁷ Videha, also known as Mahāvīdeha, is divided into four parts, viz., Puvvavideha (eastern Videha), Avaravīdeha (western Videha), Devakuru and Uttarakuru.⁸

Puvvavideha,⁹ which is also called Bhadrāsya in the *Brahmānda Purāṇa*, is said to be watered by the Sītā, the mythical prototype of the Yarkand and Yellow rivers, already referred to. Sītā is the same as one of the fourteen great rivers in the Jain mythology referred to in the *Uttarādhyaṇa Sūtra*¹⁰. Puvvavideha and Avaravīdeha are divided into different Vijayas¹¹ or provinces which have their respective cities.

On the above mentioned mountain-ranges there are six lakes, viz., Padma, Mahāpadma, Tigiñchi, Kesari, Mahāpuṇḍarika and Puṇḍarika

¹ Hamavata and Haranyavata are identified with regions in Tibet known for gold. Schubring, *Die Lehre Der Jainas*, p. 144.

² Harivarṣa included the western portion of Tibet (*G. D.*, p. 74).

³ Also cf. *Mahābhā.* VI. 6 7 ff.

⁴ It is identified with "Paropanisad" of the Greeks, now called the Hindukush (p. 141).

⁵ Also cf. *Mahābhā.* VI. 6 4 f.

⁶ The Buddhists call it Sineru, Meru, Sumeru, Hemameru and Mahāmeru. It is the highest conceivable mountain according to them. The Purāṇas also speak of Sumeru mountain having the altitude of one hundred thousand *yojanas*, (*Law, India described*, p. 2 ff.).

⁷ *Jambu.* 1-10.

⁸ It is identified with the northern portion of Garwal and Hūṇa deśa (*G. D.*, p. 213).

⁹ It is identified with Eastern Turkistan and North China (*Raychaudhuri, Studies in Indian Antiquities*, pp 75-6).

¹⁰ 11.28. Also mentioned in the *Mahābhā.* Śānti p. 82.45.

¹¹ Some of these Vijayas such as Cakkavaṭṭivijaya (*Āva. Gū.*, p. 133), Ramanijja (*Uttara Tī.*, 18, p. 243 a), Gandhulāvati (*Āva. Gū.*, p. 165), Salilāvai (*Nāyā* 8, p. 90), Sugandhū (*Uttara. Tī.*, 23, p. 286 a), Sukaccha (*ibid.*), Pokkhalāvai (*Nāyā* 14, p. 157) Mangalāvati (*Āva. Nṛ.*, 175) find mention in the Jain texts.

from which flow the great fourteen rivers. The first two rivers, *viz*, Gaṅgā and Sindhu flow from the lake Padma situated on the Himavata mountain.¹²

In the centre of Bharaha is Mount Vairādhya, dividing it into north and south. On this mountain there are kingdoms of the *Vidyādhara* kings.

The first ocean surrounding Jambudvīpa is Lavanodā or the Indian ocean.¹³ Then comes the continent of Dhātākīkhanda which surrounds the Lavanodā and is twice in extent. Then we have the Kālodā ocean and then Puskaradvīpa.¹⁴ In the middle of Puskaradvīpa is situated the mountain-range Mānusoṭṭara like a city wall which is the *ultima thule* of the Human World. Thus according to the Jain conception, the Human World consists of two and a half continents, *viz*, Jambudvīpa, Dhātākīkhanda and half of Puskaradvīpa.

Surrounding Puskara we have various other oceans and continents, which are each twice as large as the preceding one. The eighth continent is Nandisaradvīpa which is described as a land of the gods with beautiful gardens. It is mentioned that there were fifty-two statues of the *Arhats* here which were frequently visited by gods¹⁵. The last continent is Svayambhūramana.¹⁶

is mountain is the same as the Himalaya mountain and is known in Pali as Himava, Himācala and Himavanta. It is one of the seven mountain-ranges that surround Jambudvīpa. Seven great Himalayan lakes are also mentioned in Pali literature, Anottata being the first. Anottata, like the Padma lake of the Jains, is a lotus lake with four outlets on its four sides and is identified with Bindusāra in the *Mahābhārata* and Mānasa sarovara of popular fame (Law, *op cit*, pp. 5, 10, 12). The Jain texts mention the merchants of Campā and Hatthisa crossing the Lavana ocean and going out for trade, it seems that Lavana was no other ocean than the Indian ocean (cf. *Nāyā* 8 p. 97, 9 p. 121, 17 p. 201). Lavana ocean is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* VI 5 15, VI 11 6.

We identify it with a portion of Central Asia commencing from the north of Oxus, including Western Tartary, (*G D*, p. 163).

¹² *Cū* p. 397 f, *Uttarā* 11 9 p. 138.

¹³ *Jambu* 1, 4, Also *I S P*, Vol II, 3 552 to 719, also 'some cosmological Ideas of the Jainas', Amulayachandria Sen, *I. H. Q.* 1932, pp. 43-48.

CHAPTER II

THE JAIN ĀRYAN COUNTRIES

It is stated that when Mahāvīra sojourned in the garden of Subhūmibhāga in Sāketa, he declared the following Sūtra restricting the movements of the Jain monks :

“The monks or nuns may wander towards the east as far as Anga-Magadha, towards the south as far as Kosambī, towards the west as far as Thūnā and towards the north as far as Kunālā.”¹⁷

Later on, king Sampai, who was a great patron of Jain religion, made other countries suitable for the movements of the Jain monks, and consequently the following twenty five and a half countries were declared as Āryan :—

	Kingdom	Capital
1.	Magadha	Rāyagiha
2	Anga	Campā
3.	Vanga	Tāmalitū
4.	Kalinga	Kañcanapura
5	Kāśī	Vānāraśī
6	Kosala	Sāketa
7	Kuru	Gayapura
8	Kusattā	Soriya
9.	Pañcālā	Kampillapura
10	Jangala	Ahicchattā
11.	Suratthā	Bāravai
12.	Videha	Mihilā
13.	Vaccha	Kosambī
14	Sandilla	Nandīpura
15.	Malaya	Bhaddīlapura
16.	Vaccha	Verāda
17.	Varanā	Acchā
18	Dasanna	Mattiyāvaī
19.	Cedi	Suttivai
20	Sindhu Sovira	Vibhaya
21.	Sūrasena	Mahurā
22.	Bhangi	Pāvā
23.	Purivattā	Māsapurī
24.	Kunālā	Sāvatthi
25.	Lāda (or Lādha)	Kodivarisa
25½	Kegaiaddha	Scyaviyā ¹⁸

These countries were called Āryan because, it is said that the *Tittthayaras*, the *Gakkavattis*, the *Baladevas* and the *Vāsudevas* were born here.

¹⁷ *Brh Sū* 1. 50, Also *Nisī Bhā* 16. p 1111

¹⁸ *Panna* 1. 37, p. 53a, *Brh Bhā Vr* 1. 3263, also *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, p 446.

These great men are said to have attained omniscience in these countries and by attending to their preachings a number of people were enlightened and had taken to ascetic life.¹⁹

1 MAGADHA (RĀYAGIHA)²⁰

Magadha, which occupied the district now called Bihar, is a very old kingdom and was counted among the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavati*,²¹ the rest being Anga, Vanga, Malaya, Mālavaya, Accha, Vaccha, Koccha, Pāṇḍya, Lāḍha, Vajji, Moli, Kāśi, Kosala, Avāha (?) and Sambhuttara (Suhmottara). It was a great centre of activities of Mahāvīra and in fact it was after the name of this country that the language in which Mahāvīra is said to have preached his religion was called Ardhamāgadhi. Magadha was a holy place for Jains although the Brāhmanas were not allowed to enter this country, except on a pilgrimage. A Jain pilgrim has aptly remarked that according to the Brāhmanas, if a crow died in Kāśi, it would attain salvation, but if a human being died in Magadha he would be born as a donkey.²²

Rāyagiha, or the modern Rajgir, was counted among the ten capital cities of India, others being Campā, Mahurā, Vāiānāsī, Sāvatti, Sākeya, Kampilla, Kosambi, Mihilā and Hatthināura.²³ Rāyagiha was noted for its springs known as Mahātavovatirappabha. King Seniya was the ruler of Rāyagiha.

Vaibhāra and Vipula were well-known hills near Rāyagiha where a number of Jain ascetics are said to have attained salvation. The famous Nālandā was a suburb of Rāyagiha. Rāyagiha was a centre of trade and the habitat of wealthy people.

Rāyagiha was also known as Giribhaja. The fortifications of both Giribhaja and Rāyagiha are still extant, four and a half and three miles in circumference. The stone walls of Giribhaja are the oldest extant stone buildings in India.²⁴

2 ANGA (CAMPĀ)

The Anga dominions which are identical with the country about the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr included at one time Magadha. It is included among the sixteen *Janapadas*.

Campā, which was situated near modern Bhagalpur, was considered among the ten capitals. It was a beautiful and prosperous city in ancient India, a detailed description of which is given in the *Oṣiṇya*.²⁵

¹⁹ *Brh Bhā* Vr 1 32b3 ff.

²⁰ For all reference of this Section see Chapter IV.

²¹ 15.

²² *Prācīnāṭīkhamalā Sangraha* Pt I, p 4.

²³ *Thā* 10 718, *Ni* 5u 9 19.

²⁴ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p 39.

²⁵ *Sū*, 1.

Like Rāyagiha, Campā too was frequently visited by Mahāvīra and his disciples. It is said that when Seniya died, Kūniya shifted his capital from Rāyagiha to Campā. It was in Campā that the seventh and the eighth Angas of the Jain canon were explained to Jambu by his teacher Ajja Suhamma. Dadhivāhana was another powerful sovereign of Campā whose daughter Candanā became the first female disciple of Mahāvīra. Like Sammeya, Campā also was considered a holy place by Jains. Campā was a big centre of trade and merchants travelled from here as far as Mihilā, Ahicchattā, Pihunḍa and other places with their merchandise.

3 VANGA (TĀMALITTI)

Vaṅga (eastern Bengal) is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas*. Vanga was a centre of trade reached by the sea.

Tāmalitti (Tamluk) was a centre of trade and commerce and a great sea-port town. It could be reached both by land and water. Tāmalitti was noted for its fine cloth. Tāmalī Moriyaputta is mentioned as a well-known layman of the city. Tāmalittiya is stated to be a *sāhā* of the Jain *sramanas*.

4 KALINGA (KAṆCANAPURA)

Karakandu is mentioned as the sovereign of Kalinga (Orissa). Kañcanapura was a centre of commerce and a free trade is mentioned between Lankā and this town.

5 KĀSĪ (VĀRĀNASĪ)

Kāsī was included among the sixteen *Janapadas*; Kūsi and Kosala were known for their eighteen confederate kings (*ganarājā*), who fought against Kūniya on the side of Cedaga. Kāsī was noted for its centre of trade.

Vārānasī (Benares) was counted among the ten capitals. It was the birthplace of Pāsa and was visited by Mahāvīra.

At the time of Hemacandra Kāsī or Vārānasī are stated to be identical.

6 KOSALA (SĀGEYA)

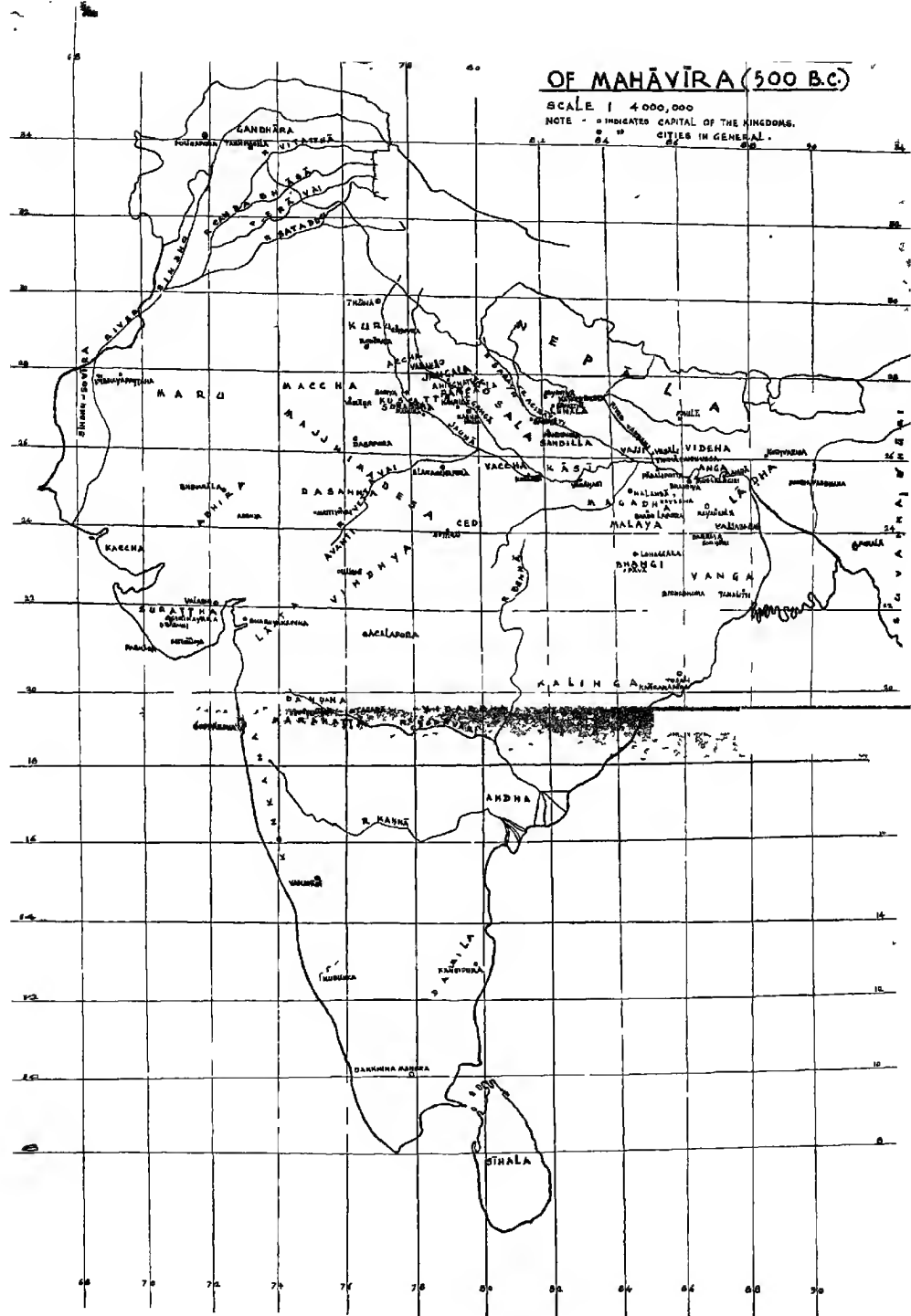
Kosala (Oudh) was included among the sixteen *Janapadas*. It was the birthplace of Ayala, the eighth disciple of Mahāvīra. As Mahāvīra was called Vesaṇiya, so Uśabha was known as Kosaliya, i.e., one who is born in Kosala. Like Dasapura and Ujjeni, Kosala was known for its image of the Living Lord (*Jīvantasāmpadīmā*).

Sāgeya is identified with modern Ayodhyā near Fyzabad and was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India. Sāgeya was visited by Pāsa and Mahāvīra.

OF MAHĀVĪRA (500 B.C.)

SCALE 1 4000,000

NOTE - ○ INDICATES CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOMS.
● CITIES IN GENERAL.



7 KURU (GAYAPURA)

Kuru is identified with Kurukṣetra or Thaneshwar. Gayapura or Hatthināpura (Hastināpur) was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India. Hatthināpura was visited by Mahāvīra and Pāsa.

8 KUSĀRTĀ (SORIYĀ)

Kusārta was situated in north of Sūrasena (Mathurā). Soriyapura which is identified with Batesar near Sakurabad station in Agra district, was situated on the bank of the Jumna. Soriyapura was the birthplace of Kanha Vāsudeva and Arithancmi. Soriyapura was frequented by Mahāvīra.

9 PAÑCĀLA KAMPILAPURA

Pañcāla is identified with Rohilkhand. Kampillapura, which is identified with modern Kampil in Faizabad district, was situated on the bank of the Ganges. It was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India. It is mentioned that Kampilapura was visited by Pāsa and Mahāvīra.

10 JANGALA (AHICCHATTĀ)

Jangala comprised the tract between the Ganges and north Pañcāla. Ahicchattā, which is identified with modern Ramnagar in Bulilly district, was situated to the north-west of Campā. There was regular trade between the two cities. Ahicchatī was considered a holy place and was enumerated with Atihāvaya, Ujjanta, Gayaggapura, Dhammacakka and Rahāvatta mountain. It is said that Ahicchattā was visited by Pārsva.

11 SURATTHA (BĀRAVAI)

It is mentioned that Surattha (Kathuawai) was a non-Āryan country, but from the time of King Sampati it was declared suitable for the preachings of the Jain monks. It is said that Kālakaścāya had brought here ninety six kings from Persia, and consequently this country was divided into six *mandalas*. Surattha was a centre of trade and commerce and a number of merchants used to visit this country.

Bāravai (Dwāravatī) is described as a beautiful and prosperous city. To the north-west to the city was situated the mountain Rcvaya (Girnar), which is described as dear to the Dasara kings, where Arithancmi is said to have attained salvation. It is said that Arithancmi ordained a number of persons here including Paumavati the queen of Kanha and the sons of Kanha and Baladeva. It is mentioned that, as predicted

by Arutthanemi, Bāravai was destroyed due to excessive drinking and by fire. Bāravai was a sea-port and being a centre of trade, was visited by various merchants and tradesmen.

12 VIDEHA (MIHILĀ)

Lord Mahāvīra was born in Videha which is identified with modern Tirhut.

Mihilā, which is identified with Janakpur within the border of Nepal, was included among the ten capital cities of Jain India. It is mentioned that this town was visited by Mahāvīra and Ajja Mahāgiri.

13 VACCHA (KOSAMBĪ)

Vaccha was known as Vamśa or Vatsa in the Buddhist literature ; it was the region near Prayag.

Kosambī, which is identified with Kosam in Allahabad district, was included among the ten capitals of Jain India. It was situated on the bank of the river Jumna. It is said that Kosambī was visited by Pāsa, Mahāvīra, Ajja Suhatthi and Ajja Mahāgiri.

King Sayānīya was a well-known ruler of Kosambī. After he died, Udayana ascended the throne and governed the kingdom.

14 SANDIBBHA OR SĀNDILYA (NANDIPURA)

Sāṇḍilya may be identified with Sandilla, a town in Oudh.

Nandipura may be identified with Nundgaon in Oudh

15 MALAYA (BHADDILAPURA)

Malaya, which was located in south of Magadha, was counted among the sixteen *Janapadas*.

Bhaddilapura, which is identified with the Kuluhā hill in the Hazaribagh district, was the birthplace of the tenth *Tiṭṭhaya* and was visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have passed fifth rainy season here.

16 VACCHA OR MATSYA (VAIRĀDA).

Matsya is identified with modern Alwar and Jaipur territories

Vairāda is identified with the region forty one miles to the north of Jaipur.

17 VARANĀ OR VARUṆĀ (ACCHĀ)

Varanā was known by the name of Uccānagara which is identified with Bulandshahar in the United Provinces. Uccānagarī is mentioned as a *sāhā* of the Jain *sramanas*.

Acchā is included among the sixteen *Janapadas*.

18 DASANNA (MATTIYĀVAI)

Dasanna is identified with eastern Malwa. King Dasannabhadda, who was ordained by Mahāvīra, is said to have reigned in this country.

Mattiyāvai is identified with the country of the Bhojas by the side of Parnāsa (Banas).

19 CEDI (SUTTĪMAI)

King Sisupāla was known as the lord of Cedi which is modern Bundelkhand.

Suttimai was located near Banda in the Central Provinces.

20 SINDHU SOVĪRA (VIBHAYAPATIĀNA)

According to Abhayadeva, the country of Sovīra or modern Sindh was situated near the river Sindhu and hence it was known Sindhu-Sovīra.

Vibhaya may be identified with Bheira in the Punjab

21 SŪRASENA (MAHURĀ)

Mahurā was the capital of Sūrasena which is identified with the region round Mathurā. Mathurā was one of the most ancient places and was included among the ten capitals of Jain India. Mathurā was a great centre of the Jains. It is said that ninety six villages were attached to it, where people installed the images of *Aṭhat* in their houses and the court-yards. There was a jewelled *sthūpa* in Mathurā over which a quarrel is recorded to have arisen between Jains and Buddhists. In later literature of the Jains, however, five *sthūpas* are referred to in Mathurā.

Mathurā is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra, Ajja Mangu and Ajja Rakkhiya. Mathurā was a centre of heretical ascetics and was known for the pilgrimage to the temple of Bhandīra Jakkha.²⁸ Mathurā was a centre of trade. People lived here on trade and not on agriculture. The goods were carried here by land. There was a free trade between Mahurā, also known as Uttara Mahurā, and Dakkhina Mahurā or Pandu Mahurā.

22 BHANGI (PĀPĀ)

Bhanga or Bhangi included the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum.

Mahāvīra is said to have attained salvation at Pāpā. It is said that the real name of this place was Apāvā and after the death of Mahāvīra it came to be called Pāvā. But this is different from above

²⁸ The *Vividhaṭṭha Kalpa* (P 18) mentions the following gardens (*vana*) in Mathurā—Lohajangha, Mahu, Billa, Tāla, Kumua, Vinlā, Bhandīra, Khaura, Kāmā, Kola,

23 PURIVAṬṬĀ (MĀSAPURĪ)

Māsapurī was the capital of Purivaṭṭā. Māsapurī is mentioned as a *sāhā* of the Jain *śramanas*.

This country is not identified.

24 KUṆĀLĀ (SĀVATTHI)

It is recorded that the country of Kuṇālā was destroyed by flood²⁷ and after thirteen years of this incident Mahāvīra attained *kevala*hood.

Sāvattthī was included among the ten capitals of Jain India, and was visited by Pāsa and his chief disciple Kesikumāra. A historical meeting is said to have taken place here between Kesī and Goyama, the two representatives of Pāsa and Mahāvīra respectively. Sāvattthī was visited by Mahāvīra frequently.

Sāvittthī was six leagues north of Sāketa and was situated on the bank of Acirāvati.²⁸

25 LĀDHA (KODIVARISA)

Lādha or Rādha, which comprised the modern District of Hoogly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and the east portion of Midnapur, was included among the sixteen *Janapadas*. This country was divided into Vajjabhūmi and Subbbabhūmi. It is said that there were very few villages in this country and its inhabitants were generally hostile to the ascetics. Mahāvīra travelled in this country and had to undergo much suffering.

It is said that Cilāya, a Mleccha king, was reigning in Kodivarisa who joined the order under Mahāvīra in Sāketa. Kodivarisa is identified with modern Dinajpur.

25½ KEYAIADDHA (SEYAVIYĀ)

Most probably Jainism did not penetrate the whole of this country and perhaps a few people came under the sphere of Jain influence and so half of this country is included among Āryan countries. Kekaya was situated at the base of Nepala in the north-east of Sāvattthī and should be considered different from Kekaya of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the north.

Seyaviyā was visited by Mahāvīra, who having crossed the Ganges proceeded to Surabhipura from here. Seyaviyā is identified with Setavya of the Buddhists.

²⁷ Cf. the Pali legends record that Anāthapindika, the famous donor of the Jetavana monastery in Śrāvastī lost eighteen crores by the action of river Acirāvati, *Dhammapadam A.* III, p. 10, also Vol. I, p. 360.

²⁸ Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 40.

MAHAVIRA (500 B.C.)

SCALE : 1 : 4,000,000



CHAPTER III

MAHĀVĪRA'S ITINERARY

Mahāvīra was thirty years old when with the permission of his elder brother Nandivardhana and other relatives, he renounced the world and with a divine garment (*devadvṛssa*) left Kundaggāma in the dark of *māṅga-ṛṣa* on the tenth day in winter. Followed by thousands of people, Mahāvīra reached the garden of Nāya andavana, which lay in the outskirts of Kundaggāma, to the north-east direction where the renunciation ceremony was performed with great pomp.

FIRST YEAR

The same day in the evening Mahāvīra left Nāyasanda and set out for Kummāragāma. There were two routes leading to Kummīra, one by water and another by land. Mahāvīra preferred the latter and having reached there, stood in meditation. Mahāvīra was caused trouble here by a cowherd who took him to be a thief and wanted to hit him. Next day Mahāvīra proceeded to Kollāka Sannivesa where he broke his fast. From there he proceeded to Morāga Sannivesa and sojourned in a hermitage. Next day Mahāvīra left Morāga Sannivesa and after a period of eight months returned to the same place again. He put up here in a hut, but he had to leave this place very soon. Then Mahāvīra proceeded to Atthiyagāma and sojourned in the shrine of Sūlapāṇi. Here Sūlapāṇi Jakkha is said to have caused manifold trouble to Mahāvīra which he endured patiently and passed first rainy season in Atthiyagāma.

SECOND YEAR

From Atthiyagāma Mahāvīra set out for Morāga Sannivesa again where lived an ascetic named Acchandaḥa. Then Mahāvīra proceeded to Vācāla, which was divided into Uttaravacāla and Dakkhinavacāla, and between them flowed the rivers Suvannakūla and Ruppakūla. Mahāvīra was going from Dakkhinavacāla to Uttaravacāla when the remaining half¹ of his garment was caught in the thorns on the bank of Suvannakūla, and from this time it is said that the Teacher went about naked. Now there were two routes to Uttaravacāla, one passing right through the hermitage named Kanakakhala and another from outside it. The former, which was more difficult, was chosen by Mahāvīra where he was caused much trouble by a poisonous serpent. From here Mahāvīra proceeded to Seyavivā which lay near the above hermitage and where he was received by King Paesi. Then the Teacher crossed the Ganges and

¹The first half was already given to a Brāhmana in the garden Nāyasanda before Mahāvīra left for Kummāragāma.

reached Surabhipura and from there proceeded to Thūnāka Sannivesa and stood in meditation there. Then Mahāvira reached Rāyagiha and sojourned in a weaver's shed in Nālandā where he passed second rainy season. Here Gosāla met him and the two of them left for Kollāga.

THIRD YEAR

From Kollāga Mahāvira and Gosāla proceeded to Suvannakhalaya, then to Bambhauagāma and then to Campā where the Teacher passed third rainy season.

FOURTH YEAR

From Campā Mahāvira and Gosāla reached Kālāya Sannivesa and thence to Pattakālaya. It is stated that Gosāla was insulted at these places for his misbehaviour. Then both reached Kumārāya Sannivesa, where Mahāvira stood in meditation in the garden Camparamanujja. Then both travelled to Corāga Sannivesa where they were taken to be spies and were made prisoners. From here Mahāvira and Gosāla proceeded to Pitthīcampā where the Teacher passed fourth rainy season.

FIFTH YEAR

From Pitthīcampā Mahāvira and Gosāla proceeded to Kayangalā. Here some ascetics were staying with their families. Gosāla is said to have maltreated them and was punished for his misdemeanour. Then both reached Sāvattī and then proceeded to Haledduga. Here there was a big turmeric tree where Mahāvira stood in meditation and his feet are said to have burnt by fire. Then both reached Nangala where Mahāvira stood in meditation in the Vāsudeva temple. Here again Gosāla was punished for his misdemeanour. They then proceeded to Āvattagāma where Mahāvira stood in meditation in the Baladeva temple. Gosāla was taken to task and punished again. Then both reached Corāya Sannivesa. From there both journeyed to Kalambuka Sannivesa where both were tied by Kālahastī and were beaten; later on, they were set at liberty by his brother Megha who is said to have seen Mahāvira in Khatṭiyakunda. Then both proceeded to the country of Lādha where Mahāvira had to endure various kinds of painful sufferings. Then the two of them reached Punnakalasa where some robbers made an attempt on Mahāvira's life with sword. From there both journeyed to the city of Bhaddiya where the Teacher passed fifth rainy season.

SIXTH YEAR

From Bhaddiya Mahāvira and Gosāla proceeded to Kayasamāgama, then to Jambusanda and then to Tambāya Sannivesa. Then they

reached Kūviya Sannivesa where they were taken as spies and were taken prisoners, later on, both were released by two sisters named Vijayā and Pragalbhā

Now Gosāla refused to move in the company of Mahāvīra and said that since he had to bear insult every now and then, he would like to go his own way. So Mahāvīra left for Vesālī and, having reached there, stood in meditation in a blacksmith's shed. It is mentioned that the blacksmith, seeing Mahāvīra naked, ran to hit him. Then Mahāvīra travelled towards Gāmāya Sannivesa where he was honoured by Vibhelaka Jakkha. From here Mahāvīra proceeded to Sālīsayagāma, and was caused trouble by the demoness Katapūtānā. Here Gosāla joined Mahāvīra again after six months. Finally Mahāvīra visited Bhaddiya, and passed sixth rainy season there.

SEVENTH YEAR

Then Mahāvīra and Gosāla travelled in the country of Magadha and the Teacher passed seventh rainy season in Ālabhiyā

EIGHTH YEAR

From Ālabhiyā both proceeded to Kundāga Sannivesa where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the temple of Vāsudeva. It is mentioned that Gosāla was beaten here for his misbehaviour. Then both set out for Maddaṇagāma and sojourned in the Baladeva temple. Then both journeyed to Bahusālagagāma where Mahāvīra was caused trouble by Sālejjā vānamantari. From here both proceeded to the capital Lohagalā where the royal servants took them to be spies of the enemy and tied them. Later on, both were set free by Uppala who is said to have arrived there from Atthiyagāma. Afterwards both proceeded to Purimātāla where Mahāvīra stood in meditation in the garden of Sagadamuha. From there they proceeded to Unnāga and from there journeyed to Gobhūmī. At last both reached Rāyagīha and the Teacher passed eighth rainy season here.

NINTH YEAR

From Rāyagīha Mahāvīra and Gosāla proceeded to Lādha, a non-Āryan country and travelled in Vajjabhūmī and Subbhabhūmī, where Mahāvīra had to undergo all sorts of tortures. Sometimes people surrounded him and set dogs upon him uttering 'ucu' Mahāvīra could not get any shelter here; he passed ninth rainy season in this country.²

At Pākīra in the Manikurn district, a colossal naked figure of Vīra under the name of Bhīram is still worshipped by the people (*Dist. Gaz. of Manikurn* p. 61).

TENTH YEAR

From Lādha Mahāvira and Gosāla journeyed to Siddhatthapura and from there proceeded to Kummagāma. Then both returned to Siddhatthapura. Here Gosāla again severed his connection with Mahāvira and reached Sāvattihī. Mahāvira left for Vesālī where the republican king Sankha is said to have saved him from the trouble caused by the town-children. Then Mahāvira crossed the river Gandakī by boat and reached Vāṇiyagāma and then proceeded to Sāvattihī where the Teacher passed tenth rainy season.

ELEVENTH YEAR

From Sāvattihī Mahāvira left for Sānulatthiyagāma and then proceeded to Daḍhabhūmi, a land of the Mlecchas. From here the Lord proceeded to Peḍhālagāma and stood in meditation in the garden of Peḍhāla in the shrine of Polāsa. Mahāvira is said to have suffered extreme pains in this land. From here the Teacher journeyed to Vāluyagāma, Subhoma, Succhettā, Malaya and finally to Hatthīsisa. At all these places Mahāvira had to suffer extreme torture. Then Mahāvira set out for Tosālī where he was taken to be a robber and was hit hard. Then the Teacher journeyed to Mosālī, where he was taken to be a robber and was brought to the king's court, but was released. From here Mahāvira returned to Tosālī where again he was caused trouble and was actually to be hanged but was luckily rescued by Tosālī Kṣatriya. Then Mahāvira set out for Siddhatthapura from where he proceeded to Vayaggāma. At all these places Mahāvira is said to have endured pains and tortures for a period of six months. From Vayaggāma the venerable ascetic proceeded to Ālabhiyā and then journeyed to Seyaviyā and then proceeded towards Sāvattihī. Then the Teacher set out for Kosambī, Vāṇārasī, Rāvagīha, Mihilā and finally passed eleventh rainy seasons in Vesālī.

TWELFTH YEAR

From Vasālī the Teacher reached Sumṣumārāpura and then proceeded to Bhogapura. Then he left for Nandiggāma and from there journeyed to Mendhiyagāma. Then Mahāvira proceeded to Kosambī, where he received his alms after a period of four months. From Kosambī Mahāvira set out for Sumangalgāma, and then he proceeded to Pālayagāma. From here the Teacher reached Campā and passed twelfth rainy season here.

THIRTEENTH YEAR

From Campā Mahāvira reached Jambhiyagāma, and then journeyed to Mendhiyagāma. Then he proceeded to Chammānigāma where a cow-herd is said to have thrust iron nails into his ears. Mahāvira arrived

at Majjhima Pāvā in this condition when the nails were removed from his ears. From here the Teacher travelled towards Jambhīyagāma where on the northern bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā, in the farm of the householder Sāmāga, under a sāla tree in north-east of the Vcyāvatta shrine, after a period of 12 years, 6 months and 15 days, Mahāvīra attained omniscience (*kevala*) on the bright tenth day of *varsākha*.³

After Mahāvīra attained *kevalhood*, a *samavasarana* (religious conference) was held on the bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā, but it is said that the first preaching of Mahāvīra remained unsuccessful. Then after traversing twelve *yojanas*, Mahāvīra is said to have returned to Majjhima Pāvā where the second *samavasarana* was convened in the garden of Mahāsena. Here, after a long discussion on various religious and philosophic points, Mahāvīra ordained the eleven learned Bāhmins mentioned already.⁴

Thus we see that after twelve years of severe penance and meditation Mahāvīra attained omniscience at the age of forty two, and lived thereafter for thirty years to preach his religion. According to the *Kalpasūtra*,⁵ since Mahāvīra renounced the life of a householder, he spent forty two rainy seasons at the following places. He stayed the first rainy season in Atthiyaggāma, three rainy seasons in Campā and Pīthīcampā, and eight in Vasālī and Vāniyagāma. These twelve rainy seasons Mahāvīra passed during his ascetic life before he attained omniscience. Then during the thirty years of his career as a Teacher, Mahāvīra spent four rainy seasons in Vesālī and Vāniyagāma, fourteen in Rāyagīha and Nālandā, six in Mithilā, two in Bhaddiya, one in Ālabhiyā, one in Parivabhūmī, one in Sāvattihī and one in the town of Pāvā in the office of the survey-ministers of king Hatthivāla which was the last rainy season of the Teacher.

Thus the *Kalpasūtra's* authority on the itinerary of Mahāvīra is ancient and fairly reliable. It is evident from the *Kalpasūtra* that the ground which Mahāvīra covered during his ascetic life is roughly by Bihar, a part of northern-western Bengal and a part of eastern U. P. The tradition which mentions his visit to Vītibhaya, which according to the Jain tradition was the capital of Sindhu Sovira, to preach to king Uddāyana, is of very doubtful veracity. The earliest reference to this visit is found in the *Bhagavati* and later on certain *Cūṛṇas* perpetuate the tradition. It is quite possible that in later times, when Jainism spread to Western India, the Jains did come in contact with the people of Sindhu Sovira, and to prove that their connection with that part of the country was not new, the story of Mahāvīra's visit seems to have originated. In this connection it is interesting to note that Buddhism, when it spread to the Punjab

³ *Āta. Nū.* 458-527, *Āta. Bha.* III, *Āta. cū.* pp. 268-323, *Kalpa.* 3, *Āta.* II 3 *Cūṭ. lā.* Bhag. 15.

⁴ *Kalpa.* Ti. 5 121, *Āva. Nū.* 540 ff.

⁵ 5 123.

and beyond, produced a literature which expressly mentions Buddha visiting those far off lands, which as a matter of fact seems to be quite absurd and analogous process, though on much lesser scale is evident in the Jain scriptures. Jainism, however, never spread outside the confines of India, neither there is proof that it gained a foot-hold in the Punjab at any time. Hence Jainism had very few opportunities to sanctify the places in the Punjab with the presence of its *Tīrthāṅkaras*.

CHAPTER IV

GEOGRAPHICAL LEXICON

In order to arrange systematically the mass of geographical material in the Jain canons and their commentaries, we have felt it advisable to place it in alphabetical order, together with their descriptions as given in the Jain texts, their places of references and identification and location wherever possible.

I

Abbuya—a mountain

Abbuya is mentioned with Pabhāsa where *sankhaḍḍi* (a feast) was celebrated.¹

Abbuya is identical with Mount Abu in the Suohi State of Rajputana. It is one of the five sacred hills of the Jains, others being Satruñjaya, Samet Śikhar, Girnar and Candragiri.²

Ābhīra—a country

This country was visited by Ajja Samiya³ and Vairasāmi.⁴

Ābhīra was situated in Dakṣiṇāpatha and Terā (Tagarā) was a beautiful city of this country.⁵

Acalaggāma—city

Acalaggāma was situated in Magadha.⁶ A royal road (*rāyapāha*) is mentioned in Ayalaggāma.⁷ Its exact situation is not known.

Acalapura—a town (ahitthāna)

Acalapura was situated in Ābhīra. The rivers Kanhā and Benna flowed near the town, and between them was the Island Bambhadīva, a habitat of five hundred tāvasas.⁸

It is identified with modern Ellichpur in Berar.

¹ *Brh Bhā*, I 3130

² Dey, *G D*, p. 10

³ *Āva. Tī*, p. 514a, unless otherwise stated such references should be taken to the commentary of Malayagiri

⁴ *Āva. Cū*, p. 397.

⁵ *Brhatkathakosa*, 138 39f, 56 52. For the race of the Ābhīras see Bhandarkar *Vaiṣṇavism, Saivism, etc.*, p. 37.

⁶ *Uttarā. Tī*, 18, p. 243, also cf *Marāṇa* 440, p. 126a

⁷ *Vasu*, p. 197.

⁸ *Pṛṇḍa Nīr*, 503, *Āva. Tī.*, p. 514a; *Nandī*, p. 50a.

Acchā—a kingdom

Acchā is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries and the sixteen *Janapadas* ; Varāṇa or Varunā was its capital

Acchā may be identified with the region round Bulandshahar in United Provinces (see Varāṇā)

Ādamba ? (Ambaḍa)—a country

Ambada is mentioned along with Bahalī, Illā, Jouaga, Pallava and Suvannabhūmī. Usabha, the first *Tīrthankara*, is said to have travelled these countries.⁹

(See *infra* Ambada).

Addapura (Ādrakapura—a city)

Addapura was situated in a non-Āryan country (*mecchavisaya*) King Ādraka was ruling over here. He is mentioned to be a contemporary of king Seniya and to have sent him presents.¹⁰

It cannot be located. However, Adra, an important railway station is situated in the Manbhum district in Bengal.

Ādī or Āvī—a river

Ādī or Āvī is one of the five great tributary rivers of the Ganges, others being Jaunā, Saraū, Kosī and Mahī.¹¹

Ādī or Āvī seems to be the same as Erāvaī or Acirāvati or Ajiravati which is mentioned as one of the five great rivers in Pali literature, and may be identified with Rapti in Oudh.

Ahicchattā—a city

Ahicchattā was the capital of Jangala, which is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries.

This city was situated to the north-east? (north-west) of Campā and was a business centre.¹² It is mentioned as a holy place along with Atthāvaya, Ujjanta, Gayaggapura, Dhammacakka and Rahāvatta. Pārsvanātha was worshipped here by Dharanendra.¹³

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Saukhāvaī was another name of Ahicchatra.¹⁴ It was also called Pratyagararatha¹⁵ or Sivapurī.¹⁶

⁹ *Ālā. Nū*, 336.

¹⁰ *Sūya* II 6

¹¹ *Thā* 5. 470.

¹² *Nāyā* 13, p. 138.

¹³ *Ācā Nir.* 335.

¹⁴ p. 14

¹⁵ *Abhidhāna*. IV. 26.

¹⁶ *Kalpa* 6, p. 167.

According to the *Mahābhārata*, northern Pañcāla had its capital at Ahicchatrā or Chatravatī, while southern Pañcāla at Kāmpilya. Ahicchatrā is identical with modern Ramnagar in the Bareilly district.¹⁷

Akkasthalī

Akkasthalī and Ānandapura are mentioned as two different places.¹⁸

Akkasthala was one of the five places mentioned in Mathurā others being Virathala, Paumatthala, Kusasthala and Mahāsthalā.¹⁹

Ālabhiyā—a city

It is said that Ālabhiyā was a centre of the *samanorāgas*²⁰ and was visited by Mahāvīra²¹. From here he proceeded to Kūṇḍāka Samnivesa.²² At another time he travelled here from Vayaggāma and proceeded to Seyaviyā.²³ Ālabhiyā was also visited by Gosālā.²⁴

Ālabhiyā is mentioned as Ālavī in Buddhist literature and was located thirty *yojanas* from Sāvasthī and twelve *yojanas* from Benares. It lay between Sāvasthī and Rājagṛha and Buddha spent rainy season here.²⁵

Alasanda—a country

It is said that Bharata conquered this country (see Anga).

In *Milindapañha* Alasanda is mentioned with China, Benares, Gandhāra and other countries.²⁶ The *Mahāvamsa* refers to the town of Alasanda which was the chief city of the Yona territory.²⁷

It is identified with the town of Alexandria founded by Alexander near Kabul in the Paropanisadæ country.²⁸

Āmalakappā—a city

It is mentioned that Āmalakappā was visited by Pāsa²⁹ and Mahāvīra.

Āmalakappā is identical with Allakappa of Buddhist literature. Perhaps Allakappa lay not very far from Veludīpa,³⁰ which is stated to be situated on the way from Masāi in Shahabad district to Vaisālī.

¹⁷ C A C I, pp 413, 707

¹⁸ *Nisī Cū*, II p 23 (MSS)

¹⁹ *Viu* p 18

²⁰ *Bhag*, II 12

²¹ See Supra, p 279

²² *Ibid*

²³ *Āva Nir*, 516

²⁴ *Ibid*, 15, also *L a 3*

²⁵ Malalasekari, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, under 'Ālavī,' also see *P H A I* p. 160, Hoernle, *Uda* Appendix, pp 51-53 notes

²⁶ *Milindapañha* p 327

²⁷ XXIX 39

²⁸ *Mahāvamsa* trans, p 194 see also Dr. Sylvain Lévi's article "Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature," *I H Q*, 1936, p 121 ff

²⁹ *Nāyā* II, p 222 *Rājā Su I*, *Āva Cū*, II, 196.

³⁰ *G F B*, p 24 f

Ānandapura—a city

Ānandapura was situated near the mountain-range of Vindhya.⁸¹ It was a centre of trade where goods were carried by land route, by carts and other vehicles. It is said that the walls of the city were made of bricks.⁸² The citizens of Ānandapura visited the river Saraswatī and celebrated feast there.⁸³ Ānandapura was a centre of Jain monks,⁸⁴ who are said to have travelled from here to Mathurā.⁸⁵

Ānandapura is identified with Vadnagar in northern Gujerat, seventy miles south of Sidhpur.⁸⁶

Andha—a country

Āndhra was considered as a non-Āryan country, but king Samparī is said to have opened it for movement of the Jain monks, along with the countries of Suratttha, Dravida, Mahārāstra and Kuṇḍukka.⁸⁷

It is said that the people of Andha were known for their cruel disposition (*akūramata*).⁸⁸ Rice was called here *idāku*.⁸⁹

Āndhradesa is the country between the Godāvarī and the Krishnā including the district of Krishnā.⁴⁰

Andhapura—a city

It is said that king Anandha was ruling over this city.⁴¹

Andhapura is mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. It was the capital of Āndhra and was situated on the Telavāha river.⁴²

Anga—a kingdom

Anga is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* and was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Campā as its capital.

Angaloka is mentioned together with the countries of Simhala, Babbara, Cūlāyaloka, Javanadīva, Ārabaka, Romaka, Alasanda and Kaccha which were conquered by Bharata.⁴³

In Buddhist literature, Anga is included among the sixteen *Mahā-Janapadas*.⁴⁴

⁸¹ *Pinda Nr.* Ti, 83, p 31

⁸² *Brh Bhā* Vr 1 1090, *ibid*, 1 1123

⁸³ *Nisī Cū*, p 5, p 434

⁸⁴ *G D*, p 6

⁸⁵ *Brh Bhā*, 1 3289, *Nisī Cū*, 5, p 438

⁸⁶ *Vya Bhā* 7 126 p 24a, also cf *Mahābhā*, IV 119 where Āndhras are described as a rude race

⁸⁷ *Brh Bhā* Vr, Pi, 57

⁴⁰ *G E B*, p 62, also *P H A I*, pp 78, 258

⁴¹ *Brh Bhā*, 4 5226

⁴² I, p 111, *G E B*, p 24

⁴³ *Jambu Sū*, 52, p 217 a, *Āia Cū*, p 191

⁴⁴ The countries mentioned are Anga, Magadha, Kāsi, Kosala, Vajji, Mallā, Ceti, Vamsā, Kuru, Pañcāla, Māchā, Sūrasena, Assaka, Avantī, Gandhāra and Kamboja, *Anguttara* I, p 213

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 1 3150

⁸⁴ *Sūya Cū*, p 253

It is identical with the country about the modern districts of Bhagalpur and Monghyr.⁴⁶

Añjana—a mountain

This mountain is referred to in the *Avasyaka Cūṛṇi*.⁴⁶

Añjana Pavvaya is one of the six peaks of the Himalaya from which rose the five great rivers and round which were the seven lakes.⁴⁷ It is identified with the Suleiman range in the Punjab.⁴⁸

Antarañjiyā or Antarañji—a city

Antarañjiyā is mentioned in the *Thānānga*.⁴⁹ Antarañjiyā is mentioned as a *sāhi* of the Jain *śramanas* in the *Kalpasūtra*.⁵⁰

It may be identified with Atianji-khera situated on the right bank of the Kālī nadi, four miles to the south of Karsāna and eight miles to the north of Etah.⁵¹

Aojjhā, Avajjhā or Ujjhā⁵²—a city

Aojjhā was the capital of Kosala which is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries.

Aojjhā is described as the birthplace of the second and fourteenth *Tīrthankaras*.⁵³ (See also Ikkhāgabdhūmi; Kosalā, Sāketa, Vinitā, Visāhā).

During the Buddhist period, Ayojjhā on the Sarayū was the capital of Dakṣiṇa Kosala, while that of Uttara Kosala was Sāvattihī on the Rapti. The capital cities of Kosala were Sāvattihī and Sāketa. Ayodhyā is about four miles from Fyzabad and phonetically corresponds to modern Oudh.⁵⁴

Apāpā, Majjhīmā Pāvā or Pāvā—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra travelled here from Chāmānī and proceeded to Jambhīyagāma where he attained *kevalahood* at the bank of the river Ujjuvāliyā.⁵⁵

⁴⁶ G. D., p. 7.

⁴⁷ p. 516

⁴⁸ Malalasekara, *op cit*, under "Añjana."

⁴⁹ G. D., p. 8

⁵⁰ 7. 587. Also *Ā. a. cū*, p. 121

⁵¹ 8, p. 231.

⁵² C. A. G. I, p. 418f

⁵³ According to the *Vuddhatīrthakalpa* (p. 24), Aujjhā, Avajjhā, Kosalā, Viniyā, Sākeya, Ikkhāgabdhūmi, Rāmapuri and Kosala are other names of Ayodhyā.

⁵⁴ *Ā. a. Nir*, 382, 323

⁵⁵ G. E. B., pp. 5, 231

⁵⁶ See Supra, p. 261.

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*,⁵⁶ Majjhimapāvā was called Apāvāpurī but since Mahāvīra died here, it was changed into Pāvāpurī.

It is identified with Pāvāpurī seven miles to the east of Bihar town in Bihar.⁵⁷

Arakkhurī—a city

It is stated that Arakkhurī was situated on the border (*paucantanagara*) of Campā.⁵⁸

Its exact situation is not known.

Aritthapura or Ritthapura—a city

Aritthapura is mentioned in the commentary of the *Panhavāgarana*.⁵⁹

Aritthapura is mentioned in Pāli literature. It was the capital city of the Sivi kingdom. It lay on the road from Mithilā to Pañcāla.⁶⁰

Asitagiri—a mountain

This mountain was situated near Ujjenī.⁶¹

Its exact situation is not known.

Asivovaddava—a city

It is mentioned in the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana*.⁶²

Its exact location is unknown.

Atthāvaya—a mountain

It is said that Usabha attained salvation at this mountain.⁶³ Atthāvaya was also visited by Goyama.⁶⁴ (See also Alucchattā).

It is mentioned that this mountain was connected with Veyaddha and was eight *yojanas* in height and at its foot flowed the river Niyadī.⁶⁵

A description of this mountain is given in the *Tisastisalākāpurusa-rita*.⁶⁶ It was called Astāpada because around it eight steps were made. It was also known as Harādri, Kailāsa and Sphatikādri.⁶⁷

Atthāvaya is identical with Kailāsa which is Kangrinpoche of the Tibetans, situated about twenty five miles to the north of Mānasarovara beyond Gangri.⁶⁸

⁵⁶ P. 44.

⁵⁷ Dist. Gaz. Patna.

⁵⁸ *Ā. a. Nir.*, 1297, also see *Āyū* II, p. 229, *Vasu.* p. 79

⁵⁹ 4, p. 88, see also *Vasu.*, p. 304 f

⁶⁰ Malalasekara, *op cit*, under "Aritthapura"

⁶¹ *Ā. a. Nir.*, 1304 The *Vā. n* (p. 281) also mentions Asitagiri, but it was situated in Kosala.

⁶² 1, p. 5.

⁶³ *Jambu Sū.*, 70, p. 278

⁶⁴ *Ā. a. Nir.*, 307, also *Uttara. Cū.*, p. 180

⁶⁵ *Vasu.*, pp. 309, 335.

⁶⁶ Vol I, 678 ff., p. 332 ff

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 370

⁶⁸ *G. D.*, p. 82.

Atthiyaggāma—a village

The older name of Atthiyaggāma was Vaddhamāna, where a temple was built upon an enormous heap of bones (*atthi*) of the people and hence it came to be known as Atthiyaggāma. Mahāvīra is said to have journeyed to this place from Morāga Sannivesa. The river Veyavati flowed near this village. Mahāvīra is said to have passed first rainy season at this place.⁶⁹

Dr. Law identifies it with Hatthigāma which lay on the high road from Vaisālī to Pāvā.⁷⁰

Avāha—a kingdom

Avāha is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavati*.⁷¹

It is not identified.

Avakkhaṇḍa or Avarakhaṇḍa (?)

Avakkhanda is mentioned as an unholy place (*kutitha*).⁷²

The text seems to be corrupt and hence the place cannot be identified.

Avantī—a kingdom

Ujjeni was the capital of Avantī (see Ujjeni).

Avantī roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. Avantī was divided into two parts: the northern part had its capital at Ujjeni, and the southern part, called Avantī Dakṣiṇāpatha, had its capital at Māhissatī or Mahiṣmatī.⁷³

Avarakankā—a city

It is stated that Avarakankā was situated in the Dhāyakkhaṇḍadīva,⁷⁴ a mythical region.

It is not identified.

Avattagāma—a village

Mahāvīra is stated to have journeyed to this place from Nāgalā and proceeded to Corāya Sannivesa from here.⁷⁵

Its exact situation is not known.

⁶⁹ See Supra., p. 257

⁷⁰ *Mahāvīra's Life and Teachings*, p. 33.

⁷¹ See Supra.

⁷² *Nisī Cū*, II, p. 685

⁷³ Bhandarkar, *Charmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 54.

⁷⁴ *Nyāy*, 10, p. 185 f

⁷⁵ See Supra. p. 258

Bāhala—a country

This country was noted for its horses;⁷⁶ barley-meal (*sattu*) is mentioned as a common food here.⁷⁷

It is the same as Vāhika situated in the plains of the Punjab alongside Madra desa, between the Chenab and Sutlej.⁷⁸

Bahali—a country

Takkhasilā was the capital of Bahali.⁷⁹ It is said that Usabha entrusted the kingdom of Vinītā to Bharata and that of Bahali to Bāhubali, and renounced the throne.⁸⁰ It was a non-Āryan country and the maid-servants were brought from here.⁸¹

It is the same as Vāhlika and is identified with Balkh in modern Afghanistan. (See also Adamba).

Bahusālaga—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra journeyed to this place from Maddaṇa and proceeded to the capital Lohaggala.⁸²

Its exact situation is not known.

Bambhadīva—an island

It is said that Bambhadīva was situated between the rivers Kanhā and Bennā, where five hundred monks are said to have joined the Jain order of ascetics. These tāvasas⁸³ were the forerunners of the Bambhadivigā sāhā of the Jain śramanas mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra*.⁸⁴

Its exact location is not known.

Bambhanagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra journeyed to this place from Suvannakhalaya and proceeded to Campā.⁸⁵

Its exact situation is not known.

Bambhatthalaya—a city

It is stated that the sixth *Tīrthankara* received his first alms here.⁸⁶

⁷⁶ *Āva Nir*, p. 679.

⁷⁷ *Ācā. Tī*, I, 1, p. 4a.

⁷⁸ Dr. Mouchand's article; Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata J U P. S. Vol. XVII, pt. I, pp. 46 f.

⁷⁹ *Āva. Cū*, p. 180.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁸¹ *Nāyā*, I, p. 21.

⁸² See Supra., p. 259.

⁸³ *Āva Tī.*, p. 514a.

⁸⁴ 8, p. 233.

⁸⁵ See Supra., p. 258.

⁸⁶ *Āva. Nir*, 323.

It seems that Bambhatthalaya was another name of Hatthināura. It is said in the *Vasudevahindī* that wherever the venerable ascetic Usabha travelled in Hatthināpura for alms, people made a jewel-seat (*manipīḍhiyā*) in his honour and since then came into being Bambhatthala.⁸⁷

Bannāsā—a river

It is said that the corn was cultivated by flood in this river.⁸⁸

Several rivers of this name are noticed. It is difficult to identify this river.

Bāravai—a city

Bāravi (Dvāravatī) was the capital of Surattthā which is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Bāravi is described in several texts of the Jains and mentioned as nine *yojanas* in extension and twelve in length, surrounded by the stone walls.⁸⁹ To the north-east of the city was located the mountain Revaya⁹⁰ and nearby was the Nandanavana garden with the shrine of Surappia Jakkha.⁹¹

Bāravai was the home of Andhagavanhi⁹² and Kanha Vāsudeva.⁹³ It is said that Bāravai was destroyed by the sage Dīvāyana due to the excessive drinking of the Yādava princes.⁹⁴

Bāravai was a centre of trade⁹⁵ and people travelled here from Nepāla pattana^(?) by boat (*nūṭā*).⁹⁶

In the *Vasudāhindī*, Bāravai is mentioned as a chief town of the four *Janapadas*, viz., Anatttha, Kusatttha, Suratttha and Sukkaratttha.⁹⁷ According to the *Mahābhārata*, on account of the pressure of Jarāsandha, Kṛṣṇa left Mathurā and founded the city of Dvārakā near the mountain Raivataka.⁹⁸

Bāravai is identified with modern Junagadh situated very near the Raivataka hills and is different from Dvārakā on the sea-shore.⁹⁹

Bennā—a river

The city of Bennāyada was situated on the bank of the river Bennā.¹⁰⁰

It is identified with the Wain Gangā in the Central Provinces. It is a tributary of the Godāvarī.¹⁰¹

⁸⁷ p 165, cf. *C A G I*, pp 306-18.

⁸⁸ *Brh. Bhā. Vr.*, 1. 1239.

⁸⁹ See e.g. *Nāyā*, 5, p. 68, *Anta.*, 1, p. 4f; *Niryā* 5; *Brh. Bhā.*, 1. 1123.

⁹⁰ *Nāyā*, 5, p. 68.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹² *Anta.*, 1, p. 4f.

⁹³ *Nāyā*, 5, p. 68.

⁹⁴ *Anta.*, 5, p. 25, also *Āta. Nr.* 325, *Āva. Cū.*, II, p. 19.

⁹⁵ *Āva. Cū.*, p. 553.

⁹⁶ *Nisī. Cū.*, p. 110 (Mss).

⁹⁷ p. 77.

⁹⁸ *Sabbhā* 14, for the description of Dvārakā, see *op cit.* 57; *Harivaṃśa* (II, 58); see also *Ghata Jātaka* (No 434), IV, p. 82 ff.

⁹⁹ N. K. Bhattacharya, *I. H. Q.*, 1934, pp 541-50.

¹⁰⁰ *Āva. Cū.* p. 547.

¹⁰¹ *Dist. Gaz. Bhandārā*, 1908, pp. 240 ff.

Bennāyada or Vennāyada—a city

The city was situated on the bank of the Bennā and hence it was called Bennāyada.¹⁰³ It was a centre of trade and the merchants landed here with various merchandise while returning from Pāmasakūla.¹⁰³ It is said that Bennayada was visited by Seniya when he was a prince.¹⁰⁴

According to the *Brhatkathākosa*, Vinyūtatapua was located in Virāta.¹⁰⁵

Bhaddilapūra—a city

Bhaddilapūra was the capital of Malaya which is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is said that Bhaddilapūra was visited by Arutthanemi,¹⁰⁶ and was the birthplace of the tenth *Tilthayara*.¹⁰⁷

It is identified with Bhadia, a village near Kuluhā hill about six miles from Hunterganj in the Hazaribagh district, which sometimes back was reputed as the birthplace of the tenth *Tithunkara*, but curiously enough it is now entirely unknown to the jains.¹⁰⁸

Bhaddiya—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra passed two rainy seasons here. He is said to have journeyed here from Punnakalasa and proceeded to Kayaliggāma; at another time he travelled here from Sālisīsa and proceeded to Magadha.¹⁰⁹

Bhaddiya was a city in the Anga kingdom and was visited by Buddha.¹¹⁰

It is identified with modern Monghyr.¹¹¹

Bhanga or Bhangī—a kingdom

Bhanga is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Pāvā as the capital.

Bhanga is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II 31. 11). It included the districts of Hazaribagh and Manbhum.¹¹²

¹⁰³ *Anu Sū*, 130, p 137.

¹⁰⁴ *Uttarā Tī* p 64.

¹⁰⁵ *Āva Cū*, p 546.

¹⁰⁶ 80 70f

¹⁰⁷ *Anta*, 3, p 7f

¹⁰⁸ *Āva Nir*, 383.

¹⁰⁹ *Dist Gaz Hazaribagh*, p 202.

¹¹⁰ See Supra. p 259

¹¹¹ *Dhammapada A*, Vol I, p 384.

¹¹² Rāhul Sāṅkṛīyayana, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, p. 248n.

¹¹³ *S.B.M*, p. 379.

Bhansurulāya (?)

It is mentioned in the *Nisītha Cūrṇi*. It is said that at the time of the feasts the *bahuraja* ascetics assembled here.¹¹⁸

The text seems to be corrupt and hence it cannot be identified.

Bharukacchaharanī—a village

This village was situated in Surattḥā.¹¹⁴

Its exact location is not known.

Bharuyakaccha—a city

Bharuyakaccha was a centre of trade and is quoted as an example of *donamukha*, where goods were carried by land route as well as water route.¹¹⁵ Bharuyakaccha was visited by ācārya Vairabhūi.¹¹⁶ Here people celebrated the feast in honour of Kundalamentha, a *vānamantara* god,¹¹⁷ who is said to have built the tank Bhūyatalāya to the north of the city.¹¹⁸

The distance between Ujjenī and Bharuyakkacha is said to have been twenty five *yojanas*, which was traversed by Lohajangha, an errand-carrier of Pajjoaya in one day.¹¹⁹

According to the *Vṛidhatīthakalpa*, Bharuaccha was the beauty of Lāda.¹²⁰

Bharukaccha is mentioned in the Buddhist Jātakas. It was a sea-port town from which the ships used to sail for different countries.

It is identified with modern Broach.¹²¹

Bheranḍa

It is said that Bheranda was known for its sugarcane.¹²²

Its location cannot be identified.

Bhullamāla—a city

It is said that *dramma*, a silver coin, was current in this town.¹²³

It is identified with modern Bhinmāla, a town in the Jaswantpur, district of Jodhpur.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ 12, p. 810.

¹¹⁴ *Vya. Bhā*, 10 10, *Uttarā Tī*, 4, p. 78a.

¹¹⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā* Vr, 1 1090

¹¹⁸ *Vya. Bhā*, 3. 58

¹¹⁷ *Bṛh. Bhā* p. 3150.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 3 4220 f

¹¹⁹ *Āva. Cū*, II, 160

¹²⁰ p. 20.

¹²¹ *C.A.G.I.*, p. 374.

¹²² *Jīvā*, 3, 355.

¹²³ *Bṛh. Bhā*, Vr. 1. 1969; *Nisī. Cū*, 10, p. 616. *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, 2, p. 55.

¹²⁴ *C.A.G.I.*, p. 697.

Bhīmāpalli—a village(see *Vasāntapura*).*Bhogakada—a city*

It is said that king Hatthimitta, the ruler of Ujjenī, took to the ascetic life and proceeded to Bhogakada¹²⁵

According to the *Vasudevahindī*, Bhoyakada was situated near the Vindhya region¹²⁶

Reference is made to Bhojakata in the Bharhut inscriptions. The Sabhāparva (32) of the *Mahābhārata* mentions Bhojakata and Bhojakatapura as two places in the South conquered by Sahadeva. Bhojakata is the same as Bhoja or Bhojya of the Purānas and it is a country of the Vindhya region¹²⁷

Bhogapura—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra journeyed to this place from Sumsumārapura and proceeded to Nandiggāma or Nandipura. Here he was caused considerable annoyance by Mahenda Khattiya¹²⁸

It is mentioned that a variety of stone was available here which was used for polishing the pots of the monks.¹²⁹

Bhogagāmanagara is mentioned in Pali literature. Buddha proceeded to Pāvā from here¹³⁰. It lay between Pāvā and vesālī¹³¹

Bhūlissara—a holy place

It is said that a poor Brāhmana of Ānandapura stood here in fast, but was asked to go to Kaccha and offer food to the *sāvagas* there.¹³²

It is not identifiable

Bhūyatalāya—a tank

Bhūyatalāya was a tank to the north of Bharuyakatcha (See Bharuyakaccha).

Cakkapūra—a city

It is said that the seventh *Titthayara* received his first alms at this place.¹³³

It is not identified.

¹²⁵ *Uttarā cū.* 2, p. 53

¹²⁶ p. 100.

¹²⁷ *G. E. B.*, p. 62, also *P. H. A. I.*, p. 77.

¹²⁸ See *Supra.*, p. 260.

¹²⁹ *Pinda Nir.* I, 15

¹³⁰ *Digha* II, p. 126.

¹³¹ *Suttanipāta*, V, 1 38

¹³² *Āva cū.* II, 291.

¹³³ *Āva. Nir.* 325, also *Vasu.*, p. 219.

Camari—a village.

It is mentioned that Camari was an inaccessible village of the Bhillas, which was situated on the way to Sankhapura from Vārāṇasī.¹³⁴

It is not identifiable.

Campā—a city

Campā was the capital of Anga which was considered among the twenty five and a half Aryan countries. Campā was included first among the ten ancient capitals of India.¹³⁵

Campā is enumerated as a holy place along with the mountain Sam-meya, where salvation could be attained.¹³⁶ It is mentioned as the place of birth and salvation of the twelfth *tutthayara*.¹³⁷ Mahāvīra and his chief disciple Ajja Suhamma are said to have visited Campā frequently,¹³⁸ Campā was also frequented by Gosāla¹³⁹ and Jamālī,¹⁴⁰ Managa was ordained here by his father Sejjambhava.¹⁴¹

A detailed description of Campā and its beautiful shrine Punna-bhadda is given in the *Ovāya*, where Mahāvīra, moving in the company of a large number of monks and nuns, arrived, and the king Kūṇiya with his paraphernalia went on his pilgrimage.¹⁴² It is mentioned that in Campā the first and the tenth sections of the fifth chapter of the *Bhagvatī* were preached by the Teacher,¹⁴³ and *Uvāsagadasāo* and *Antagaḍadasāo*, the seventh and the eighth Angas of the Jain Canon, were explained by Ajja Suhamma to his disciple Jambu.¹⁴⁴

Kūṇiya was a well-known king of Campā, who, after the death of his father, did not like to stay in Rāyagiṭha and shifted his capital to Campā.¹⁴⁵

Campā was noted for commerce, and traders sailed from here to different places for trading purposes. We come across a beautiful description of sea-faring merchants in the *Nāyādhammakahā*.¹⁴⁶ Several merchants such as Mākandī¹⁴⁷, Dhaṇa¹⁴⁸ and Pālitta¹⁴⁹ are mentioned in Campā.

Campā was visited by Buddha several times and it was celebrated for its beautiful lake, Gaggārā. Its actual site is probably two villages Campānagar and Campāpur near Bhagalpur.¹⁵⁰

¹³⁴ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 4, p. 92a.

¹³⁵ See *Supra*.

¹³⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, V, 1, 1227.

¹³⁷ *Āva Nir* 307, 383.

¹³⁸ See e.g. *Bhag.* 5.1; *Āva. cū.*, p. 455; *Āva. Nir.* 476; 523 ff., *Kālpa.* 5.123.

¹³⁹ *Bhag.* 15.

¹⁴⁰ *Āva. cū.*, p. 418.

¹⁴¹ *Das. cū.*, 1, p. 7.

¹⁴² *Sū.* 1, 2, 10.

¹⁴³ *Bhag.*, 5.

¹⁴⁴ *Uvā.* 1, *Anta.*, 1.

¹⁴⁵ See e.g. *Nāyā.*, 1, p. 1; *Dasā.*, 9, p. 310.

¹⁴⁶ 8, p. 97 ff.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 9, p. 121 ff.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 15, p. 158.

¹⁴⁹ *Uttarā. Sū.*, 21, 2.

¹⁵⁰ *G. E. B.*, p. 6.

Caṇaḡapura—a city

It is said that king Jiyasattu was ruling over the city of Khiipaitthiya, when the buildings of the city came to ruin, the architects selected a gram-field abounding in fruits and flowers, where Caṇaḡapura was founded.¹⁵¹

According to the tradition, Caṇaḡapura is another name of Rāyagiha

Caṇayagāma—a village

Caṇayagāma was situated in Golla and was the birthplace of Cāpakya.¹⁵²

Its exact situation is not identifiable.

Candabhāgā—a river

Candabhāgā was one of the five great tributary rivers of Sindhu, others being Sataddu, Vibhāsā, Vitatthā and Erāvati.¹⁵³

According to Buddhist literature, it was eighteen leagues in length and had a rapid current.¹⁵⁴

It is identified with modern Chenab.¹⁵⁵

Candāṇā

It is referred to in the *Niryāvaliyāo*.¹⁵⁶

It is unidentifiable.

Candāṇanā—a city

Candāṇanā is mentioned as a birthplace of the eighth *Tiṭṭhayaṇa*.¹⁵⁷

It is identified with modern Candrāvati, a village near Benares. It was also known as Candramādhava.¹⁵⁸

Cedi—a kingdom

Cedi was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Suttivai as its capital.

It roughly corresponds to modern Bundelkhand and the adjoining region.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵¹ *Āva. cū*, II, p. 158.

¹⁵² *Āva. cū* p. 563; according to the Buddhist tradition, Cāpakya was a resident of Takka-silā (*Mahāvamsa Tikā*, p. 181).

¹⁵³ *Tikā*, 5. 470.

¹⁵⁴ The com. on the *Digha*., III, p. 878.

¹⁵⁵ Law, *Geog.*, p. 88.

¹⁵⁶ 3-7.

¹⁵⁷ *Āva. Nir.* 382.

¹⁵⁸ *Prācīnaśrīhamāllā*, Pt. I, p. 4.

¹⁵⁹ *G. E. B.*, p. 16.

Ceiya—a settlement (sannivesa)

It is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*.¹⁸⁰
Its exact location is unknown.

Chagalapura—a city

It is mentioned in the *Vivāgasūya*.¹⁸¹
It is unidentifiable.

Chammāni.—a village

Mahāvīra is said to have arrived here from Menḍhiyagāma and proceeded to Majjhima Pāvā.¹⁸²
Its exact location is not known.

Chattagāpurī—a village

Chattagā is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka Nirukti*.¹⁸³
It is unidentifiable.

Cittakūda—a mountain

It is said that Sukosala stood here in meditation and was devoured by a tigress.¹⁸⁴ Cittakūda is mentioned along with the mountain Gopālagiri.¹⁸⁵

It is identified with Kamptanāthgiri in Bundelkhand.¹⁸⁶

Corāya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kumāra Sannivesa and proceeded to Pitthīcampā; at another time he is said to have travelled here from Āvattagāma and proceeded to Kalambuka Sannivesa.¹⁸⁷

Perhaps it may be identified with Choreya in Lohardugga district in Bengal.¹⁸⁸

Gullahmavanta—a mountain

This mountain was visited by Vairasāmi, who arrived here from Māhesari.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁰ 442

¹⁸¹ 4, p. 29.

¹⁸² See Supra, p. 260.

¹⁸³ 450.

¹⁸⁴ *Marāṇa* 466.

¹⁸⁵ *Bhag.*, Tī., 7. 6.

¹⁸⁶ *G. E. B.*, p. 40.

¹⁸⁷ See Supra, p. 258.

¹⁸⁸ *Index Geographicus Indicus.*, p. XXV, J. F. Baner, 1881.

¹⁸⁹ *A. a. Tī.* p. 390a.

. It may correspond to the southern slopes of the Himalayan tract.

Daddara—a country

This country was noted for its sandalwood ¹⁷⁰

Dardura was a mountain in the extreme south of India. In the *Mahābhārata* Malaya and Dardura are mentioned as the two highest mountains in the extreme south. ¹⁷¹

Daḍhabhūmi

Daḍhabhūmi was said to be inhabited by many Mlecchas. Mahāvīra arrived here from Sānulatthiyagāma and proceeded to Paḍhālagāma. ¹⁷²

It may be identified with Dalabhum in Singhbhum district in Bengal.

Dakkhiṇa Mahurā—a city

Same as Pāṇḍu Mahurā

Dakkhiṇavācāla

Mahāvīra is stated to have arrived here from Morāga Sannivesa and proceeded to Uttaravācāla. ¹⁷³

Its exact site is not known.

Dakkhiṇāvaha—southern division of India

Dakkhiṇāvaha was a great centre of the Jains and was praised much by the Jain monks. ¹⁷⁴ It is mentioned that there were many houses of the *sāvagas* in this land and the Jain monks were offered plentiful alms. ¹⁷⁵ Dakkhiṇāvaha was visited by Vairasāmī ¹⁷⁶

The people of Dakkhiṇāvaha are characterised as dull. It is said that people from Magadha were very clever and they understood a thing merely by signs, people from Kosala by seeing, people from Pāñcāla by half hearing, and people from Dakkhiṇāvaha understood nothing unless they were told explicitly. ¹⁷⁷ The people from Dakṣiṇāpatha put on dress quite unlike that of Uttarāvaha. ¹⁷⁸ The blacksmiths and wine-

¹⁷⁰ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 98, etc.

¹⁷¹ II 10. 33f.

¹⁷² See Supra., p. 260.

¹⁷³ See Supra., p. 257.

¹⁷⁴ Cf *Bṛh Bhā*, V, 1 2697.

¹⁷⁵ *Nisī Cū*, 15, p. 996.

¹⁷⁶ *Avā Cū*, p. 404.

¹⁷⁷ *Vya Bhā*, 10. 192, cf.

Buddhivrasati pūroṇa dakṣiṇyam dakṣiṇāpahe.

Paśūnyam pascīme dese pāruṣyam cottarāpahe.

(Gilgit MS. of the *Vinaya piṣāka*, I. H. Q., 1938, p. 416).

¹⁷⁸ *Das. Cū*, 1. p. 17.

sellers were despised in this country,¹⁷⁹ and unlike Uttarāvaha one was allowed to marry one's maternal uncle's daughter.¹⁸⁰ It is said that the barley-meal was difficult to get here in summer.¹⁸¹

King Sampai, first of all is said to have conquered Ujjenī, and then the whole of Dakkhināvaha and is said to have brought all neighbouring kings under his subjugation.¹⁸²

It is the tract of land lying to the south of the Ganges and to the north of Godāvarī.¹⁸³

Damila (Dravida)—a country

Damila was counted among the non-Āryan countries Magadha Mālava, Mahārāstra, Lāta, Karmāṭaka, Draviḍa, Gauda, Vīdarbha and other countries are mentioned as places of origin of *desibhāsā* (regional language).¹⁸⁴ It is said that the maid-servants known as Dāmīlī were brought from this country.¹⁸⁵ Dāmīlī was also known as a script (*liṛi*).¹⁸⁶

It is mentioned that it was very difficult to get a shelter for the Jain monks in the country and under such circumstances they were allowed, to stay under a tree.¹⁸⁷ The corn was grown here by the water of tanks,¹⁸⁸ and rice was known as *cōra* in this country.¹⁸⁹ (see also Andha)

The Damilas are identified with the Tamils. Kaveripattana was a sea-port town in the Damila kingdom which is generally identified with the Malabar Coast or Northern Ceylon.¹⁹⁰

Dandakāranna or Kumbhakāraṇḍa—a forest

It is mentioned that Khandaga was ruling over Campā (or according to some, Sāvattthī),¹⁹¹ who gave his sister Purandarasasā to Dandagī, the ruler of Kumbhakārakada in marriage. In course of time Khandaga took to the ascetic life and wandering about, reached Kumbhakārakada, where he was crushed to death by the king's envoy. It is said, after death Khandaga was born among the Agnikumāra gods and burnt the whole city to ashes. This place came to be known as Dandakāranna.¹⁹²

Dandakāranna is identified with the region round about the river Godāvarī in the district of Nasik and adjoining parts of Mahārāstra.¹⁹³

¹⁷⁹ *Nisī Cū*, 16, p. 1117.

¹⁸⁰ *Das Cū*, 1, p. 17.

¹⁸¹ *Brh Bhā Vr*, 1, 2389.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, 1, 3276.

¹⁸³ *G. E. B.*, p. 48.

¹⁸⁴ *Brh Bhā Vr*, 1, 1231.

¹⁸⁵ *Supra*, p. 107.

¹⁸⁶ See *Supra*, p. 176.

¹⁸⁷ *Brh Bhā Vr*, 3, 3749.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 1, 1239.

¹⁸⁹ *Das Cū*, 7, p. 236.

¹⁹⁰ *G. E. B.*, p. 63.

¹⁹¹ Cf. *Brh. Bhā*, 1, 3274, *Uttarā Cū*, p. 73; *Uttarā Tī*, p. 36.

¹⁹² *Nisī Cū*, 16, p. 1113. Also cf. the *Jātaka* (III, No. 463) and the *Rāmāyana* (VII, 81, 10), where Kumbhavatī was destroyed by a shower of sand.

¹⁹³ *P. B. I.*, p. 59.

Dantapura—a city

King Dantavakka is mentioned as the ruler of Dantapura.¹⁹⁴

According to Pali literature, Dantapura was the capital of Kalinga. Various identifications of Dantapura have been put forward. M. Sylvain Lévi identifies it with the Paloura of Ptolemy and places it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.¹⁹⁵

Dasanna—a kingdom

Dasanna is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mattiyāvai as its capital.

Dasārna is identified with Vidiśā or Bhilsa region in Gwalior.¹⁹⁶

Dasannakūḍa or Gayaggapadagiri—a mountain

The mountain Dasannakūḍa was also called Gayaggapadagiri (see Gayaggapadagiri). A description of this mountain is given in the *Āvaśyaka Cūrm*. It was situated to the north-east of Dasannapura and is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.¹⁹⁷

Its exact location is not known.

Dasannapura or Elagacchapura—a city

Dasannapura was a centre of trade and is quoted as an example of *thalapattana*, where goods were carried by land.¹⁹⁸

Dassanapura was also known as Elagacchapura (see Elagacchapura).

Dasapura—a city

It is said that when Uddāyana, taking pajjoya as prisoner, returned to Viibhaya, his army, including the ten kings, was held up by rains, and halted in the middle of the journey where the ten kings, fearing an attack, built mud walls around them for safety. Later on, this place was occupied by some merchants and since then this place came to be known as Dasapura.¹⁹⁹

Ajja Rakkhia was a native of Dasapura and from here he is said to have gone to Pātaliputra for study.²⁰⁰

Dasapura is identified with modern Mandsoor.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁴ *Āva. Nir*, 1275, also see *Suyā.*, I. 6. 22.

¹⁹⁵ *P. B. I.*, p. 401 f.

¹⁹⁶ *G. E. B.*, p. 26.

¹⁹⁷ *Āva. Cū.*, p. 476; *Āva. Tī.*, p. 468.

¹⁹⁸ *Nisī Cū.*, 5, p. 34 (MSS).

¹⁹⁹ *Āva Cū*, p. 400 ff.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 394, 402.

²⁰¹ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 726.

Dhammacakkabhūmikā—a city

Dhammacakkabhūmikā was another name of Takkhasilā (see Takkhasilā)

Dhannakaṭaka

It is said that the thirteenth *Tutthayara* received his first alms at this place.²⁰²

It may be identified with Kupari in the Balasar district in Bengal; it was also known as Kopaka or Kopakaṭaka.²⁰³

Dhannaura—a settlement

Dhannaura was located in the country of Virāṭa.²⁰⁴

Its exact location is not known.

Dilavāliyā

Dilavāliyā was known for its mules (*assatara*).²⁰⁵

It cannot be identified.

Dimbhareḷaka

It is said that the corn was cultivated here by flood in the Mahirāvana.²⁰⁶

Perhaps this place was situated in Koṅkana.²⁰⁷

Dīva—an Island

It is said that Dīva was situated to the south of Surāṭṭha.^{207a} It is quoted as an example of *jalapattana* where goods were carried by boats.²⁰⁸ Dīva and Jona are mentioned as countries known for the cemetery (*matagalera*).²⁰⁹ Dīva was also known for its coin known as *Sābharaṭaka*.²¹⁰

It may be identified with the island of the Arab. The Arabians call their habitat '*Jazīrat al Arab*'—'The Island of the Arab', as it is surrounded by water on three sides and by sand on the fourth.²¹¹

²⁰² *Ācā Vir*, 324

²⁰³ *Prāṇa Jain Smṛti* Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. However, Dhannakaṭaka is identified with Dharanikot in the Krishna or Guntur district in the Madras Presidency; *C. A. G. I.*, p. 737, also see *Bulletin of the Madras Govt. Museum*, Amaraoti sculptures in the Madras Govt. Museum, by C. Sivarama Murti, 1942, p. 4.

²⁰⁴ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 250f

²⁰⁵ *Das cū*, 6, p. 213

²⁰⁶ *Brh. Bhā. Vr*, 1, 1239

²⁰⁷ See *Purāṇa and the Sangraha*, p. 39 where Mallikārguna is called Mahirāvanādhipati.

^{207a} *Brh. R. I.*, 3, 3891f. *Amā cū*, 2, p. 225.

²⁰⁸ *Brh. Bhā.*, Vr. 1.1090.

²⁰⁹ *Ācā cū*, p. 370.

²¹⁰ *Brh. Bhā.*, 3, 3891.

²¹¹ *History of the Arabs*, p. 8, by Filipp Hitti, London, 1937.

Durullakūviya—a village

This village was situated near Bharuyakaccha.²¹²
Its exact location is not identifiable.

Elakacchapura—a city

It was also known as Dasannapura. It is said that a *srāvikā* was given in marriage to a heretic, who used to insult her. As a result of this, it is stated that the eyes of the heretic were plucked off by some divine power. But the *srāvikā* was faithful to her husband, so she stood in meditation and asked for the eyes of her lord to be given back. Thereupon the eyes of the heretic were replaced by the eyes of an immediately killed ram (*eḍaga*). Then the people began to call the heretic by the name of Eḍakaccha (having the eyes of a ram) and since then Dasannapura came to be known as Elakacchapura.²¹³

This town was situated on the bank of the river Vatthagā.²¹⁴ Elakaccha is said to have been visited by Mahāgiri.²¹⁵ Erakaccha is mentioned in Pali literature.²¹⁶

It may be identified with Eracha in Tahsil Moth, district Jhansi, which is situated on the right bank of Betwa.²¹⁷

(1) *Erāvai—a river*

Erāvai was one of the five great tributaries of the Sindhu.²¹⁸
It is same as the river Ravi in the Punjab.

(2) *Erāvai—a river*

This Erāvai lay near the town of Kunālā where it flowed half a *yojana* in extent. The water of this river was knee-deep and could be crossed easily by keeping one foot in water and another in air. Some places of Erāvai were dry and the Jain monks were allowed to go begging alms after crossing this river.²¹⁹

The *Vasudevahinī* mentions a forest Bhūyarayana on the bank of Erāvai.²²⁰

Erāvai is identified with Acirāvati, the river Rapti in Oudh, on which the town of Sāvattī was situated.²²¹

Gāmāya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Vesālī and proceeded to Sālisīsayagāma.²²²

Its exact location is not known.

²¹² *Āva. Nr. Dīpikā*, 1274

²¹³ *Āva cū.*, II, p. 156 f.

²¹⁴ *Peṭavatthu* 2.7.

²¹⁵ *Dist. Gaz. of Jhansi*. Vol. XXIV, p. 254 ff.

²¹⁶ See Supra, p. 276.

²¹⁷ *Kaṭha Sū.*, 9.12, *Bṛh. Sū.*, 4.33; *Bṛh. Bhā* 4.5639, 5653; cf. *Anguttara* IV, p. 101.

²¹⁸ p. 323.

²¹⁹ *G. E. B.*, p. 35 f.

²¹⁴ *Āva cū.*, p. 226, also see *Gacchā* p. 81 f.

²¹⁵ *Āva Nr.* 1278.

²²² See Supra, p. 259.

Gandai—a river

Gandai flowed between Vesāli and Vāṇiyagāma. Mahāvira is stated to have crossed this river while going to Vāṇiyagāma from Vesāli.²²³

The rivers Bānagangā and Gandai are mentioned in the *Vividhatīrthakalpa* entering into Mithilā.²²⁴

It is identified with the river Gandak in the district of Muzaffarpur.²²⁵

Gandhāra—a kingdom

The kingdom of Gandhāra is mentioned at several places in Jain texts. It is said that a layman (*sāvaga*) journeyed from Gandhāra to Vibhaya to pay reverence to the sandalwood idol of Mahāvira which was in possession of king Udāyana.²²⁶

Puskarāvati and Taksasilā were two capital cities of Gandhāra. It comprised the districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi in the northern Punjab.²²⁷

Gaṅgā—a river

The Gaṅgā is counted among the five great rivers.²²⁸

It is stated that Bharata built the shrines of the *Arhats* on the mountain Atthāvaya. To protect these shrines Janhukumāra, the eldest son of Sagara, made a moat around the mountain and filled it with water of the Ganges, and hence the Ganges came to be known as Janhuvī. But it is said that this water filled the dwellings of the Nāgas, and the Nāga kings blazing with anger burnt the sons of Sagara to death. Later on, Bhagīratha, the son of Janhukumāra removed this water and hence the Ganges came to be known as Bhagīrathī.²²⁹

Gaṅgāmāndira—a mountain

It is said that Janhukumāra practised penance on this mountain. He is said to have reached Hatthināpura from here by air.²³⁰

It is not identified.

²²³ See Supra, p. 260.

²²⁴ p. 32

²²⁵ *G. D.*, p. 60

²²⁶ *Āva Cū*, p. 399 ff

²²⁷ *G. D.*, p. 60f

²²⁸ *Thā* 5.470, *Brh sū* 4.32. Also see *Vinaya*, II, p. 237.

²²⁹ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 234af. For the Hindu tradition see *Rāmāyaṇa*, II. 50.12 ff; Dey, *op cit* p. 79, Paṅgitar's *A I H T*, p. 273 n.

²³⁰ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 248 af. Also cf. *Vasu*, p. 129, *Vividha*, p. 43.

Gaṅgapura—a city

- This city is referred to in the *Vivāgasūya*.²³¹

It is not identified. However, one Gangapur town is mentioned in the Gonda district.²³²

Gaṅgāsāyara—a holy place

It is said that when the water of the Ganges was removed from the dwellings of the Nāgas, the Ganges was taken back to the eastern ocean and since then this confluence was known as Gaṅgāsāyaratittha.²³³

It is same as Sāgara sangama, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III·115) It is a celebrated place of pilgrimage near the mouth of the Ganges.²³⁴

Gauda—a country

The country of Gauda was known for its silk-garments (*dukūla*)²³⁵ The whole of Bengal was denominated eastern Gauda from its capital of the same name, the ruins of which lie near Malda at a distance of about ten miles.²³⁶

Gayaggapadagiri—a mountain

Gayaggapadagiri was another name of Dasannakūda, situated in Dasannapura. This mountain was visited by Mahāvira when king Dasannabhadda set out on his elephant to pay him reverence. At this time it is said that the elephant stood on his forefeet and by a superhuman power, its feet touched the mountain and left imprints. The king having noticed this wonder renounced the world and since then this mountain came to be known as Gayaggapadagiri. Mahāgiri is said to have practised penance on this mountain.²³⁷

This mountain is also known as Indapada and was surrounded by villages on all six sides.²³⁸ (see also Ahicchattā; Elakacchapura)

Gayapura—a city

Gayapura was the metropolis of Kuru which is counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is another name of Hattināpura. (see Hatthināpura). Gayapura was the birthplace of the sixteenth, seventeenth and the eighteenth *Tulthayaras*.²³⁹

²³¹ 9, p. 56.

²³² See *Imp. Gaz.* under "Gangapur"; *Dist. Gaz. Gonda* Vol. XLIV, 1905, p. 251.

²³³ *Uttarā Tī* 18, p. 235a.

²³⁴ *G. D.* p. 171.

²³⁵ *Ācā Tī* II, p. 361a, *Vya. Bhā.* 7·32.

²³⁶ *G. D.*, p. 63. Also see *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 12ff.

²³⁷ *Ācā Nir. Dipikā*, 1278; *Āva. Tī.* p. 468.

²³⁸ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 3 4841.

²³⁹ *Āva. Nir.* 383.

Girimuha—a mountain

Girimuha was situated on the bank of the river Vatthagā which flowed between Kosambī and Ujjeṇī.²⁴⁰ (see also Vatthagā).

Its exact location is not known.

Girinayara—a city

This town was located near the mountain Ujjenta and hence was called Girinagara.²⁴¹

Girinagara or Gīrinār is identified with modern Junagadh, which lay near the mountain Ujjayanta.²⁴² It is also called Raivatāka

Giriphulliya—a city

Giriphulliya is mentioned in the *Pinda Nirukti*.²⁴³

It is not identifiable

(1) *Gobbaragāma—a village*

Gobbaragāma was located in Magadha between Rāyagiha and Campā.²⁴⁴ It was frequented by Mahāvīra.²⁴⁵

Its exact situation is not known.

(2) *Gobbaragāma—a village*

This village was situated near the city of Vaidisa.²⁴⁶

Its exact situation is not known

Gobhūmi

It was so called because the cows used to graze here. This place was frequented by Mahāvīra who arrived here from Unnāya and proceeded to Rāyagiha.²⁴⁷ Paśubhūmi is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā. 27.8) and may be identified with Gomoh

Golla—a country

The country of Golla is referred to in Jain texts in several places. It is said that the month of *caitra* was very cold in this country and hence the Jain monks were allowed to wear two garments, one under and one

²⁴⁰ *Āva Nir* 1282

²⁴¹ *Anu sū* 130, p. 137, also *Ācā. cū* pp. 339, 359

²⁴² *G E B*, p. 58.

²⁴³ 461, p. 133

²⁴⁴ *Āva. cū.*, p. 297, *Āva. Nir* 644.

²⁴⁵ *Āva cū*, p. 469.

²⁴⁶ *Bṛh Bhā.* 6 6096.

²⁴⁷ See *Supra*, p. 259; *Āva. Tī.* p. 284a.

upper.²⁴⁸ The murder of any human being was as much condemned here as the slaying of a Brāhmana.²⁴⁹ A concoction was prepared in this country from dried mango-chips and was used as a drink *Virālyā*, a vegetable root, was known here as *vallī*,²⁵⁰ and *pālaga* as *sāga*.²⁵¹ Golla was also noted for *ankakarelyā* and other vegetables.²⁵²

It may be identified with Goli situated on the Gallaru, a tributary of the river Kistna in Guntur district. This was an important place in ancient India and here the inscriptions of the Ikṣvākus were recently discovered.²⁵³ The mention of Golla and Golālcārya in the Sravanabelagoḷā inscriptions also testifies that this country was situated in South.²⁵⁴

Gopālagiri—a mountain

This mountain is mentioned along with Citrakūta (see Citrakūta). The *Caturvimsatīprabandha* mentions one Gopālgiri in Kānyakubja.²⁵⁵ It is not identifiable.

Goragiri—a mountain

Under the spring of this mountain an idol of Siva is mentioned.²⁵⁶ Goratha Hill is a small isolated hill about five or six miles to the west of the valley of old Rājagṛha.²⁵⁷

Goyāvarī—a river

Paitthāna was situated on the bank of this river.²⁵⁸

Godāvarī is considered to be one of the holiest rivers in Southern India and had its source in Brahmagiri, situated on the side of a village called Tryambak which is twenty miles from Nasik.²⁵⁹

Guḍasatthanayara—a city

This city is referred to in the *Āvasyaka Cūṛṇī*.²⁶⁰

This city was situated not far from Broach.²⁶¹

²⁴⁸ *Ācā cū* p. 274.

²⁴⁹ *Sūya. cū* p. 357.

²⁵⁰ *Ācā. cū*, p. 340.

²⁵¹ *Brh. Bhā. Viśeṣa cūṛṇī*, 1 2094.

²⁵² *Ācā cū*, p. 341.

²⁵³ *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*, Vol. I, pt I p. 1, by T. N. Ramchandran.

²⁵⁴ *Jain Śilālekha Sangraha* pp 26, 59, 73 etc., Bombay, 1928, by Prof. Hiralal.

²⁵⁵ 9, p. 57.

²⁵⁶ *Nisī cū*, p. 18 (MSS).

²⁵⁷ *G. D.*, p. 71.

²⁵⁸ *Brh. Bhā.* 6 6244 ff.

²⁵⁹ *G. E. B.*, p. 67.

²⁶⁰ p. 542.

²⁶¹ *Prabhāvakacarita*, p. 34.

Guttha

In *guttha* (cow-pen) Cāṇakya is said to have been burnt to death by Subandhu.²⁶²

According to the *Brhatkathākośa*, this cow-pen was situated in Mahākrauñcapura which lay to the west of the forest, Dakṣiṇāpatha.²⁶³

Its exact location is not known.

Hāladāma (°)

Hāladāma is mentioned as a land of heat (*ālavaṇabhūmi*).²⁶⁴

Hala is a town in the Hyderabad district, Sind.²⁶⁵ Are they identical?

Halidduga or *Haledduyā*—a village

Mahāvīra arrived here from Sāvattī and proceeded to Naṅgalā.²⁶⁶

Its exact situation is not known.

Hatthidūra or *Hatthijāma*—a forest

This forest was located to the north-west of Sesadaviyā, a water-shed, which lay to the north-west of Nālandā. Lord Goyama is stated to have composed here a chapter known as Nālandaijja.²⁶⁷

Its exact location is not known.

Hatthikappa or *Hatthakappa*—a city

This town was visited by five Pāṇḍavas.²⁶⁸ Another reference to Hatthikappa is made in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyayana*. When Bāravaī was burnt Rāma and Kaṇha passed through Surattha and reached the outskirts of Hatthikappa.²⁶⁹

Hatthakappa is identified with Hāthab near Bhavnagar in Gujerat. In the Vallabhi Grants (550 A.D.) of Dharmasena I, it is called Hastavapra. Devaviyaya in his *Pāṇḍavacarita* mentions that the mountain Raivataka was at a distance of twelve *yojanas* from Hastikalpa.²⁷⁰

Hatthināura—a city

Hatthināura was situated in Kuru or Kurujāṅgala and was included among the ten metropolises of ancient India.

²⁶² Bhatta, 162, p. 30

²⁶³ 143. 75f.

²⁶⁴ *Ācā eū*, p. 317

²⁶⁵ *Sind Gazetteer*, p. 506.

²⁶⁶ See Supra, p. 258.

²⁶⁷ *Sūya Sū* II., 7-70, *Thā. Ti* 9-3, p. 433a.

²⁶⁸ *Nāyā*, 16, p. 199 f.

²⁶⁹ 2, p. 39 a

²⁷⁰ *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Mc Crindle, Cal., 1927, p. 150; also Bechardas, *Bhag. ān. Mahāvīra nī Dharmakathā*, p. 244.

It is said that Usabha received his first alms in Hatthināura.²⁷¹ Hatthināpura was frequented by Mahāvīra, who is said to have ordained king Siva²⁷² here (see also Gayaura).

It is identified with an old town in Mawana Tahsil in Meerut.²⁷³

Hatthisīsa—a city

Hatthisīsa was a centre of trade and a number of sea-going merchants of this town are mentioned to have started for Kāliyadīva for trade.²⁷⁴ This town was visited by Mahāvīra, who arrived here from Malaya and proceeded to Tosali.²⁷⁵

Its exact situation is not known

Hemapura—a city

The city was known for the celebration of the festival of Indra.²⁷⁶ Its situation is unknown.

Himavanta—a mountain

It is mentioned as an abode of the sage, Phalāhāra.²⁷⁷

Himavanta is mentioned as *pabbatarāja* in Pālī literature. The *Milinda-pañha* (p. 111) states that five hundred rivers issued forth from the Himavanta. It is the famous range of mountains to the north of India so frequently mentioned in Indian literature.

Himavantakūḍa

It is said that king Pavvaya was ruling at this place.²⁷⁸

Its exact location is unknown.

Hindugadesa—India

It is stated that Kālaka ācārya proceeded to Pārasakūla from Hindugadesa and returned with ninety six kings.²⁷⁹ This country is identified with India.

Ikkhāgabdhūmi—a city

Ikkhāgabdhūmi was another name of Ayodhyā. It was the birthplace of the first *Tiṭṭhaya*.²⁸⁰

²⁷¹ *Āva. Nir.* 323.

²⁷² *Bhag.* 11.9, *Thā. Ti.* 8.621. Also *Thā.* 9.691.

²⁷³ *G.A.G.I.* p. 702.

²⁷⁴ *Nāyā* 17, p. 201.

²⁷⁵ See *Supra*, p. 280.

²⁷⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4.5153.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Pl. 786.

²⁷⁸ *Uttarā. Ti.* 3, p. 57 a.

²⁷⁹ *Asi.*, cā. 10, p. 571 f, *Vya. Bhā.* 10.5, p. 94.

²⁸⁰ *Āva. Nir.* 382.

Ilāvaddha—a city

Ilāvaddha was situated on the bank of the *Bennā*.²⁸¹

However, in the *Varahachintā*, Ilāvaddha is said to have been situated in Tāmalakū on the bank of the Ganges.²⁸²

Ilā—a country

It is said that this country was visited by Usabha (see *Aḍamba*).

It may be the same as *Allaka* of the Buddhists in the district of Aurangabad in the Hyderabad State.²⁸³

Indapura—a city

King Indadanta was the ruler of this city.²⁸⁴

Indapura may be identified with Indore, 8 miles from Anupshahar in the district of Bulandshahar.²⁸⁵

Isitalāga—a tank

This tank was situated in Selapura in the country of Tosali. This is said to have been built by Isivāla, a *śāmanvara* god.²⁸⁶ It is said that people celebrated here a feast for eight days.²⁸⁷

Isitāla? Isivāla is referred to in the *Hāthigumphā* Inscriptions of Khāravela.²⁸⁸

Jambhigāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvira travelled here from Campā and proceeded to Megdhiyagāma; at another time the Teacher arrived here from Majjhima Pāvī and attained Arhat-hood under the sāla tree on the northern bank of the river Ujjunlikā.²⁸⁹

Muni Kalvan Vyasa identifies it with Jambhigaon near the river Damodar in the Hazaribagh district.²⁹⁰ but it must be located somewhere near modern Pāvāpurī to the east of Bihar town in Bihar.

²⁸¹ *Āc. cū.*, p. 454

²⁸² *PP* 218, 357

²⁸³ *Buddhacaryā*, p. 373

²⁸⁴ *Vi. ā. 10*, p. 57. *Āc. Nir* 1286.

²⁸⁵ According to the *Var.*, p. 237/, Kannakujja was another name of Indapura; cf. *Bṛhatkathāśruti* 59-76 ff., cf. also *Āc. cū.* II, p. 193 where Indapura is given another name for Mahurā

²⁸⁶ *Bṛ. Bhā.* 3, 4223

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* 1, 3156

²⁸⁸ Prof. B. M. Barua's article "Hāthigumphā Inscriptions of Khāravela," p. 474 ff. *J. H. Q.*, 1935. The word *Isitāla tadāga* is wrongly translated by scholars.

²⁸⁹ See *Supra*, p. 211.

²⁹⁰ *S. B. M.* pp. 370, 357.

Jambusaṇḍa—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kadalisaṁgama and proceeded to Tambāya.²⁹¹

Its location is unknown.

Jaṅgala or Kurujāṅgala—a kingdom

This country was counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Ahicchattā as its metropolis (see Ahicchattā).

Kurujāṅgala was the eastern part of the territory of the Kurus and appears to have comprised the tract between the Ganges and the north Pañcāla.²⁹²

Jaunā—a river

Jaunā was one of the five great rivers, and a tributary of the Ganges.²⁹³

It is the modern Jumna, having its source in the Bhandarpuccha range in the Himalayas.²⁹⁴

Jaunānāidīva—an island

It is mentioned that the sage Pārāsara lived here in a hermitage located outside Soriyanagara.²⁹⁵ Yamunādvīpa is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 64.27).

Its exact location is unknown.

Jaunāvāṅka—a city

Jaunāvāṅka is referred to in the *saṁthara*.²⁹⁶ However, in the *Āvasyaka Nirvyukti* Jaunāvāṅka is described as a garden of Mahurā. This garden was so called because it was curved (*vāṅka*) by the water of the Jaunā.²⁹⁷

Javana, Jona or Yavana—a country

Javana was counted among the non-Āryan countries. The maid-servants known as Javanīs were brought from here. Javana is described as a beautiful land and a treasure-house of excellent gems, gold and jewels.²⁹⁸ After crossing the river Sindhu, Bharata is said to have visited this country (see also Āṅga; Adamba; Dīva).

According to the *Mahāvamsa* (xxix.39), its chief city was Alasanda, identified with Alexandria near Kabul.²⁹⁹

²⁹¹ See Supra, p. 258.

²⁹² Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 393.

²⁹³ See Supra, p. 264.

²⁹⁴ *G D*, p. 215.

²⁹⁵ *Uttarā. Tī*, 2, p. 36a.

²⁹⁶ 61, p. 56 a.

²⁹⁷ 1277, cf also *Bhagavati Ārādhanā* 1554; *Bṛhatkathākośa*, 141.45 f.

²⁹⁸ *Āva. cū*, p. 191.

²⁹⁹ *C.A.G.I.*, p. 693 f; *G E.B.* p. 54.

Jīṇapūra—a city

It was situated near Rāyagiha.³⁰⁰
Its exact location is not known.

Kaccha—a country

Kaccha is described as a plain and beautiful land which was conquered by Bharata (see Aṅga). In Kaccha the Jain monks were allowed to stay along with the householders.³⁰¹

It is identified with modern Cutch.³⁰²

Kāṭṭāra

Kāṭṭāra was known for its ancient shrines.³⁰³
Its situation is unknown.

Kākandī, K'gandī or Ākandī—a city

Kākandī was the birthplace of the ninth *Tīṭhaya*.³⁰⁴ Mahāvīra is said to have visited this place.³⁰⁵ The *Bhagvatī* mentions thirty three *samaṇa* living in Kākandī.³⁰⁶ Kākandiyā is described as a *sūkhā* of the Jain *śramaṇas* in the *Kālpasūtra*.³⁰⁷

Kākandī is identified with Kākan in the Monghyr district.³⁰⁸

Kalamāṭa Sannivesa—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Corāya Sannivesa and proceeded to Lālha.³⁰⁹

Its location cannot be identified.

Kālañjara—a mountain

This mountain was located between the Ganges and the Viñjha mountains.³¹⁰ Kālañjara is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 83-56).

It is identified with Kalinjar, a celebrated hill fort in the Banda district, Bundelkhand.³¹¹

³⁰⁰ *Ācā cū*, p. 465.

³⁰¹ *Bṛh Bhā* I 1239, *Vissarūri*.

³⁰² *G. D.*, p. 82.

³⁰³ *Ācā cū*, p. 374.

³⁰⁴ *Ācā Nir* 362.

³⁰⁵ *Avatara*, p. 61; *Anta*, p. 39.

³⁰⁶ 10-4.

³⁰⁷ 8, p. 231. Also *Sam*, 76, p. 57a.

³⁰⁸ Rahul Sankrityayana, *Bhārtiya Vidyā*, p. 8, July, 1944.

³⁰⁹ See *Supra*, p. 258.

³¹⁰ *Ācā cū*, p. 461, *Uttarā Tī*, 13, p. 185.

³¹¹ *G. D.*, p. 84.

Kālaya—a settlement

Kālaya Sannivesa was situated near Vāṇiyagāma to its north-east.⁸¹² Mahāvira arrived here from Campā and proceeded to Pattakālaya.⁸¹³ Its exact location is not known.

Kalinga—a kingdom

Kalinga is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Kañcanapura as its metropolis. Kalinga is mentioned with Draviḍa and Vanga.⁸¹⁴

In the Hāthigumphā Inscriptions we are told that king Khāravela brought back to his realm from Anga-Magadha the throne of Jina which had been carried from Kalinga by king Nanda. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the ancient Kalinga seems to have comprised modern Orissa to the south of Vaitarani and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapattam, and its capital was Rājapura.⁸¹⁵

Kāliyaḍīva—an island

Kāliyaḍīva was noted for its horses (see Hatthisīsa). It is not identified.

Kamboja—a country

Kamboja was a non-Āryan country and was noted for its fine horses which excelled all other horses in speed, and no noise could frighten them.⁸¹⁶

In the commentary on the *Petavatthu* (p 113), Dvārakā or Darwaz occurs with Kamboja. Kamboja is identified with the Badakshān and the Ghālchā speaking part of the Pamir, a territory to the north of Kash-

Kāmyāsara—a lake

It is stated that at the bank of this lake there stood a wonderful tree known as vañjularukkha.⁸¹⁷

Kāmyakavana is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 5·3); it was situated in Kurukshetra.⁸¹⁸

⁸¹² *Āva. Tī*, p. 456.

⁸¹³ See *Supra*, p. 258.

⁸¹⁴ *Jambu Tī*, 20, p. 107.

⁸¹⁵ *G. E. B.*, p. 64.

⁸¹⁶ *Uttarā Sū*, 11 16, *Rāya. Sū* 160. Also see *Mahābhā*, VI., 90·3; VII, 23 24; *com.* on the *Digh*, I, p. 124.

⁸¹⁷ Jayachand Vidyalankar, *Blarat Bhūmī aur uske Nivāsi*, Agra, V S, 1987, p. 300, also Dr Motichand's article on Geographical and Economic Studies in the *Mahābhārata*, *J. U P S.*, Vol XVI, part II, pp. 38 ff.

⁸¹⁸ *Anu. Tī.*, Haribhadra, p. 11, also see *Mārkaṇḍeya*, p. 28.

⁸¹⁹ *G. D.*, p. 88.

Kaṃṇillapura—a city

Kaṃṇillapura is included among the ten metropolises of India. It was a capital city of Pañcāla.

Kaṃṇillapura lay on the bank of the Ganges³²⁰ and was the birth-place of the thirteenth *Tiṭṭhaya*.³²¹ Kaṃṇillapura is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra³²² as well as the mendicant Ammaḍa.³²³ The *sayamvara* of Dovaī was held in this city.³²⁴

According to the *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*, the capital of Uttara Pañcāla was Kaṃṇillapura, where king Dummuha ruled. It is identified with modern Kampil in the Farukhabad district.³²⁵

Kaṇayagiri—a mountain

This mountain was situated in Pukkaradīva,³²⁶ a mythical region. It is not identified.

Kaṇagapura—a city

It is said that this city was visited by Mahāvīra.³²⁷ Its location is not identified.

Kānanadīva—an island

Kānanadīva is quoted as an example of *jalapattana* where goods were carried by water.³²⁸ Paddy was cultivated here on boats.³²⁹ It is not identified.

Kaṇṇanapura—a city

Kaṇṇanapura was the metropolis of Kālīṅga which was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Kaṇṇanapura is referred to in the *Ogha Niryukti Bhāṣya*.³³⁰

The *Vasudevahindī* refers to some merchants of Kaṇṇanapur who returned from Lankādvīpa with jewels.³³¹

Kaṇṇanapura is identified with modern Bhuvaneshwar.³³²

³²⁰ *Ovā. sū*, 39.

³²¹ *Avā. Nir.* 383.

³²² *Uvā.*, 6, p. 43.

³²³ *Ovā. Sū*, 40.

³²⁴ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 178.

³²⁵ *G.E.B.*, p. 18.

³²⁶ *Uttarā. Tī*, p. 286 a.

³²⁷ *Vivā. II*, 6, p. 64-1.

³²⁸ *Ācā. cū*, p. 281.

³²⁹ *Bṛh. Bhā. Vṛ.* 1.1239.

³³⁰ 30, p. 20 a.

³³¹ p. 111

³³² *S.B.M.*, p. 361. See also *P. H. A. I.*, p. 75.

Kāñcīpurī—a city

Kāñcīpurī was located in Draviḍa.⁸³³
It is same as Canjeevaram on the Palar river.⁸³⁴

Kaṇḍacchariū—a village

This village is mentioned in the *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya*.⁸³⁵
It is not identified.

Kaṇhā—a river

This river flowed in the country of Ābhīra (see Acalapura)
The rivers Kanhā and Beṇṇā are identified with Kanhan and Wain that unite in the district of Bhandara, and the united stream comes down to meet the Wardha in the district of Chandan.⁸³⁶

Kannakujja—a city

Kannakujja is mentioned as another name of Indapura. (see Indapura). Kānyakubja was also known as Gādhīpura, Mahodaya, Kusasthala.⁸³⁷

It is same as Kanauj situated on the west bank of the Kālindī.⁸³⁸

Karṇāṭaka—a country

Karṇāṭaka is referred to along with the countries of Lāta, Damila, etc. (See Damila).

Karṇāṭa deṣa included Mysore, Coorg and part of the ceded districts. The kingdom of Vijayanagar was also called Karṇāṭa.⁸³⁹

Kaseru—a river

It was a well-known river but its peculiar feature was that it never contained water.⁸⁴⁰

Its situation cannot be known.

Kāśī—a kingdom

Kāśī is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Vārāṇasī as its capital. Kāśī is also included among the sixteen

⁸³³ *Bṛh. Bhā.*, 3. 3892.

⁸³⁴ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 628.

⁸³⁵ 7. 154.

⁸³⁶ *P. B. I.*, p. 378.

⁸³⁷ *Abhidhāna*, IV, 39, 40.

⁸³⁸ *G. D.*, p. 89.

⁸³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁸⁴⁰ *Vya. Bhā. Ṭī.*, 3. 58.

Janapadas. The kingdom of Kāśī and Kosala were known for their eighteen confederate kings ³⁴¹

It is identified with the Benares missionary. ³⁴²

Kāya or Kāka—a country

Kāka is mentioned as among the non Āryan countries. It was noted for its variety of cloth ³⁴³

The Kākas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, where they are associated with the Vīdarbhas, who are a well-known people occupying tracts of territory what is now known as the Central Provinces. The territory of the Kākas is sometimes identified with Kākapur near Bithur, while Smith suggests an identification with Kākanāda near Sanci. ³⁴⁴

Kayāsamāgama or Kayāligāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Bhaddiyā and proceeded to Jambusandā. ³⁴⁵

Its exact location is not known

Kayambarī—a cave

It is mentioned that this cave was located on the outskirts of the city of Bāravaī ³⁴⁶

Kayangalā—a city

Kayangalā was visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have arrived from Pitthhicampā and proceeded to Sāvattī ³⁴⁷

Kajangala or Kayangala is identified with Kankajol in Santhal Pargana in Bihar. ³⁴⁸

Kekaya—a kingdom

One half of this country was considered among the non-Āryan countries. Probably a portion of this country did not come under the influence of Jainism and hence it was counted among the non-Āryan countries. This Kekaya was situated at the base of Nepal, to the north-east of Srāvastī, and is different from Kekaya in the North. ³⁴⁹

³⁴¹ *Niryā* 1

³⁴² *Maṅghma*, p. 275, Rahul Sankrityayan

³⁴³ *Nisī Cū*, 7, p. 467

³⁴⁴ Law, *Tribes*, etc., p. 356

³⁴⁵ See *Supra*, p. 258

³⁴⁶ *Uttarā Tī*, 2, p. 37 a.

³⁴⁷ See *Supra*, p. 258, see also *Bhag* 2-1.

³⁴⁸ *Vinayaśūlaka*, p. 213 n, Rahul Sankrityayan.

³⁴⁹ *S M B*, p. 364.

Ketāya—a city

It is mentioned in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga cūrṇi*.⁸⁵⁰
Its location cannot be known.

Keyaiaddha—a kingdom

Half of this kingdom was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Seyaviyā as its capital.⁸⁵¹
(See supra, p 256 for identification).

Keyāra—a holy place

Keyāra is mentioned as an unholy place in Jain literature.⁸⁵² Kedāra is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata* (III 81·72). Kedāra is identified with Kedārñāth situated on the southern side of the junction of the Mandākinī and the Dūdhagangā, in the district of Garhwal, United Provinces.⁸⁵³

Khabbada

Khabbaḍiyā or Dāsī Khabbadiyā is mentioned as a *sākhā* of the Jain *śramaṇas* in the *Kalpasūtra*.⁸⁵⁴

Khabbadiyā may be associated with Kharvata in western Bengal.⁸⁵⁵

Khaṇagiri (?Khandagiri)—a mountain

This mountain was known for its caves (*lena*).⁸⁵⁶

It may be identified with well-known Khandgiri Hill in the Puri district in Orissa.

Khaṇḍappavāya—a cave

This cave is said to have been located in Veyaddha. It is said that the universal king Sanakkumāra conquered Magaha, Varadāma, Pabhāsa, Sindhu, Khaṇḍappavāya and other places, and thus gaining victory over the whole of Bharaha, returned to Gayapura.⁸⁵⁷

It is not identified

Khattiyakundaggāma or Kundapura—a town

Kundaggāma or Kundapura had two divisions viz. Khattiyakundaggāma and Māhanakundaggāma; one was ruled over by Khattiyas

⁸⁵⁰ p 414

⁸⁵¹ See *Rāya*, sū 142, p 273

⁸⁵² *Nisī cū*, 11 p 685

⁸⁵³ *G D*, p 97 f

⁸⁵⁴ 8, p 227 a

⁸⁵⁵ R C Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol I, Dacca, 1943, p 410 n, also Prabodh Chandra Sen, *I H Q*, Vol VIII, pp 530 ff, also Pramode Lal Paul, *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p 525

⁸⁵⁶ *Ācā cū*, p 350

⁸⁵⁷ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 240, also see *T. S. P.* p. 174.

and the other by Māhanas. Kuṇḍapura was the birthplace of Mahāvīra³⁵⁸ He took to the ascetic life in the garden of Nāyasaṇḍa and proceeded to Kumāragāma

It is identified with modern Basukund which was a suburb of ancient Vaiśālī³⁵⁹

Kheḍatthāma or Kheḍagatthāma—a city

It is said that this town was located on the bank of the Ullugā, on the other bank was Ullugātira³⁶⁰

Its situation is not identified.

(1) *Khūpaithiya—a city*

Khūpaithiya is said to have been situated in Avaravideha ; a merchant of this town left for Vasantapura for trade.³⁶¹ It is said that Khūpaithiya was visited by Karakandu, Dummuha, Nami and Naggai, the four *Pratyekabuddhas*.³⁶²

It is a mythical region.

(2) *Khūpaithiya—a city*

During the reign of king Jiyasattu, the town is said to have been raided by the *mlecchas* It is mentioned that when the buildings of Khūpaithiya were in ruins, Canagapura was founded in its place.³⁶³ (see also Canagapura) According to another tradition, it was another name for Poyanapura³⁶⁴

Kīraddaga—a country

Kīraddaga is mentioned along with Marahatta, Damila, Kuḍukka, Golla and Sindhu³⁶⁵

Kīrī is mentioned as a script in the *Visesāvasyaka Bhāṣya* (5.464).

The *Bṛhatsamhitā*³⁶⁶ also refers to Kīra which is identified with the Kangra district in the Punjab by Pandit Jayachand Vidyalankar.³⁶⁷

Kikkindhapura—a city

It is mentioned in the commentary of the *Pañhavāgarāṇa*.³⁶⁸

³⁵⁸ *Āva cū*, p. 243, *Āva Nir* 384, also *Bhag* 9. 33.

³⁵⁹ *G D*, p. 107, Also see *Pracīna tīrthamālā*, Pt. I, Intro., p. 24.

³⁶⁰ *Uttarā Tī* 3, p. 71 a

³⁶¹ *Āva cū*, p. 131

³⁶² *Uttarā cū*, 9 p. 179

³⁶³ *Pinda Nir Tī* 80, p. 30; *Āta Nir*. 1318; *Āva cū*, II, p. 168; *Gacch. vr.* p. 115 a.

³⁶⁴ *Āva cū*, p. 453, *T S P*, p. 7, *Vasu.*, p. 20.

³⁶⁵ *Nisī cū*, II, 681.

³⁶⁶ 14. 29

³⁶⁷ *Bhāṭat Bhūmī*, p. 347

³⁶⁸ 4, p. 88 a. Also see *Rāmāyaṇa*, IV. 9 ff.

Kiskindhā is identified with Khukhundo, twenty five *kos* to the east of Gorakhpur.⁸⁶⁹

Koccha—a kingdom

It is mentioned as one of the sixteen *Janapadas* in the *Bhagavatī*.

It may be identified with Kausikī Kaccha to the east of the river Kausikī, in Purnea district.⁸⁷⁰

Koṣṭhinna or Kuṇḍini—a city

It is said that king Rупpi ruled at this place.⁸⁷¹

This town was located in Vīdarbha.⁸⁷²

It is identified with modern Kaudinyapur on the banks of the Wardha in the Chandur Tāluka of Amraoti.⁸⁷³

Koṣṭivarisa—a city

Koṣṭivarisa was the metropolis of Lādha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. King Cīlāya of this place is said to have joined the ascetic order under Mahāvīra in Sāketa.⁸⁷⁴ Koṣṭivarisiyā is mentioned as one of the *sākhās* of the Jain *sramanas* in the *Kalpāsūtra*.⁸⁷⁵

Koṭivarsa is mentioned in the Gupta inscriptions. It is identified with Bangarh, a village about eighteen miles in Dinajpur district.⁸⁷⁶

Kollāgpura or Kollaira—a city

It is said that this town was visited by a famine.⁸⁷⁷ Kullaira is mentioned in the *Maranasamāhi*.⁸⁷⁸ (Compare also Kullaura).

This town is described in the *Vasudevahindī*.⁸⁷⁹ There was a water shelter (*pavā*) at this place where food and drink was distributed free. The city had a row of palaces and was surrounded by walls.⁸⁸⁰

It may be identified with Kullapākapura or Kulpāk near Secunderabad in the Nizam State.

(1) *Kollāka or Kollāyagāma—a settlement*

Kollāka Sannivesa was located to the north-east of Vāṇiyagāma.⁸⁸¹

869 *District Gaz. of Gorakhpur*, p. 266 f

870 *G D*, p. 97

871 *Nāyā* 16, p. 178; *Panha Tī*, 4, p. 87 a.

872 *Vasu*, p. 80.

873 *P H A I*, p. 74

874 *Āva Nir.* 1305.

875 8, p. 227 a

876 R C Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, Vol I p. 9

877 *Pinda. Nir*, 427, p. 125; *Āva. cū.*, II, p. 35.

878 p. 491.

879 p. 355.

880 *Ibid.*, p. 357.

881 *Uvā.* I, p. 4.

It is said that Mahāvira received his first alms in Kollāka³⁸³; he arrived here from Kammārgāma and proceeded to Morāga Sannivesa³⁸³ Kollāka was visited by Indabhūi Goyama, the first Ganadhara of Mahāvira³⁸⁴

It is identified with Kolhuā, 3 miles to the north-west of Basārḥ in Muzaffarpur.

(2) *Kollāka—a settlement*

Kollāka Sannivesa was located near Nālandā.³⁸⁵ Mahāvira is said to have arrived here from Nālandā and proceeded to Suvannakhalaya.³⁸⁶

Its exact location is not known.

Komalā

Khemilijjiyā or Khomalijjiyā is mentioned as a *sākhā* of the Jain *śramanas* in the *Kalpasūtra*.³⁸⁷

Khomalijjiyā is a Prakrit form of Komaliyā, which comes from the city of Komalā, which is identified with modern Comillah in Chittagong in Bengal.

Konkana—a country

Konkana was a non-Āryan country, and is cited as an example of *āsandīna dīva* which did not overflow with periodical sea-tides³⁸⁸

There was excessive rainfall in this country and so a Jain monk was allowed to carry an umbrella³⁸⁹ During famine or even otherwise people were in the habit of eating flesh in this country and were fond of fruits, flowers³⁹⁰ and rice-gruel³⁹¹ (*peṇṇā*) Konkana was noted for the festival known as *gujanna* which was celebrated here in the evenings³⁹² Konkana is mentioned along with Sindhu and Tāmalitti which were known for their troublesome mosquitoes³⁹³ There was a big forest round about this country³⁹⁴ It is said that the stones of the rivers of Konkana were very sharp and hurt the feet of the people³⁹⁵

³⁸³ *Āva. Nir.*, 325

³⁸³ See Supra, p. 257.

³⁸⁴ *Uvā*, p. 18.

³⁸⁵ *Bhag.* 15.

³⁸⁶ See Supra, p. 258.

³⁸⁷ 8, p. 231.

³⁸⁸ *Uttarā cū* p. 115.

³⁸⁹ *Ācā. cū* p. 366.

³⁹⁰ *Brh. Bhā. Vṛ.* 1. 1239.

³⁹¹ *Das. cū.* p. 316.

³⁹² *Brh. Bhā. Vṛ.* 1. 2855.

³⁹³ *Sūya Tī.* 3. 1. 12.

³⁹⁴ *Nisī cū.* Pl. p. 90.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 12, p. 827.

Konkaṇa is the country between the Western Ghats and the sea, from about Bombay southward to Goa.³⁹⁸

Kosalā or Kosalapura—a kingdom

Kosalā is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Aojjhā or Sāketa as its capital. Kosalā is also included among the sixteen *janapadas* in the *Bhagavatī*.

In the *Āvasyaka cūrṇi*, Kosala and Aojjhā are described as identical³⁹⁷ It is said that Usabha, who is also called Kosaliya, passing through the capital of Vinītā, reached the Madhyadeśa i.e. the middle of Kosala.³⁹⁸ Kosalapura was the birthplace of the fifth *Tiṭṭhaya*³⁹⁹. Like Dasapura and Ujjeṇī, Kosala was known for the image of the living lord.⁴⁰⁰

The people of Kosala were fond of wine (*soṃvīra*) and rice (*kūra*).⁴⁰¹ They were characterised as wicked without any exception.⁴⁰²

Kosala lay near Sāvattihī to the north with Sāgeya as its capital.⁴⁰³

The capital cities of Kosala were Sāvattihī and Sāketa. The ancient Kosala kingdom was divided into two great divisions, the river Sarayu serving as the wedge between the two; that to the north was called Uttara Kośala, and the one to the south was called Dakṣiṇa Kośala.⁴⁰⁴ Kosala roughly corresponds to the modern Oudh.⁴⁰⁵

Kosamba—a forest

This forest lay to the south of Hatthikappa (see Hatthikappa). It is said that Kanha Vāsudeva was shot dead here by the arrow of Jarāku-māra. Baladeva is said to have proceeded to the mountain Tungiya from here.⁴⁰⁶

Its exact site is not known.

Kosambī—a city

Kosambī was the capital city of Vaccha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was one of the ten capitals mentioned in the *Thāṇḍāṅga*.

³⁹⁸ G. A. G., I, p. 745.

³⁹⁷ p. 337. For the etymological meaning of the word see *Āva. Ṭī.* p. 214; also see the com. on the *Sutta Nipāta*, II, p. 400 f.

³⁹⁸ *Jambu. sū.*, 3. 70.

³⁹⁹ *Āva. Nir.* 382.

⁴⁰⁰ *Bṛh. Bhā. Vṛ.* 5.5824.

⁴⁰¹ *Piṇḍa. Nir.* 619, p. 167.

⁴⁰² *Vya. Bhā.* 7. 126.

⁴⁰³ *Vasu.* p. 283.

⁴⁰⁴ G. E. B. p. 4 ff.

⁴⁰⁵ P. H. A. I., p. 64.

⁴⁰⁶ *Uttarā. Ṭī.* 2, p. 40 ff; *Nisī. cū.*, 8.2 (MSS)

Kosambī lay on the bank of the river Jumna. Mahāvīra is said to have allowed his monks to move up to Kosambī to the south of Sāketa.⁴⁰⁷

It is said that Kosambī was the birthplace of the sixth *Tiṭṭhaya*,⁴⁰⁸ and was visited by Pāsa,⁴⁰⁹ Ajja Suhatthi and Ajja Mahāgiri.⁴¹⁰ Kosambī was visited by Mahāvīra frequently.⁴¹¹

Kosambī is identical with modern Kosam, an old village on the Jumna, thirty miles south-west of Allahabad.⁴¹²

Kosiyā or Kosī—a river

Kosiyā was one of five great tributaries of the Ganges.⁴¹³

The river Kosikī is referred to in the Jātakas as a branch of the Ganges. It is identical with the river Kusi.⁴¹⁴

Koṭthagāma—a village

This village was situated not very far from Kampillapura.⁴¹⁵

Its exact situation is not known.

Koyagaḍa or Kūpakaja

It is mentioned that the twenty third *Tiṭṭhaya* received his first alms at this place.⁴¹⁶

It is not identified.

Kudukka—a country

Kudukka was a non-Āryan country and was opened for the preachings of the Jain monks by Samprati (see Andha). It seems that later on *Kudukka* became a centre of the Jain monks; mention is made of Kuḍukka ācārya⁴¹⁷ Milk was called *pīlu* in this country⁴¹⁸ and like Koṅkana rice-gruel was a common food here (see Koṅkaṇa).

It may be identified with Goorg (Kodagu) a territory in South India which is bounded along its entire western frontier by the mountain chain of the Western Ghats.⁴¹⁹

⁴⁰⁷ See Supra, p. 250

⁴⁰⁸ *Āva. Nr.* 382.

⁴⁰⁹ *Nāyā* II, 10, p. 230.

⁴¹⁰ *Nisī. cū*, 5, p. 437.

⁴¹¹ See Supra, pp. 260.

⁴¹² *C. A. G. I.*, p. 709, also see Law, *Kaustāmbi in Ancient Literature*.

⁴¹³ See Supra P. 264.

⁴¹⁴ *G. E. B.* p. 37.

⁴¹⁵ *Uttarā. Tī*, 13, p. 188a.

⁴¹⁶ *Āva. Nr.*, 325.

⁴¹⁷ *Īya. Bhā. Vṛ.* 4 283; 1, p. 121a.

⁴¹⁸ *Āva. cū*, p. 27.

⁴¹⁹ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 28.

Kullāūra—a city

It was situated not far from Pāḍaliputta.⁴²⁰
Its exact situation is not known

Kumāra or Kummāragāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kundapura and proceeded to Kollāka Sannivesa.⁴²¹
Its exact location is not known.

Kumāra or Kumārāya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra reached here from Pattālaya and proceeded to Corāya Sannivesa.⁴²²
Its exact location is not known.

Kumbhārakaḍa—a city

Same as Daṇḍakāranna. (See Dandakāranna).

Kumbhārapakkheva—a river-port (pattana)

Kumbhārapakkheva was another name for Viibhaya. (see Viibhaya). The king Udāyana, who had joined the ascetic order, sojourned here in a potter's house. It is said that he was poisoned by his sister's son and after he died, the gods threw a shower of dust which covered the whole city excepting the potter's house and hence this city came to be known as Kumbhārpakkheva. This town was situated in Sinavalli.⁴²³

Viibhaya may be identified with Bhera on the left bank of the river Jhelum in the district of Shahapur in the Punjab. In Bhera Tahsil near the village of Vajjhi a most conspicuous mound is found which tells of a bygone age of great prosperity. Bhera is the largest and most thriving commercial town in the district.⁴²⁴

Kummagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Siddhatthapura.⁴²⁵
Its exact site is not known.

⁴²⁰ Sam. 71, p. 57 a.

⁴²¹ See Supra, p. 257.

⁴²² See Supra, p. 258.

⁴²³ Ava. cū, II, p. 37.

⁴²⁴ Imp. Gaz. Vol. II, p. 385.

⁴²⁵ See Supra, p. 260.

Kunāla—a kingdom

Kunāla is included among the twenty five and a half countries with Sāvattī as capital. Mahāvīra allowed the Jain monks to move upto Kunāla to the north of Sākera.⁴²⁶ The following story is mentioned about the destruction of Kunāla. Once two hermits, named Karaḍa and Ukkarada, were sojourning in Kunāla in the shrine of Niddhamana Jakkha. Owing to their stay there, there were no rains in the country, although it was raining everywhere else. Some people blamed the holy men and asked them to quit. The hermit flew into a passion. The first said "Rain cloud on Kunāla." The second said "For full fifteen days." The first said "With drops as large as clubs." The second said "As by day, so also by night." Owing to the curse of the hermits, the heavens poured down for fifteen days and the whole country was flooded. It is stated that three years after this incident both hermits died at Sākera and after thirteen years Mahāvīra attained *Āvalahood*.⁴²⁷

Kunāla is the same as Utara Kosala (see Kosala).

Kuṇḍalanayara—a city

Same as Ujjenī (See Ujjenī)

Kuṇḍalanayārī—a city

Same as Sāvattī.

Kuṇḍaggāma—a city

Same as Khattiyakundaggāma or Kuṇḍapura.

Kuṇḍaka—a settlement

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Ālabhiyā and proceeded to Maddanā.⁴²⁸

Its exact situation is not known.

Kuṇḍapura—a city

Same as Kuṇḍaggāma or Khattiyakundaggāma.

Kuṇḍinī—a city

Same as Kodinna (See Kodinna).

⁴²⁶ See Supra, p. 250

⁴²⁷ *Ā. a. cū.*, p. 601; *Āva. Tī.*, (Hari.), p. 465; *Āva. Tī.*, p. 567, also Tawney's *Kathākośa*, p. 6 f.

⁴²⁸ See Supra, p. 250.

Kuñjarāvatta—a mountain

According to the tradition, when Vairasāmi died at this place, the Indra went round the mountain on his elephant and since then this place came to be known as Kuñjarāvatta.⁴²⁹

It is not identifiable.

Kuru or Kurujāṅgala—a kingdom

Kuru was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Gayapura as its capital.

The ancient Kuru country may be said to have comprised Kurukshetra or Thaneshwar⁴³⁰

Kurukhetta

Kurukhetta is referred to in the commentary of the *Bṛhkalpa Bhāṣya*.⁴³¹

The country is immediately around Thaneshwar between the Sarasvatī and Drishadvatī rivers is known by the name of Kurukshetra.⁴³²

Kusaggapura—a city

Kusaggapura is another name for Rājagṛha. It is said that, after Canagapura was in ruin, people saw an unconquerable ox, and founded Usabhapura. In course of time, Usabhapura also was ruined and seeing a big *kusa* plant, Kussaggapura was founded.⁴³³ (See Rājagṛha).

Huen Tsang says that the old capital occupied by Bimbisāra was called Kusāgra. It was afflicted by frequent fires and Bimbisāra, on the advice of his ministers, abandoned it and built the new city on the site of the old country. The city was called Rājagṛha, because Bimbisāra was the first person to occupy it. Pargiter suggests that the old city was called Kusāgrapura after Kusāgra, an early king of Magadha.⁴³⁴

Kusattā or Kusāvatta—a kingdom

This country is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Soriyapura as its capital.

The country around Suryapura in the Agra district was known as Kusattā (See Soriyapura).

Kusatthala—a city

This town was located in Magadha.⁴³⁵

Its exact location is not known.

⁴²⁹ Marana 472 f, 128 a. See also Vasu., p. 122, Rāmāyana IV, 41.

⁴³⁰ G. E. B. p. 17 f.

⁴³¹ I. 1856 ff.

⁴³² C. A. G. I., p. 380.

⁴³³ Also see Vasu., p. 74.

⁴³⁴ Malalasekara, *op. cit.*, under "Kusaggapura."

⁴³⁵ Mahā. Nī. p. 16.

Kusumapura—a city

Kusumapura was another name for Pāḍaliputta.⁴³⁶

It is mentioned that once a famine broke out in Kusumapura.³⁷ The town was visited by Vairasāmī.⁴³⁸

Kūviya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Tambāya and proceeded to Vesālī.⁴³⁹

Its exact situation is not known.

Lāḍha or Rāḍha—a kingdom

Kodivarisa was the capital of Lāḍha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kalam-buka Sannivasa and proceeded to Punnakalasa. Lāḍha was divided into Vajjabhūmi and Subhhabhūmi.⁴⁴⁰

Lāḍha or Radha comprises the modern districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Bankura, Burdwan and the east portions of Midnapore.⁴⁴¹

Lāta—a country

Various customs, etc. of this country are recorded in the Jain texts. It is said that the people of this country were known for their deceitful nature (*gunthamāyūī*).⁴⁴²

Corn was cultivated in this country by rains,⁴⁴³ and there were wells here that contained salt water.⁴⁴⁴

The following words current in this country are recorded: *kūra*⁴⁴⁵ (rice), *gaddala*⁴⁴⁶ (wool), *jovana*⁴⁴⁷ (threshing of corn), *pallaga*⁴⁴⁸ (granary), *supham*⁴⁴⁹ (kettle-pen), *avasāvana*⁴⁵⁰ (sour gruel), *ikkaḍa*⁴⁵¹ (a variety of grass), *bhatta*⁴⁵² (husband's sister), *halī* (a common word used in addressing equals), *kaccha*⁴⁵³ (an underwear), *khūra*⁴⁵⁴ (milk) and *thullī*⁴⁵⁵ (a saddle).

⁴³⁶ *Brh Bhā*, 3, 4123 f

⁴³⁷ *Pinda Bhā*, 44 ff, p. 142 a

⁴³⁸ *Āva Nir*, 769

⁴³⁹ See Supra, p. 258.

⁴⁴⁰ See Supra, p. 258; *Ācā.* 9, 3, p. 281 f, *Ācā. cū.*, p. 318.

⁴⁴¹ *C, A G I*, p. 732

⁴⁴² *Vya. Bhā*, 3, 345.

⁴⁴³ *Brh Bhā Vr.*, 1, 1239

⁴⁴⁴ *Panna.* 1, p. 28 a

⁴⁴⁵ *Brh Bhā Pī.*, 57

⁴⁴⁶ *Nisī. cū*, 3, p. 329.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ogh Nir Bhā Tī.*, 90, p. 75

⁴⁴⁸ *Āva Tī* p. 67 a.

⁴⁴⁹ *Sūya cū*, p. 146

⁴⁵⁰ *Brh Bhā. Vr* 1, 3099.

⁴⁵¹ *Nisī. cū*, 2, p. 24 (MSS)

⁴⁵² *Das cū.*, 7, p. 250.

⁴⁵³ *Nisī. cū.*, Pt. 1, p. 46.

⁴⁵⁴ *Āva. cū.*, p. 27.

⁴⁵⁵ *Bhag. Tī.*, 3, 4.

According to the *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, Bharuyakaccha was the chief city of Lāta.⁴⁵⁸ Lāṣaraṭṭha is identified with the old Lāta, kingdom of Gujerat.⁴⁵⁷

Laṅkā—a city

Laṅkā is referred to in the *Niśītha cūṛṇi*.⁴⁵⁸

According to the *Vasudevahindī*, Rāmaṇa defeated Jaḍāu and having crossed Kikkindhigiri reached Laṅkā.⁴⁵⁹ According to the *Tṛisastisalakāpurusacarita*, in the Lavana ocean there was an island named Rāksasadvīpa and in its centre lay the mountain called Trikūta. The city of Laṅkā was situated on the top of this mountain.⁴⁶⁰ Laṅkā is identified with Ceylon.⁴⁶¹

Lohaggalā—a city

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Bahusālaga and proceeded to Purimatāla.⁴⁶²

It may be identified with Lohardagā in the Bengal district which forms the central and north-western portion of the Chota Nagpur division.⁴⁶³

Maccha—a kingdom

(See Vaccha).

Maddanagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kuṇḍaka and proceeded to the village Bahusālaga.⁴⁶⁴

Its location is unknown.

Magadha—a kingdom

Magadha is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Rāyagiha as its capital. It is also referred to as one of the sixteen *janapadas*. Magadha is mentioned along with Soratṭhaya and Mālava in the *Uttarādhyayana cūṛṇi*.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁵⁸ P 88.

⁴⁵⁷ G E B., p. 58.

⁴⁵⁸ *Abhudhāna Rājendra Kośa*, under "Laṅkā "

⁴⁵⁹ P. 243.

⁴⁶⁰ II, p. 165

⁴⁶¹ G. D., p. 113.

⁴⁶² See Supra, p. 259.

⁴⁶³ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, p. 475.

⁴⁶⁴ See Supra, p. 259.

⁴⁶⁵ p. 22.

Mahāvīra allowed the Jain monks to move upto Magadha to the east of Sāketa ⁴⁶⁶ Magadha, Pabhāsa and Varadāma are enumerated as holy places (*tuttha*) situated in east, west and south-west of Bhārata-varṣa in succession. When Bharata gained complete victory over Bhārata-varṣa, ⁴⁶⁷ the gods are stated to have brought holy water (*tutthodaga*) from Magadha and installed him as a universal monarch ⁴⁶⁸

Magadha was the real birthplace of Jain religion and the centre of activities of Mahāvīra, who roamed about in the interior of Magadha and preached his religious doctrines to the people. ⁴⁶⁹

The people of Magadha are described as very clever. (see Dak-khīnāvaha) Magadha roughly corresponds to the modern Patna and Gaya districts in Bihar. ⁴⁷⁰

Magahāpura—a city

It is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka cūrṇi* and ⁴⁷¹ the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana*. ⁴⁷²

It is same as Rāyagiha.

Mahāghosa—a city

Mahāghosa is referred to in the *Vivāgasūya*. ⁴⁷³

Its situation is unknown.

Mahāhimavanta—a mountain

This mountain was known for *gosīsa* sandalwood. ⁴⁷⁴

It may correspond to the middle valleys of the Himalayan tract.

(1) *Mahākāla—a cemetery*

This cemetery was situated in Bāravai. ⁴⁷⁵

(2) *Mahākāla—a shrine*

Mahākāla is described as a shrine (*ceiya*) in Ujjenī. ⁴⁷⁶

Māhanakunḍaggāma or Māhanakunḍapūra—a suburb.

Māhanakunḍaggāma and Khattiyakunḍaggāma were two suburbs of Vesālī (see Khattiyakunḍaggāma).

⁴⁶⁶ See Supra, p. 250.

⁴⁶⁷ Also cf. T. S. P., pp. 213-252.

⁴⁶⁸ *Thā sū*, 3, 142, *Āva cū*, p. 186; *Āva. Nir. Bhā. Dipikā*, 110, p. 93 a.

⁴⁶⁹ *Āva. Nu.*, 488

⁴⁷⁰ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 718 f.

⁴⁷¹ P. 459.

⁴⁷² 13, p. 192 a. Also see Sørensen, (*Index to the Mahābhā*, p. 453), *Sutta Nipāta* (6. 1. 38).

⁴⁷³ II, 8, p. 64-1.

⁴⁷⁴ *Āva Cū*, p. 397 f.

⁴⁷⁵ *Anta*, 3, p. 18.

⁴⁷⁶ *Āva. Nir.* 1278, *Āva. Cū.*, II, p. 157; also see *Meghadūta* 37.

Mahāpura—a city

It is said that the twelfth *Tutthayara* received his first alms at this place.⁴⁷⁷ This town is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.⁴⁷⁸

It cannot be identified.

Mahātavovatī appabha—a spring

This spring is described as being five hundred *dhanus* in length and was situated in Rāyagiha near the mountain Vebhāra.⁴⁷⁹

In Pālī literature it is known as Tapodā; it was a large lake below the Vebhāra mountain outside Rāyagiha.⁴⁸⁰

This spring is identified with modern Tapoban at the Rajgiri hills.⁴⁸¹

Māhesarī or Māhesara—a city

Māhesarī was situated in Dakkhināvaha. It was a prosperous city.⁴⁸² Māhesara is mentioned along with Sirimāla and Ujjenī, where people were fond of drinking wine.⁴⁸³

It is identified with Māhiṣmatī or Mahesh on the right bank of the Nerbada, forty miles to the south of Indore.⁴⁸⁴

Mahī—a river

Mahī is mentioned as one of the five great tributary rivers of the Ganges (see Ādī).

It is identified with Mhye in Saran district, Bihar.⁴⁸⁵

Mahirāvāṇa—a river

(see Dīmbharelaka).

Mahurā or Uttara Mahurā—a city

Sūrasena was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mahurā as its capital. Mahurā is included among the ten capitals of ancient India. It was an important city in Uttarāvaha to which ninety six villages were attached.⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁷⁷ *Āva. Nr.*, 324.

⁴⁷⁸ *Vivā* II, 7, p. 64-1.

⁴⁷⁹ *Bhag.*, 2, 5.

⁴⁸⁰ See *Vinaya*, III, p. 108; the com. on the *Dīgha*, I, p. 35.

⁴⁸¹ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 529, also see Marten's *Eastern India*, Vol. I, p. 253 f.

⁴⁸² *Āva. Tī.*, p. 249 a.

⁴⁸³ *Ācā Cū.*, 2, 1, p. 333.

⁴⁸⁴ *G. D.*, pp. 119, 120.

⁴⁸⁵ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 719.

⁴⁸⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1. 1774 f.

Mahurā is described as a very ancient city in the Jain texts⁴⁸⁷ Mention is made of a jewelled *thūbha* in Mahurā, over which there arose a quarrel between Jains and Buddhists, resulting in the defeat of the latter.⁴⁸⁸

Mahurā had been a great centre of activities of the Jains in ancient days. It is said that the citizens of Mahurā and the ninety six villages adjoining it, installed the Jain idols in their houses and the court-yards.⁴⁸⁹

It is mentioned that Mahurā was visited by Mahāvira,⁴⁹⁰ Ajja Mangu⁴⁹¹ and Ajja Rakkhiya⁴⁹² Mahurā is described as a centre of heretical ascetics (*pākhaṇḍigabbha*)⁴⁹³

Mahurā was an emporium of trade and people lived here on trade and not on agriculture⁴⁹⁴ It is quoted as an example of *thalapatṭana* where goods were carried by land route.⁴⁹⁵

In Pali literature five disadvantages are described in Madhurā The ground was uneven, there was much dust, there were fierce dogs, there were bestial *yakkhas* and alms were obtained with difficulty. Buddha viewed the city with disfavour⁴⁹⁶

Mahurā is identified with Maholi, five miles to the south-west of the present town of Mathura or Muttra.⁴⁹⁷

Majjhadesa—Middle Country

Majjhimadesa is mentioned in the *Nāyādharmakāṇḍa*.⁴⁹⁸ According to Jains, the country of Kosala was termed as Madhyadesa.⁴⁹⁹

According to the Purāṇas, Ayodhā was the capital of Madhyadesa.⁵⁰⁰

Majjhamiyā—a city.

Majjhamiyā is mentioned in the *Vivāgasūya*.⁵⁰¹ Majjhimillā is also mentioned a *sākhā* in the *Kalpasūtra*.⁵⁰²

It is identified with Nagarī near Chittor in southern Rajputana.⁵⁰³

⁴⁸⁷ *Uttarā Cū*, p. 82

⁴⁸⁸ *Vya Bhā* 5 27 f, also cf. *Jambuswāmīcarita* of Rājamalla, ed. by Jagdishchandra Jain, Bombay, 1936, where more than five hundred *sūlās* are mentioned in Mathurā, also cf. *Bṛhatkathākosā* (12.132) In the *Rāmāyana* (VII 70.5) also Mathurā is described as "*devanirmitā*."

⁴⁸⁹ *Brh Bhā.*, 1 1774 f

⁴⁹⁰ *Vivā* 6, p. 35 f.

⁴⁹¹ *Gaccha Vr.*, p. 116 a; *Āva. Cū*, II, p. 80.

⁴⁹² *Āva Cū*, p. 411 f.

⁴⁹³ *Ācā. Cū.*, p. 163.

⁴⁹⁴ *Brh Bhā Vr.*, 1. 1239.

⁴⁹⁵ *Ācā. Cū*, 7, p. 281.

⁴⁹⁶ *Anguttara*, III, p. 256 For the description of Mathurā, see *Harivaṃśa* (I. 54. 56 ff).

⁴⁹⁷ *C A G I*, p. 427f.

⁴⁹⁸ 8, p. 120.

⁴⁹⁹ *Jambu* 70, p. 278.

⁵⁰⁰ Pargitar, *A.I.H.T.*, p. 257, for the Buddhist conception of Majjhimadesa, see *Jātaka* (I, p. 49)

⁵⁰¹ II, 5, p. 64-1.

⁵⁰² 8, p. 232.

⁵⁰³ John Allan, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. cxxiv.

Majjhima Pāvā—a city

Same as Apāvā (See Apāvā).

(1) *Mālava or Mālavaka—a kingdom*

Mālava is included in the list of the sixteen *janapadas*

Mālava was known for *bhogiya* or *bohiya* robbers, who resided in the range of the mountain and kidnapped people from Ujjenī.⁵⁰⁴

The bread-fruit (*panasa*) was unknown in this country,⁵⁰⁵ the pulse *masūra* was known here as *cavalaga*,⁵⁰⁶ and *maṇḍaga* (a thin rice-cake) was available in plenty in this country.⁵⁰⁷

People from Mālava were known for their harsh language.⁵⁰⁸

It is identified with Malwa. At the time of Rājā Bhoja, its capital was Dhārānagara. Its former capital was Avantī or Ujjenī.⁵⁰⁹

(2) *Mālava—country*

Mālava was considered among the non-Āryan countries.⁵¹⁰

It is identified with the region around Multan in the Punjab.⁵¹¹

(1) *Malaya—a kingdom*

Malaya is considered among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Bhaddilapura as its capital. It is also counted among the sixteen *janapadas*. Malaya was noted for cloths.⁵¹²

This country was situated in the south of Patna and south-west of Gaya in Bihar.⁵¹³

(2) *Malaya—a country*

This country was situated in South. Malaya is mentioned in the *Bṛhatkathākosā* and was situated in Dakṣināpatha where lay the country of Pāṇḍava or Pāṇḍya in its south. The mountain Malaya is located in this country.⁵¹⁴

Malaya may be identified with the Malayalam or Malabar country, including Cochīn and Travancore.⁵¹⁵

⁵⁰⁴ *Nisī Cū*, 16, p. 1110. *Bodhas* are referred to in the *Mahābhā*. VI. 9. 39.

⁵⁰⁵ *Brh Bhā Vr Tī*, 47.

⁵⁰⁶ *Das. cū*, 6, p. 212.

⁵⁰⁷ *Pinda Nir Tī*, 204, p. 73.

⁵⁰⁸ *Brh Bhā Vr*. 6. 6126.

⁵⁰⁹ *G. D.*, p. 122.

⁵¹⁰ *Vya Bhā Vr*. 1 p. 121 a; *Ogha. Nir. Bhā*. 26, p. 18a.

⁵¹¹ *G. D.*, p. 122.

⁵¹² *Anu. Sū*. 37, p. 30; *Nisī. cū.*, 7, p. 467.

⁵¹³ *S.B.M.*, p. 381.

⁵¹⁴ 75, 1; 56. 2.

⁵¹⁵ *G. D.*, p. 122.

Malayagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Succhitta and proceeded to Hatthisīsa.⁵¹⁶

Its exact site cannot be located.

Mānasa Sarovara—a lake

It is mentioned in the commentary of the *Uttarādhyayana*.⁵¹⁷

It is identified with Manasa Sarovara lake in the Tibetan territory beyond the great southern wall of the Himalayas.⁵¹⁸

Mandara—a settlement

It is referred to in the *Āvasyaka Nirukti*.⁵¹⁹

It is unidentifiable.

Mandira

It is said that the sixteenth *Tiṭṭhaya* received his first alms here.⁵²⁰

It may be identified with Mandāragiri, 30 miles south of Bhagalpur.⁵²¹

Manipura—a city

Manipura is referred to in the *Vivāgasūya*.⁵²²

Manipura is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (Aśvamedha P. ch. 79), according to which it was the capital of Kalinga.⁵²³

Lassen identifies it with Manipur Bunder and places it to the south of Chikakole.⁵²⁴

Manvai or Manvaiyā or Manivaya—a city

It is mentioned in the *Niryāvalyā*.⁵²⁵

Manimati is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III 94.4).

It is not identifiable

Marahatta—a country

Marahatta or Mahārāstra was considered as a non-Āryan country, but king Sampai is said to have made it suitable for the movement of the Jain monks (see Andha).

⁵¹⁶ See Supra, p. 260

⁵¹⁷ *Uttarā Ti*, 18, p. 237 a.

⁵²⁰ *Āva Nir.*, 324

⁵²¹ *Dist. Gaz. of Bhagalpur*.

⁵²² II, 7, p. 64-1

⁵²³ Sorenson, *Index to Mahābhā*, p. 464.

⁵²⁴ *G. D.*, p. 126.

⁵²⁵ 3, 5, 6, also *Vivā.*, II, 6, p. 64-1.

⁵¹⁸ *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. IX, p. 276.

⁵¹⁹ 443.

Various customs and practices current in Mahārāstra are recorded in the Jain texts. The people of Mahārāstra were known for their talkative nature.⁵²⁶ In this country the wine sellers⁵²⁷ and the barbers⁵²⁸ were not despised, and a flag was always seen here on the wine-shops whether there was wine or not.⁵²⁹ A curious practice by the naked Jain monks of Mahārāstra of wearing a ring (*ventaka*) on their penis is referred to in the *Brhatkalpa Bhāṣya* ⁵³⁰

The following words current in Mahārāstra are recorded *pālaka*⁵³¹ (a vegetable), *aganthima*⁵³² (plantain chips), *kūa*⁵³³ (rice), *anna*⁵³⁴ (a common word for calling out people) and *māuggāma*⁵³⁵ (women)

Marahatta is identified with the present Marāthā country, the country watered by the upper Godāvarī and that lying between that river and the Krishnā ⁵³⁶

Maru or Maruya—a country

Maru was located on the way to Ujjenī from Viibhaya.⁵³⁷

There was excessive sand in this country and so nails were stuffed in earth for guidance of the travellers.⁵³⁸ It is stated that for fetching water, people started at night and travelled a long distance in this country.⁵³⁹

It is also called Marusthalī or Marudhanva. It denotes the whole of Rajputana.⁵⁴⁰

Māsa or Māsapurī—a city

Māsa was the capital of Purivatta, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Māsapurī is also stated to be a *śākhā* of the Jain *śramaṇas*.⁵⁴¹

It is not identifiable.

⁵²⁶ *Vya Bhā.* 7. 126.

⁵²⁷ *Brh. Bhā* Vṛ., 1. 1239

⁵²⁸ *Ācā Cū.*, p. 233.

⁵²⁹ *Brh. Bhā* 2. 3539.

⁵³⁰ 1. 2637.

⁵³¹ *Brh Bhā*, 1. 2094.

⁵³² *Nisī Cū*, 16. p. 183 (Mss)

⁵³³ See under *Lāta*.

⁵³⁴ *Das Cū*, p. 250.

⁵³⁵ *Nisī Cū*, 6, p. 1 (Mss).

⁵³⁶ *G. E. B.*, p. 57.

⁵³⁷ *Ācā. cū*, p. 400 ff.

⁵³⁸ *Sūyā. Tī.*, 1. 11, p. 196.

⁵³⁹ *Nisī. Cū*, 16. p. 1097.

⁵⁴⁰ *G. D.*, p. 127.

⁵⁴¹ *Kalpa*. 8, p. 230.

Mattiyāvāi— a city

Mattiyāvāi was the capital of Dasanna, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries

According to the *Harivamsa Purāna*, Mrttikāvati was situated on the Neimada river ⁵⁴²

Mayagangā—a river (dahu)

Mayagā was the lower part of the Ganges where plenty of water was collected, and never flowed out ⁵⁴³

According to another tradition, the region where the Ganges entered the sea, changed its course from year to year, and the oldest region was called Mayagangā ⁵⁴⁴ It is mentioned that on the bank of Mayagangā there lived Balakotta, a leader of the Cāndālas ⁵⁴⁵ The lake, *Mayagan-gātīnaddaha*, is referred to in the *Nāyādharmakahā* This lake was located to the north-east of Benares. ⁵⁴⁶

Māyandī—a city

The *Nāyādharmakahā* refers to a merchant, Mākandī, of Champā. ⁵⁴⁷

Mākandī is described in the *Samavāyacakāhā* ⁵⁴⁸

Mākandī was another capital of southern Pāñcāla which extended from the southern bank of the Ganges to the river Carmanvatī or Chambal ⁵⁴⁹

Mendhuyagāma—a city

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Nandiggāma and proceeded to Kosambī On his second journey he is said to have arrived here from Jambhuyagāma and proceeded to Chamāni. ⁵⁵⁰

Its exact situation is not known.

Migakotṭhaga—a city

It is mentioned that Jamadaggi arrived here from Vasantapura. ⁵⁵¹

It seems to be identical with Indapura which was another name for Kānyakubja (See Indapura).

⁵⁴² I, 36. 15

⁵⁴³ *Uttarā Cū*, 13, p. 215; *Ā. a. cā.*, p. 510.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ā. a. Tī*, p. 498 a.

⁵⁴⁵ *Uttarā Cū*, 12, p. 202.

⁵⁴⁶ 4, p. 65.

⁵⁴⁷ 9, p. 121.

⁵⁴⁸ ch. 8.

⁵⁴⁹ *G D*, p. 145.

⁵⁵⁰ See *Supra*, p. 260.

⁵⁵¹ *Ā. a. Cū.*, p. 510.

Mihilā—a city.

Videha was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mihilā as its capital. Mihilā is included among the ten capitals of India.

Mihilā was the place of birth, renunciation and salvation of the nineteenth and the twenty first *Tirthayas*⁵⁵² Mihilā was frequently visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have passed six rainy seasons here (see supra, p. 261). Mihilā was also visited by Ajja Mahāgiri⁵⁵³

At the time of Jinaprabhasūri, Mihilā was known as Jagai⁵⁵⁴ Mihilā is called Janakapuri in the *Rāmāyaṇa*⁵⁵⁵ and is identified with Janakapur, a small town within the Nepal border, north of which the Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga districts meet.⁵⁵⁶

Miyaggāma—a city

The city is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra. To the north-east of the city there was a garden of Candanapāyava with the shrine of a *Jakkha*.⁵⁵⁷

It is not identified.

Modheragā—a city

Modheragā is mentioned in the *Sūyagadāṅga Cūṇi*⁵⁵⁸ The city of Modherakā is also mentioned in the *Caturvimsatīprabandha* of Rājasekharasūri, it lies in Gurjaradhiā⁵⁵⁹

It is eighteen miles south of Patan and is situated on the left bank of the Pushmavati.⁵⁶⁰

Mokā—a city

It is said that this town was visited by Mahāvīra, who left for Rāyagiha from here.⁵⁶¹

It is not identifiable.

Moli—a kingdom

Moli was one of the sixteen *janapadas* mentioned in the *Bhagvatī*. Perhaps Moli and Malla may be identical.

⁵⁵² *Ācā Nṛ.* 383, *Uttarā Tī*, 9 p. 139 a.

⁵⁵³ *Ācā Nṛ. Bhā* 132, p. 143a, *Uttarā Tī*, 3, p. 71.

⁵⁵⁴ *I. i.*, p. 32.

⁵⁵⁵ I. 48, 11, also see *Mahābhā* (III. 210).

⁵⁵⁶ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 718.

⁵⁵⁷ *V. ā* 1, p. 21.

⁵⁵⁸ p. 348.

⁵⁵⁹ *ib.*, pp. 56, 77.

⁵⁶⁰ *Architectural Antiquity of Northern Gujarat*, by Cousens and Burgess, London, 1903, p. 71.

⁵⁶¹ *Bhag* 3. 1.

Moiāga—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kollāga (see supra, p. 257). On his second journey Mahāvīra is stated to have arrived here from Atthiyaggāma and proceeded to Uṭtaravācāla.⁵⁶²

It has not been identified.

Moriya—a settlement

Moriya Sannivesa was situated in Magadha.⁵⁶³

Its exact site is not known.

Mosali—a settlement

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Tosali and proceeded to Siddhatthapura.⁵⁶⁴

Its exact situation is not known.

Muggalagiri—a mountain

It is stated that Sukosala and his father Siddhārtha both stood here in meditation.⁵⁶⁵

According to the *Bṛhalkathākośa*, this mountain was situated in Magadha.⁵⁶⁶ The hermitage of Mudgala Rsi existed near Monghyr in Bihar. In the eleventh century it was called Mun-giri.⁵⁶⁷

Muggasalapura—a city

It is mentioned that the ascetic Kālavesī arrived from Mathurā.⁵⁶⁸

Its location is not identified.

Nadapīḍayagāma—a village

It is said that this village was located on the way to Avantī from Bhairavakaccha.⁵⁶⁹

Its exact location is not known.

Nāgapura—a city

It is another name for Hatthināpura.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶² See Supra, p. 257.

⁵⁶³ *Āra* Vii 645

⁵⁶⁴ See Supra p. 260

⁵⁶⁵ *Bhalla*, 161, p. 30.

⁵⁶⁶ 127, 267

⁵⁶⁷ *G. D.*, p. 132.

⁵⁶⁸ *Uttarā Tī*, 2, p. 46a.

⁵⁶⁹ *Āra* Nir 1311.

⁵⁷⁰ *Thū* 10. p. 453a, also *Vāyā* II, 5, p. 228.

Nālandā—a suburb

Nālandā was a suburb of Rāyagiha, situated to its north-east. It was abounding in wealth and had a large number of buildings. It is said that a number of monks received their alms⁵⁷¹ here. There was a forest named Hatthidīva in the vicinity of Nālandā (See Hatthidīva).

In Buddhist works the distance from Rājagiha to Nālandā is stated to be one *yojana*⁵⁷²

It is identified with modern Bargaon, seven miles north-west of Rajgir in the district of Patna⁵⁷³

Nandigāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra reached here from Bhogapura and proceeded to Mendhiyagāma.⁵⁷⁴

Its location is not identified.

Nandipura—a city

Nandipura was the capital of Sandibbha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Nandipura is referred to in the Vivāgasūya also.⁵⁷⁵

Nandigrāma is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyana* (VI 130 4f). It may be identified with Nandigrāma or Nundgaon in Oudh, eight or nine miles to the south of Fyzabad⁵⁷⁶

Nāṅalā—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Haledduyagrāma and proceeded to Āvattagāma⁵⁷⁷

Its exact situation is not known

Nāsikka—a city

This town is referred to in the *Āṭṭyaka Gūṇi*⁵⁷⁸

It is identified with modern Nasik, about seventy five miles to the north-west of Bombay⁵⁷⁹

Nāyakhanīla—a garden

It is stated that Mahāvīra reached here from Kundapura. This garden belonged to the Nāya clan and was located on the outskirts of

⁵⁷¹ *Sūtra* I, II 7 68 also see *Digha* I, p 211.

⁵⁷² The com. on the *Digha* I, p 33.

⁵⁷³ *C. A. G. I*, p 537

⁵⁷⁴ See *Supra*, p 280

⁵⁷⁵ 8, p. 46.

⁵⁷⁶ *G. D.*, p 138

⁵⁷⁷ See *Supra*, p. 258.

⁵⁷⁸ p 586

⁵⁷⁹ *G. E. B.*, p. 57.

Kundapura. Mahāvīra took to the ascetic life in this garden.⁵⁸⁰ Nāyakhanda is mentioned along with Ujjanta and Siddhasilā as a place of celebration of feasts (*sankhaḍī*).⁵⁸¹

Nepāla or Nemālī—a country

Nepāla was visited by Bhadrabāhu.⁵⁸² It is mentioned that as there was no fear from robbers in Nepāla, Tamalitti, Sindhu and Sauvīra, the Jain monks were allowed to wear undivided (*kṛtsna*)⁵⁸³ garments in these countries. Nepāla was noted for its blankets.⁵⁸⁴

It may be identified with modern Nepal, an independent state.⁵⁸⁵

Nevāḷaga—a port (pattana)

It is mentioned that people travelled from here to Bāravaṇī by boat (*nāvā*).⁵⁸⁶

Its exact location is unidentified.

Pabbhāsa—a holy place

It is said that when Matī and Sumatī, the two daughters of king Pandusena, were sailing to Surattha from Pāṇdu Mahuṇā, their ship was foundered and they died. In course of time, their dead bodies were seen floating on the water. Then a great feast was celebrated in their honour and since then this place was declared as a holy Pabbhāsa.⁵⁸⁷

It is identified with Somnath in the Junagadh State, Kathiawar.⁵⁸⁸

Pāḍalāsanda or Pāḍalīsanda—a city

This town was visited by Mahāvīra.⁵⁸⁹ The seventh Tīrthayāra is said to have received his first alms at this place.⁵⁹⁰

Its location is unidentifiable.

Pāḍalīputta—a city

The following tradition is recorded about the origin of Pāḍalīputta. It is said that when Amukāputta was crossing the Ganges from

⁵⁸⁰ See Supia p. 237.

⁵⁸¹ *Bṛh Bhā*, I, 3192.

⁵⁸² *Āca cū*, II, p. 187.

⁵⁸³ *Bṛh Bhā*, 3, 3912.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid* 3, 3824.

⁵⁸⁵ *Imp Gaz* Vol X, p. 274.

⁵⁸⁶ *Nisī cū* p. 110 (MSS).

⁵⁸⁷ *Āca cū*, II, p. 197, however, in the *Nisītha cūru* (II, p. 672), Pabbhāsa, Prayāga, Akkhanda (?), Srimāla and Keyāra are mentioned as unholy places (*kutṭiṭha*). Cf. the origin of Prabhāsa—the foremost of all *tīrthas*, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Sorenson, *Index to the Mahābhārata*, p. 553.

⁵⁸⁸ *G D*, p. 157.

⁵⁸⁹ *Vīcā* 7, p. 40.

⁵⁹⁰ *Jā Nu*, 323.

Pupphabhadda, his boat went down into the river and that Annikāputta was drowned. His skull was eaten by fish and drifted to the bank, where a seed of *pādali* found its way into it and in course of time grew into a large tree. Seeing this beautiful tree, prince Udāvi founded the city of Pādaliputta here.⁵⁹¹

Pādaliputta was a centre of activities of the Jains. It was visited by Ajja Mahāgiri and Ajja Suhatthi.⁵⁹² Pādaliputta is described as a centre of learning.⁵⁹³

It is modern Patna.

Pāḍha—a kingdom

It is one of the sixteen *janapadas* mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*.

It may be identified with Pādham in the Mainpuri district in U. P.⁵⁹⁴

Paḍisantāvadiyuga

It is stated that this land was situated at a distance of fifty *yojanas* to the south from the confluence of Sindhu and the Lavana ocean. It is said to be twelve and a half *yojanas* in extension, three and a half *yojanas* above sea water, and the shape of an elephant trunk. There were forty-seven pitch-dark caves here, of the shape of a crocodile (*ghaḍīyālaga-samthāna*). The inhabitants of this land were ugly, dreadful, greedy for honey and flesh, covetous of women and terrible fighters. They could move in water and their duration of life varied from twelve and a half nights to a large number of years (*samkhyāyāsān*). They possessed round and hollow boats (*antatandakagolīṇāo*) and wandered in search of excellent jewels in the sea.

At a distance of three thousand and hundred *yojanas* from this land there lay the island of Rayanadvīpa. The inhabitants of this land filled their adamantine vessels (*vaṇavanasilāsambulām*), with honey and flesh, and returned to their homes in boats which were made of long wood of trees of the shape of an elephant trunk. A fight is stated to have taken place between them and the cave-men which resulted in the defeat of the latter.⁵⁹⁵

This region is not known.

Paṭthāna—a city

Paṭthāna, also known as Poyanapura, was the chief city of Mahārastra situated on the bank of the Goyāvari.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹¹ *Ā. cū* II p 179, *Ā. Nir* 1279. Cf. also the tradition recorded in the *Kathāsarit-sāgara*, Vol. I, ch. iii pp 18 ff, also see *Mahāvagga*, pp 226-30 the com. on the *Udāna*, p 407 f.

⁵⁹² *Ā. Nir* 1278, *Ā. cū* II p 155.

⁵⁹³ *Sūya cū*, pp 139-141.

⁵⁹⁴ John Allan, *The Ancient Indian Coins*, p. 1.

⁵⁹⁵ *Mahā Ni*, pp 17 f 35, *Gaecha Vṛ*, p 50a.

⁵⁹⁶ *Brh. Bhā* 6 6244 f, also *Vasu*, p 354.

In the south, Paithhāna was a great centre of the Jains, who had considerable influence over the then ruling kings. We are told that Pādālitta Sūri cured the headache of king Muṇḍa of Paithhāna⁵⁹⁷ Bhadrabāhu and Vaiśāṃhara are stated to be the residents of this town.⁵⁹⁸ Kālākācārya is said to have visited this place.⁵⁹⁹ Paithhāna was a seat of learning⁶⁰⁰ (See also Poyanapura)

Paithhāna is identified with modern Paithan which lay on the southern bank of Goyāvarī in south of Aurangabad. It was the birthplace and the capital of Rājā Śālivāhana who is said to have founded the Saka era in 78 A.D. It is Potali of the Buddhists and was a great emporium of commerce.⁶⁰¹

Paithika—a village

(See Ketāya)

Its site is unknown.

Pālaga—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra reached here from Sumangala and proceeded to Campā.⁶⁰²

Its exact situation is not known.

Palhava or Palhaga—a country

This country is mentioned with Bahali and Jonaga where Usabha is said to have travelled (See Adamba). It was a non-Āryan country and was known for its maid-servants. It is said that when the city of Bārava was burnt, Kujjavāraya, the son of Baladeva, was taken to this country.⁶⁰³

The Pahlavas have been identified with the Paithians.⁶⁰⁴

Pañcāla—a kingdom

Pañcāla was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Kampillapura as its capital.

It roughly corresponds to modern Budaun, Farrukhabad and the adjoining districts of the United Provinces.⁶⁰⁵

⁵⁹⁷ Pinda N. 497 l, p 141a

⁵⁹⁸ Gaucha I, p 93.

⁵⁹⁹ See Supra p 239

⁶⁰⁰ Kalpa I, p 90a

⁶⁰¹ G. D., p 159.

⁶⁰² See supra, p. 260.

⁶⁰³ Uttarā Tī., 2, p. 39.

⁶⁰⁴ G. D., p. 143.

⁶⁰⁵ G. B. p. 19.

Pañcaseladīva—an Island

It is stated that the *vānamantarī* goddesses, who were residing here, set out for a pilgrimage to the Island of Nandisaradīva. They passed through Campā by air and invited the goldsmith Kumāranandī to come to their country. In course of time, the goldsmith left for Pañcaseladīva in a ship. He reached a banyan tree which stood on the sea-coast, and from there he fastened himself to the middle legs of two three-legged Bhārunda birds which carried him to the desired destination.⁶⁰⁶

It is stated that Pañcaseladīva was a small island in the middle of the Lavana ocean, surrounded by five mountains.⁶⁰⁷

It is not identified.

Pāṇḍu Mahurā or Dakkhina Mahurā—a city

Pāṇḍu Mahurā was located on the southern bank of the sea and there was free trade between Uttara Mahurā and Dakkhina Mahurā.⁶⁰⁸

The five Pāṇḍavas were the residents of this town who are stated to have attained salvation at Settuñjaya. See Hatthukippa). It is said that while coming back from Avarakankā, the Pāṇḍavas were⁶⁰⁹ asked by Kanha Vāsudeva to go to Pāṇḍu Mahurā and reside there. Kanha Vāsudeva and Rāma Baladeva are said to have proceeded to Pāṇḍu Mahurā from Bāraya and on their way halted in the forest of Kosamba. See Kosambavana). It is said that the people of Pāṇḍu Mahurā knew nothing about the barley meal.⁶¹⁰

It is identified with Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency.⁶¹¹

Paṇyabhūmi

Paniyabhūmi was a place in Vaiyabhūmi, a division of the country of Rāḍha. Mahāvīra is said to have passed here rainy season during his ascetic life.⁶¹²

Its location is not identified.

Pārāsa—a country

Pārāsa was considered among the non-Aryan countries and was known for its maid-servants. This country was the centre of trade, where merchants wanted to travel to far off countries.⁶¹³ It is said that Ayala

⁶⁰⁶ *Āva. cū.*, p. 397 f., *Āva. Tī.*, p. 391 f., cf. a similar journey to Suvarnadīpa by a Brāhmana, who hid himself in the feathers of the birds and was taken there, *Kaṭhā-saritsaṅga*, Vol. II, chs. xxiv-xxvi, pp. 170-241.

⁶⁰⁷ *Abhidhāna Kuśāra Kosa*, under 'Pañcaseladīva.'

⁶⁰⁸ *Āva. cū.*, p. 472.

⁶⁰⁹ *Nāyā* 16, p. 197f.

⁶¹⁰ *Bṛh. Bhā. Pr.*, 47.

⁶¹¹ *G. E. B.*, 21, 63.

⁶¹² *Kalpa*, 5, 123.

⁶¹³ *Āva. cū.*, p. 448.

arrived here from Ujjenī and proceeded to Bennāyada with various merchandisc⁶¹⁴ This country was visited by Kalakācārya who is said to have arrived here from Ujjenī (See Hindugadesa) It is mentioned that the people of the country made garlands from the buffalo's horns⁶¹⁵ and knew nothing about bread fruit (*panasa*).⁶¹⁶

It is the same as modern Persia.

Pātālalankāpura—a city

This city is referred to in the commentary of the *Paṇḍavāgarāṇa*⁶¹⁷ (See also Lankā).

Pattakālaya—a settlement

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kālaya and proceeded to Kumārāya.⁶¹⁸

Its exact location is not known.

Paumakhandā—a city

It is said that the eighth *Tīrthayara* received his first alms at this place.⁶¹⁹

Its location is unknown.

(1) *Pāvā—a city*

Pāvā was the capital of Bhaṅga, one of the twenty five and a half Aryan countries (See Bhaṅga).

It is identified with the region near the Parasanath Hills.⁶²⁰

(2) *Pāvā—a city*

Same as Apāvā.

Payāga—a holy place

It is stated that when the monk Annikāputta was drowned in the Ganges, a *vāṇamantari* erected a pike in the river to impale him. Annikāputta attained *Kevala*hood at this place, and since then this place was declared as a holy Payāga (See also Pabbhāsa ; Pāḍaliputta).

⁶¹⁴ See Supra, p 113

⁶¹⁵ *Nisī cū*, 7, p. 464

⁶¹⁶ *Āta cū* p 27

⁶¹⁷ 4, p 88 a.

⁶¹⁸ See Supra, p. 258.

⁶¹⁹ *Ā. a. Nu.*, 323.

⁶²⁰ *S B M.*, p. 375.

Payāga⁶²¹ is referred to as Ditipayāga in the *Vasudevahiṇḍī*.⁶²² It is identified with modern Allahabad at the confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.

Peḍhālagāma—a village

This village was located in Daḍhabhūmi (See Daḍhabhūmi).

Pihunḍa—a city

Pihunḍu was a centre of trade. The merchant Pāliya of Campā is mentioned to have arrived here for trade.⁶²³

In Khārvela's inscriptions we have mention of a place founded by the former kings of Kalinga and known by the name of Pithudaga or Pithuda, which had become in one hundred and thirteen years a watery jungle of grass. It is located in the interior of Chicakole and Kaluṅgapatam, towards the course of the river Nāgavati.⁶²⁴

Pitthīcampā—a suburb

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Corāga Sanuivesa and proceeded to Kayangala.⁶²⁵ Pitthīcampā was located very near Campā,⁶²⁶ where the Teacher is said to have spent a number of rainy seasons.⁶²⁷

Its exact location is not known.

Pryasangamā

It is stated to be a land of the *Vyājāharas*.⁶²⁸

Its site is unknown.

Polāsapura—a city

It is said that the potter, Saddālaputta, was a resident of this town. Polāsapura was visited by Mahāvīra and Goyama Indabhūi.⁶²⁹ There was an Ājivaka *sabhā* (hall) in Polāsapura where Gosāla is said to have sojourned during his visits to the town.⁶³⁰

Its location is unidentifiable.

⁶²¹ *Āta cū* II, p. 178 f, *Gaccha*, Vr. p. 66 f.

⁶²² p. 193. See also *Padmapurāna* of Ravisena (3 281), *Karakanducaria* (6. 6. 5), also *Mahābhā* (III 83 79)

⁶²³ *Uttarā Sū*, 21 2

⁶²⁴ *G E B*, p. 65.

⁶²⁵ See *Supra*, p. 258

⁶²⁶ *Āva Tī*, p. 383a

⁶²⁷ See *Supra*, p. 261.

⁶²⁸ *Uttarā. Tī*, 18, p. 238.

⁶²⁹ *Anta* 6, p. 40.

⁶³⁰ *Uvā*. 7.

Porāṇapura—a city

It was located in Puvvavideha,⁶⁸¹ a mythical region.
Its site has not been identified.

Poyanapura—a city

Poyanapura, also known as Pratiṣṭhānapura, was situated on the bank of the Ganges.⁶⁸²

It is also mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa* (I. 26. 49).

It may be identified with Jhusi, opposite to Allahabad, across the Ganges, which is still called Pratiṣṭhānpur⁶⁸³

Pukkhaṇa—a holy place

It is mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka cūrnī* that the three lakes were built here.⁶⁸⁴

Puskara is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 80. 20).
It is identified with modern Pushkar lake six miles from Ajmer.⁶⁸⁵

Puṇḍarīya—a mountain

It is stated that the ascetic Thāvaccāputta reached here from Sogandhiyā and attained salvation. Suyā and Selayā also are said to have attained salvation on this mountain.⁶⁸⁶

In the commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇa*, we are told that the Pāṇḍavaś attained liberation on this mountain.⁶⁸⁷

Puṇḍariya and settuñjaya are identical.⁶⁸⁸

(1) Puṇḍavaddhana—a city

Puṇḍavaddhana is stated to be situated in Gandhāra where the king Siharaha was ruling.⁶⁸⁹

It may be the same as Pāṇḍya, a country between Jhelam and Ravi, as referred to by Ptolemy.⁶⁹⁰

⁶⁸¹ *Uttarā Tī.* 23, p. 286a.

⁶⁸² *Sam* 56, p. 56a, one Poyanapura is also mentioned in the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* (6.6198).

⁶⁸³ *G. D.*, p. 159

⁶⁸⁴ p. 400 ff., also *Nisī cū*, 10, p. 645.

⁶⁸⁵ *G. D.*, p. 163

⁶⁸⁶ *Nāyā* 5, p. 78

⁶⁸⁷ 2, p. 43

⁶⁸⁸ *Nāyā*, 16, p. 200; cf. also *vyudha*, p. 1, where nineteen names of Śatruñjaya are mentioned.

⁶⁸⁹ *Uttarā Tī.* 9, p. 141.

⁶⁹⁰ Dr. Motichand, *Bharatī Vidyā*, Vol. I, pt. I, p. 31.

(2) *Puṇḍavaddhana—a city*

Puṇḍra was known for harmless black cows which fed upon the sugarcane.⁶⁴¹ It was also famous for green grass (*sādhala*).⁶⁴² Puṇḍavaddhaniyā is stated to be a *sākhā* of the Jain *samaṇas*.⁶⁴³

Puṇḍravardhana corresponds to Mahasthan in the Bogra district in Bengal.⁶⁴⁴

Puṇḍra—a country

This country was situated at the foot of the mountain Veyaḍḍha. Its location cannot be identified.⁶⁴⁵

Punnakalasa—a village

It was a non-Āryan country. It is mentioned that Mahāvīra reached here from Lāḍha and proceeded to Bhaddiya.⁶⁴⁶

Its exact situation is not known.

Pupphabhadda, Pupphabhaddiyā or Pupphapura—a city

This town was located on the bank of the Ganges.⁶⁴⁷

It is identical with Pāṭalīputra.⁶⁴⁸

(1) *Purimatāla—a city*

It is said that Uśabha, the first *Tiṭṭhayaṇa*, attained *kevala*hood in this town.⁶⁴⁹ According to the com. of the *J. a. Nir.* 342, it was a suburb (*sākhānagara*) of Ayodhyā.

(2) *Purima tāla*

Mahāvīra is said to have arrived here from Lohaggalā and proceeded to Unnāga.⁶⁵⁰ It may be identified with Puruha in Bihar.

Purivattā—a kingdom

It was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Māsa as its capital.

It is not identifiable.

⁶⁴¹ *Tandul Tī*, p. 26a. *Paṇḍraka* is mentioned as a variety of sugarcane grown in the Paṇḍra country, North Bengal, *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 650.

⁶⁴² *Ju ā.* 3, p. 355

⁶⁴³ *Kaṭṭu* 8, p. 227a, also see T. Watters on *Tuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 185.

⁶⁴⁴ Pramode Lal Paul, *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 11, Calcutta, 1939.

⁶⁴⁵ *Thā.* 9 693, *Anta.* 5, p. 26.

⁶⁴⁶ See *Supra*, p. 258.

⁶⁴⁷ *Avā. cū.* p. 559, *Bhā.* 1, 1349f.

⁶⁴⁸ See also *Bengal Dist. Gaz. Patna*, Vol. VIII, 1907, p. 18

⁶⁴⁹ *J. a. Nir.* 251

⁶⁵⁰ See *Supra*, p. 209.

Purisapura—a city

This town was situated in Gandhāra.⁶⁵¹ It is said that once king Murunda of Pādāliputta sent an envoy to Purisapura.⁶⁵²

It is identified with Peshawar.⁶⁵³

Puriya or Purī—a city

Puriya was a centre of the Jains. It was known for the image of the living lord⁶⁵⁴ and was inhabited by many *śrāvakas*. Puriya was visited by Vairasāmī, who is said to have arrived here from Uttarāpaha and proceeded to Māhesarī. At this time the city was governed by a Buddhist king and Jains and Buddhists were not on good terms.⁶⁵⁵

Purima (Puriya) was a centre of trade and is cited as an example of *jalapattana*, where goods were carried by water.⁶⁵⁶

It may be identified with Purī Jagannath in Orissa.⁶⁵⁷

Purvadesa—Eastern division of India

This country was visited by Vairasāmī, who proceeded to Uttarāpaha from here.⁶⁵⁸ There were beggar-houses (*ghanghāsālā*) in the centre of the villages in this country.⁶⁵⁹ Rice was known as *puggali* here.⁶⁶⁰

According to Cunningham, Eastern India comprised Assam and Bengal proper, including the whole of the delta of the Ganges, together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam.⁶⁶¹

Rāḍha—a kingdom

Same as Lāḍha (See Lāḍha).

Rahamaddana—a fort (kottha)

It is said that when Kanha Vāsudeva banished the Pāṇḍavas, he founded this fort as a mark of memory.⁶⁶²

According to the *Kathākosā*,⁶⁶³ the city of Rathamardana lay in Madhyadeśa.

It is not identifiable.

⁶⁵¹ *Āva. cū.* II, p. 208.

⁶⁵² *Brh Bhā.* I, 2291.

⁶⁵³ *G D*, p. 162.

⁶⁵⁴ *Qgh. Tī.*, 119, p. 59a.

⁶⁵⁵ *Āva Nir.*, 772; 1188, *Āva. cū.*, p. 396.

⁶⁵⁶ *Nisī cū.*, 5, p. 34 (MSS).

⁶⁵⁷ *G D*, p. 162.

⁶⁵⁸ *Āva cū.*, p. 390.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ācā cū.*, p. 280.

⁶⁶⁰ *Das cū.*, p. 236.

⁶⁶¹ *C A G. I.*, p. 672.

⁶⁶² *Nāḍā* 16, p. 196.

⁶⁶³ *Taunry*, p. 98.

Rahaneura Cakkavāla—a city

Rahaneura Cakkavāla was located to the north of the mountain Veyaddha⁶⁶⁴

Its location is unknown

Rahāvatta—a mountain

This mountain was situated near the mountain of Kuñjarāvatta. Vairasāmi is said to have visited this mountain along with his five hundred monks. He left one novice (*khuḍḍaga*) here and in order to practise penance, went to the Kuñjarāvatta. It is said that the novice died here and that his body melted like a lump of *ghee*. Then the gods are said to have gone round the mountain in a chariot and worshipped him and hence this place came to be known as Rahāvatta⁶⁶⁵

It is mentioned that a battle took place between Vāsudeva and Jarasandha near this mountain.⁶⁶⁶ (See also Ahicchattā).

According to the *Nisītha cūṇi*, this mountain was situated in Vidisā.⁶⁶⁷ Rathāvatta is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a holy place.⁶⁶⁸

Rahavāpura—a town

It is mentioned that Sivabhūi founded the eighth schism at this place.⁶⁶⁹

It is not identifiable

Rāyagiha—a city

Rāyagiha was the capital of Magadha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals mentioned in the *Thānānga*. The east of Sāketa, Mahāvīra allowed the Jain monks to move up to Rāyagiha.⁶⁷⁰

Rāyagiha is described as the birthplace of the twentieth *Titthayara*.⁶⁷¹ Rāyagiha was visited by Pāsa,⁶⁷² and Mahāvīra is said to have passed fourteen rainy seasons here.⁶⁷³ Rāyagiha was also frequented by Ajja Suhamma⁶⁷⁴ and Gosāla,⁶⁷⁵ and various disciples of Mahāvīra

⁶⁶⁴ *Uttarā Tī.*, 18, p. 241a ff.

⁶⁶⁵ *Marana* 470f, p. 128; *Āva Tī.*, p. 395a.

⁶⁶⁶ *Āva. cū*, 235

⁶⁶⁷ *Vīr Nivāna*, etc., *N P*, p. 90

⁶⁶⁸ III, 82. 22.

⁶⁶⁹ *Āva Nir.* 782; *Āva. cū*, p. 427.

⁶⁷⁰ *Bṛh. Sū.*, 1. 50.

⁶⁷¹ *Āva. Nir.*, 383, 325.

⁶⁷² *Nāyā.* II, 10, p. 230; *Niryā.* 4.

⁶⁷³ *Kālpā.* 5 123, also cf. *Bhag.* 7. 4; 5. 9; 2. 5; *Āva. Nir.* 473, 492, 518.

⁶⁷⁴ *Anutta.* 1, p. 58.

⁶⁷⁵ *Bhag.* 15.

lived in this city.⁶⁷⁰ Gunasila,⁶⁷¹ Maṇḍikuccha⁶⁷⁸ and Moggarapāṇi⁶⁷⁹ are mentioned as some of the important shrines of the city. Rāyagiha was noted for its springs.⁶⁸⁰

It is said that, when Khipaitthiya was in ruin, Canagapura was founded. Then the city of Usabhapura came into existence, then Kusagapura, and finally Rāyagiha (see Kusaggapura).

The city of Rājagaha was called Giribbaja because it was surrounded by five hills, viz, Pandava, Gijjhakūta, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla.⁶⁸¹ In the *Mahābhārata*, the five hills are named as Vaihāra, Vārāha, Vrsabha, Ṛṣigiri and Chaityaka.⁶⁸²

It is identified with modern Rajgir in Bihar.⁶⁸³

Rayanadīva—an island

It is said that Rayanadīva was situated at a distance of three thousand and one hundred *yojanas* from Paḍisantāvādāyaga (See Paḍisantāvādāyaga). There was an excellent palace here where the goddess of Rayanadīva lived.⁶⁸⁴

The *Vasudevahindī*⁶⁸⁵ refers to the Rayanadīva, where Cārudatta was carried to by the Bherunda birds.⁶⁸⁶ Rayanadīva is also mentioned in the *Samantīccakāhī*.⁶⁸⁷

Ratnadvīpa is mentioned in the *Harivamsa* (II. 38. 29 ff). It was situated near Vanavāsī

Rayanapura—a city

Rayanapura was the birthplace of the fifteenth *Tutthayara*.⁶⁸⁸ It is mentioned that Kavila arrived here for purposes of study from Acalaggāma (See Acalaggāma)

Rayanapura is identified with Runāi about two miles from Sohawal, a railway station in Oudh. It was also known as Roināi.⁶⁸⁹

Rayanāvaha—a city

It is said that Rayanāvaha was situated in Gandhāra⁶⁹⁰

Its site cannot be identified

⁶⁷⁰ *Bhag* 18 3, 3 3, 7 10, 8 7 *Anta* 6, pp 31, 39, *Anutta* 1, p 58f, *Uvā* 8, p. 61.
⁶⁷¹ *Nāyā* 2, p 47, *Dasā* 10, p 364, *Uvā* 8, p 61. It is identified with modern Gunāyā,
 a village situated three miles from Rājagiha in east. *Prācīna tīrthamālā* p 91,.

⁶⁷⁸ *Bhag* 15

⁶⁷⁹ *Anta* 6, p 31

⁶⁸⁰ *Brh. Bhā* Vr 2. 3429

⁶⁸¹ The com on the *sutta Nipāta*, II, p. 382

⁶⁸² II 21 2.

⁶⁸³ See Law, *Rājagiha in ancient literature*

⁶⁸⁴ *Nāyā* 9, p 123 ff

⁶⁸⁵ p 149

⁶⁸⁶ Also cf *Brhatkathākosā*, 93, 158 f, 52 6.

⁶⁸⁷ 6 46, p 29, also *Dīvyāvadāna* I, 5, XVIII, 230; XXXV, 503.

⁶⁸⁸ *Āva Nir*, 383.

⁶⁸⁹ *Prācīna tīrthamālā*, Intro, p 37, p 95

⁶⁹⁰ *Uttarā Tī.*, 9, p 138

Rājapura—a city

It is mentioned that the eighteenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.⁶⁹¹

Rājapura is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the capital of Kalin-ga.⁶⁹²

Its exact location is not known.

Revayaga—a mountain

This mountain is described as abounding in various birds and creepers ; it was dear to the Dasāra kings. Near this mountain there lay the garden Nandanavana, with the shrine of Surappiya *Jakkha*. Aritthanemi is said to have attained *Kevalahood* at this place.⁶⁹³

Ravataka is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 2. 39)

Revaya is identical with Ujjanta or Girnar mountain.

Ritthapura—a city

It is mentioned that the tenth *Titthayara* received his first alms here.⁶⁹⁴

It is the same as Aritthapura (See Aritthapura).

Rohādaya—a city

It is said that this town was frequented by Mahāvīra. There was a garden here named Pūdhavivādīmsaya with the shrine of Dharana *Jakkha*.⁶⁹⁵

Rohitaka is described as a great city in the *Divyāvadāna* (VIII, 108). The *Mahābhārata* (Sabhā p 32. 4) and *Mahāmāyūrī* also mention Rohitaka as a place dear to Kārtikeya.

It is modern Rohatak.⁶⁹⁶

Ruppakulā—a river

It is mentioned that this river flowed between Dakkhinavācāla and Uttaravācāla (See Dakkhinavācāla).

Its location is unknown.

Sāgeya—a city

Sāgeya was the capital of Kosala,⁶⁹⁷ one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals. It is

⁶⁹¹ *Āra Nir* 325, also *Āva. cū*, II, p. 324

⁶⁹² *Sānti* p 4 3

⁶⁹³ *Nāgār* 5, p 68, *Anta*. 5, p 28, *Uttarā Tī* 22, p 280.

⁶⁹⁴ *Āra Nir* 324

⁶⁹⁵ *Vivā* 9, p 40, also *Sam* 68, p 57, *Niryū* 5.

⁶⁹⁶ The Geo contents of the *Mahāmāyūrī*, Dr. Sylvain Lévi, trans. by V. S. Agrawala *J U P H S*, XV, pt II

⁶⁹⁷ *Thā. Tī*, 11, 2 153a, *Uttarā cū*, p 213, According to Abhayadeva, Sāketa, Vinitā and Ayo lhyā are identical, *Thā.* 10. 718, p. 454.

stated that the fourth *Tiṭṭhaya* received his first alms here.⁶⁹⁸ Sāgeya was visited by Pārsva⁶⁹⁹ as well as by Mahāvira, the latter assigned a limit for the movements of the Jain monks here (see supra p 250).

Sāketa was one of the six great cities of Buddhist India, the others being Campā, Rājagṛha, Sāvithī, Kosambī and Bārānasi.⁷⁰⁰ The distance from Sāketa to Sāvathī was seven leagues (*yojanas*).⁷⁰¹

Sāgeya is identified with modern Ayodhyā.

Sāhaṅjanī—a city

This city is said to have been visited by Mahāvira.⁷⁰²

Sāhaṅjanī is also mentioned in the *Harivaṃśa* (I. 33 4).

Its probable identification may be suggested with Sāhanjan or Sanjān, a village in the Thana district, Bombay.

Sajja—a mountain

It is referred to in the *Avaiyaka Nuyukti*.⁷⁰³

Sahya is one of the seven principal chains of mountains in India. It is still known as Sahyādri and is the same as the northern parts of the Western Ghats north of the river Kāveri.⁷⁰⁴

Sālātavi—a village

It is mentioned as a village of robbers near Purimatāla.⁷⁰⁵

Sāliggāma—a village

This village was located in Magadha⁷⁰⁶ near Gobbaragāma.⁷⁰⁷

Its site is not known.

Sālīsīsa—a village

Mahāvira is stated to have journeyed to this place from Gāmāya and proceeded to Bhaddiya.⁷⁰⁸

Its exact situation is not known.

⁶⁹⁸ *Āva Nir* 323

⁶⁹⁹ *Nāyā*. II 9, p 229

⁷⁰⁰ *Dīgha*, II, p 146

⁷⁰¹ *Mahāvagga*, p 253.

⁷⁰² *Vivā* 4, p. 29

⁷⁰³ 925, *Malaya, Tī*, p 511a.

⁷⁰⁴ *G D.*, p 171.

⁷⁰⁵ *Vivā* 3, p. 20.

⁷⁰⁶ *Āva. cū*, II, p. 94.

⁷⁰⁷ *Pinda Nir.*, 199, p. 72.

⁷⁰⁸ See *Supra*, p. 259.

Sambhuttara—a country

It was one of the sixteen countries mentioned in the *Bhagavatī*.

It is same as Suhmuttera, which means "people north of Suhma." Suhma corresponds with the modern districts of Midnapur and Bankura, and perhaps also Purulia and Manbhum in west Bengal.⁷⁰⁹

Sambukka—a city

This city was situated in Avantī.⁷¹⁰

Its exact location is not known.

Sammeya—a mountain

Sammeya is mentioned with Campā as a holy place (See Campā). It is stated that, except Usabha, Vāsujja, Nemi and Vīra, all other *Tīthayaras* attained salvation on this mountain.⁷¹¹ It is mentioned that a *Saṅgha* set out to pay a visit to the shrines on this mountain.⁷¹²

It is identified with Parasnath Hill in the district of Hazaribagh, in Bihar.⁷¹³

Samvaddhana or Simbavaddhana—a city

It is mentioned that the king Munḍivaya or Mundimbhaya was reigning here.⁷¹⁴

Its exact location is unidentifiable.

Sanḍibbha or Sāṇḍilya—a kingdom

This country was counted among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Nandipura as capital.

It may be identified with Sandila, a sub-division of Hardoi district in Oudh. Sāṇḍilya āśrama is mentioned in the district of Fyzabad in Oudh, which was the hermitage of Ṛṣi Sāṇḍilya.⁷¹⁵

Sanḥhaṇḍa—a city

It is mentioned that king Jambudāḍima was reigning here.⁷¹⁶

Its site is not known.

⁷⁰⁹ *Mārkandeya*, p. 357.

⁷¹⁰ *Mahā Nī* Guj. trans (MSS), p. 27.

⁷¹¹ *Āva Nīr* 307; cf. *Nāyā*, 8, p. 120; *Ācā. cū*, p. 257.

⁷¹² *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 236.

⁷¹³ *G. D.*, p. 176.

⁷¹⁴ *Āva. Nīr.* 1312; *Āva. cū*, II, p. 210.

⁷¹⁵ *G. D.*, p. 176.

⁷¹⁶ *Mahā. Nī.*, p. 25.

*Saṅkhaṇḍa—*a city

It is mentioned that the prince Aṅgaḍadatta proceeded to Vāṇārasi from here.⁷¹⁷ (See also Camari).

Its situation is not known.

*Sānulatthiya—*a village

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra arrived here from Sāvattthī, and proceeded to Daḍhabhūmi.⁷¹⁸

It is unidentified.

*Sarassā—*a river

It is stated that the citizens of Ānandapura set out for this river for celebrating feasts (see Ānandapura). Sarassā was known for pilgrimage.⁷¹⁹

It may be identified with the river Saraswati of western India, rising in mountain Abu in Rajaputana.⁷²⁰

*Sarau—*a river

It is mentioned as one of the five great tributary rivers of the Ganges.⁷²¹

It is Ghāgrā, or Gogrā, a tributary of the Ganges on which stood the city of Ayojjhā.⁷²²

*Saravaṇa—*a settlement

It is mentioned as the birthplace of Gosāla.⁷²³

Its exact location is not known.

*Sataddu—*a river

Sataddu is mentioned as one of the five great tributaries of the Sindhu.⁷²⁴

Śatadru is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I. 193. 10) and is identified with modern Sutlej.⁷²⁵

⁷¹⁷ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 4, p. 83a.

⁷¹⁸ See Supra, p. 280.

⁷¹⁹ *Ācā cū*, p. 332; *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1.1091, *Viśeṣa cūṛṇi*.

⁷²⁰ *Imp. Gaz.*, under "Saraswati."

⁷²¹ See Supra, p. 264.

⁷²² *G. E. B.*, p. 39.

⁷²³ *Bhag.* 15.

⁷²⁴ *Ihā.* 5, 170.

⁷²⁵ *G. E. B.* p. 39.

Sāvattthī—a city

Sāvattthī or Kuṇālānayarī was the capital of Kuṇālā, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals. It is stated that Sāvattthī was the birthplace of the third *Tiṭṭhaya*, who received his first alms here.⁷²⁶ It was visited by Pāsa⁷²⁷ and his follower Kesikumāra⁷²⁸ Sāvattthī was also visited by Mahāvīra frequently.⁷²⁹ It was also visited by Gosāla,⁷³⁰ Jamālī,⁷³¹ and Ajja Khanda⁷³²

It is identified with Sahet-Mahet on the bank of the Rapti.⁷³³

Savvaobhadda—a city

It is mentioned that king Jiyasattu ruled here.⁷³⁴

Its situation is not known.

Sayaduṇḍā—a city

It is said that this town was situated in the country of Punda which lay at the foot of the mountain Veyaddha.⁷³⁵ It is stated that to the south-east of the town there lay a city known as Vijayavaddhamāṇa.⁷³⁶

It is not identifiable.

Selagapura—a city

It is mentioned that king Selaga joined the ascetic order here. The city was also visited by the monk Thāvaccāputta, who is stated to have arrived here from Bāravai and preached his religion.⁷³⁷

It is not identified.

Selapura—a city

It is mentioned that this town was situated in Tosali. Isitaḍāga was a lake in this city where people are said to have celebrated the eight days feast (See Isitalāga).

Its exact location is not known.

⁷²⁶ *Ā. a. Nir.*, 323, 382.

⁷²⁷ *Nāya* II, 9, 10, p. 229; *Niryā*. 3. 1.

⁷²⁸ *Rāya. Sū.* 146 ff. *Uttarā Tī* p. 35a.

⁷²⁹ *Bhag.* 12. 1; *Uvā.* 9, p. 69; *Āva. Nir.* 480, 496, 517.

⁷³⁰ *Bhag.* 15.

⁷³¹ *Ibid.* 9. 6; *Ā. a. Nir.* 782.

⁷³² *Bhag.* 2. 1.

⁷³³ *C. A. G. I* p. 469, also see Law, *Śrāvastī in Ancient Literature*.

⁷³⁴ *Ind.* 5, p. 33.

⁷³⁵ *Thā* 9. 693; *Anta.* 5, p. 26.

⁷³⁶ *Vid.* 1, p. 6.

⁷³⁷ *Nāya.* 5, p. 73.

Settun̄jaya—a mountain

It is mentioned that the prince Goyama renounced the world under Aritthanemi and attained salvation on this mountain.⁷³⁸ It is stated that a number of other monks also attained salvation here.⁷³⁹ Another name of Settun̄jaya was Punḍariya (See Punḍariya).

According to the *Tṛsasahasalākāpuruṣacarita* (p 354ff), just as the blessed Rṣabha was the first *Tīrthankara*, so mount Śatruñjaya became the first *Tīrtha*.

It is situated in Kathiawar, seventy miles north-west of Surat and thirty four miles from Bhavanagar.⁷⁴⁰

Seyapura—a city

It is mentioned that the ninth *Tīrthayara* received his first alms here.⁷⁴¹

Its location is not known.

Seyavi or Seyaviyā—a city

Seyaviyā was the capital of Keyaiaddha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Uttaravācāla and having crossed the Ganges, proceeded to Surabhipura. Next time the Teacher is said to have reached here from Ālabhuyā and proceeded to Sāvatti.⁷⁴² Seyavi was also frequented by Kesikumāra.⁷⁴³

In Buddhist literature Setavya was a city of the Kosala country.⁷⁴⁴ Prof. Rys Davids identifies it with Satiabia; Mr. Vost with Basedita, 17 miles from Sahet-Mahet and six miles from Balarampur.⁷⁴⁵

Siddhasilā—a holy place

It was a holy place and is referred to in the *Avaiyaka cūṛṇi*.⁷⁴⁶ (See also *Nāyakhaṇḍa*).

Its precise situation is not known.

Siddhatthapura

It is mentioned that the eleventh *Tīrthayara* received his first alms here.⁷⁴⁷ Siddhatthapura was frequented by Mahāvīra, who arrived

⁷³⁸ *Anta*. 1, p. 6.
⁷³⁹ Cf. *Anta*. 2, p. 7; 4, p. 23.
⁷⁴⁰ *G. D.*, p. 182.
⁷⁴¹ *Avā. Nir.* 324.
⁷⁴² See *Supra*, p. 260.
⁷⁴³ *Rāya. Sū.*, 157 ff.
⁷⁴⁴ *Digha*, II, p. 316.
⁷⁴⁵ *G. D.*, p. 184.
⁷⁴⁶ p. 567.
⁷⁴⁷ *A. a. Nir.*, 324.

here from Vajjabhūmi and proceeded to Kummagāma. Then he returned to Siddhatthapura again and proceeded to Vesālī.⁷⁴⁸

Probably it may be identified with Siddhangram in the Birbhum district.⁷⁴⁹

Sihaguhā (corapallī)—a village

This village was located near Rāyagiha.⁷⁵⁰

Sihala or Simhala dīva—a country

Sihala dīva was counted among the non-Āryan countries and was known for its maid-servants.

Sihala is cited as an example of *āśndīna dīva* which did not overflow by periodical sea-tide like the country of Koukana. It is said that the sea-going merchants halted here in the middle of their journey.⁷⁵¹ Bharata is said to have conquered this country (See Anga).

Simhala is identified with Ceylon.⁷⁵²

Sihapura—a city

Sihapura is mentioned as the birthplace of the eleventh *Tittha-yara*.⁷⁵³ It is also mentioned in the commentary on the *Uttarādhyaṇa*.⁷⁵⁴

It may be identified with Simhapuri near Benares.⁷⁵⁵

Sinavallī—a country

Sinavallī is referred to in the *Āvaśyaka cūṇī*.⁷⁵⁶ It was a desert where caravans lost their way.

Sinavallī should be a tract round about the Punjab or Sind. A place called Sanāwan or Sināwan is situated in the district of Muzaffargarh; it is almost barren. Probably, it may be identified with Sinavallī.

Sindhavalona—a mountain

This mountain was known for its *sendhava* salt, and the mines of *soṇa-cala* and *kālālona* salts were also found in between this mountain.⁷⁵⁷

Saindhavāranya, or the Salt-Range is referred to in the *Rājataran-giṇī*.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁴⁸ See Supra, p. 260.

⁷⁴⁹ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 22.

⁷⁵⁰ *Nāyā* 18, p. 208 f.

⁷⁵¹ *Ācā Tī*, 6 3, p. 223 a.

⁷⁵² *G. D.*, p. 186.

⁷⁵³ *Āva. Nir.*, 383.

⁷⁵⁴ 18, p. 239 a.

⁷⁵⁵ *Prācīna tīrthamālā*, p. 4.

⁷⁵⁶ p. 553, II, p. 34. Sinavallī is mentioned in the *R̥veda*, *Vedic Index*, II, p. 449; Also *Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 639; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 300.

⁷⁵⁷ *Das*, 3, p. 115.

⁷⁵⁸ Vol. II, p. 145 n, VIII. 1012, 1868, 2007.

It is a hill system in Jhelum and Shahpur districts in the Punjab, deriving its name from its extensive deposits of rock-salt.⁷⁶⁹

Sindhu—a country

It is mentioned that the country of Sindhu Sovīra was declared Āryan from the time of Samprati.

For various reasons the Jain monks were not allowed to frequent Sindhu. It is mentioned that this country was full of water and a home of various heretical nuns such as *Carikā*, *Parivṛāyikā*, *Kāpālikā*, *Taccannikā* and *Bhāgavī*. If a monk, due to famine, invasion of the enemy or such other calamity was forced to visit this country, it was expected of him to come back as soon as possible.⁷⁶⁰ The land of this country is stated to be very rough and was flooded frequently; it had breaches in the earth. There were cold breezes and dew-fall at night in this country,⁷⁶¹ and the corn was cultivated here by rivers.⁷⁶²

The people of Sindhu were fond of eating *gorasa* (production of milk),⁷⁶³ and were used to meat-eating, and hence the non-vegetarians were not censored in this country.⁷⁶⁴ Similarly, the washermen were not considered degraded here,⁷⁶⁵ and a wine pot could be used for drinking purposes.⁷⁶⁶ It is stated that the monks were allowed not to remove the fringes of their garments in this country like that of Thūnā,⁷⁶⁷ and they received their alms with clean clothes.⁷⁶⁸

Sindhu comprised the whole valley of the Indus from the Punjab to the sea, including the delta and the island of Cutch.⁷⁶⁹

Sindhu—a river

Sindhu is stated to be one of the ten great rivers.⁷⁷⁰

It is the river Indus.⁷⁷¹ The best horses were born in the country around its bank.⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁹ *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, pp 170-2

⁷⁶⁰ *Brh. Bhā. V.*, 1, 2881', 4, 5441 f

⁷⁶¹ *Vīa Bhā. 8*, 15. From time immemorial Sind has depended for its fertility on floods. Prior to 1874 the upper Sind frontier district was yearly subject to inundation. In that year a heavy flood swept away over eighty towns and villages. Then there was another heavy flood in 1892 which caused heavy damage to the country, *Gaz. of the Province of Sind*, Karachi, 1907, pp 5, 271.

⁷⁶² *Brh. Bhā. Vr.* 1, 1239

⁷⁶³ *Ibid.* 3, 2749

⁷⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 1, 1239, also foot-note

⁷⁶⁵ *Nisī cū*, 4, p 345

⁷⁶⁶ *Brh. Bhā. Vr.* 1, 1239 *Vīṣeṣa cūṛṇi*

⁷⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 3, 3906

⁷⁶⁸ *Nisī cū*, 15, p 121 (MSS)

⁷⁶⁹ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 284.

⁷⁷⁰ *Thā* 10, 717.

⁷⁷¹ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 690.

⁷⁷² *Mahābhārata* VII. 104. 8.

Sindhunandana—a city

It is said that Mahāpauma reached here from Hatthināpura.⁷⁷³

The *Brhatkathakośa* ⁷⁷⁴ mentions that this town was situated on the bank of the Sindhu.

It is not identifiable.

Sindhu Sovira—a country

This country was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Viibhayapattana as its capital (see Sindhu ; Sovira).

The two lands of Sindhu and Sovira are mentioned in the Pali texts, each of which is described as a great centre of trade and commerce.⁷⁷⁵

Sippā—a river

This river flowed near Ujjeni.⁷⁷⁶

This is identified with modern Sipra in Central India

Sirimāla—a city

Sirimāla was included among unholy places (See Pabhāsa). It was visited by Vairasāmī, who is said to have arrived here from Puriya, ⁷⁷⁷ (See also Bhillamāla).

It is same as Bhillamāla or Bhinmal, the capital of Gurjjaras from about the sixth to the ninth century A. D., fifty miles west of Abu mountain.⁷⁷⁸

Sivamandira

Sivamandira was located on the south range of Veyaddha.⁷⁷⁹

It is not identifiable

Sogandhiyā—a city

Mahāvira is said to have visited this town. There was a garden here named Nīlāsoya with the shrine of Sukāla *Jakkha*.⁷⁸⁰

This town was also frequented by Thāvaccāputta, who is said to have arrived here from Selagapura (see Puṇḍarīya).

It is not identified.

⁷⁷³ *Uttarā Tī.*, 18, 246 a.

⁷⁷⁴ 33 52

⁷⁷⁵ *Law, India as Described*, p. 70.

⁷⁷⁶ *Āṭṭh cū*, p. 544

⁷⁷⁷ *Āṭṭh Tī*, p. 390a.

⁷⁷⁸ *G. D.*, p. 192.

⁷⁷⁹ *Uttarā Tī.*, 13, p. 193a.

⁷⁸⁰ *Vivā.* II, 5, p. 64.

Somanasa

It is mentioned that the fifteenth *Tutthayara* received his first alms here.⁷⁸¹

Its location is not known

Sopāraya—a city

Sopāraya was situated in Konkana on the sea-coast⁷⁸² It was a centre of commerce and a number of traders are said to have resided here⁷⁸³ Sopāraya was visited by Vairasena,⁷⁸⁴ Ajja Samudda and Ajja Mangu⁷⁸⁵

There was a regular trade between Bharuyakkaccha, Suvanabhūmi and Suppāraka⁷⁸⁶ Suppāraka is identified with modern Sopara in the Thana district to the north of Bombay⁷⁸⁷

Soriyapura—a city

Soriyapura, which lay on the bank of the Jaunā,⁷⁸⁸ was the capital of Kusattā, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is mentioned that king Sauri entrusted the kingdom of Mahurā to his younger brother Suvīra, and proceeded to Kusāvatta, where he founded Sori-pura⁷⁸⁹ Mahāvīra is stated to have visited this town⁷⁹⁰

Śauryapura is identified with Suryapur or Surajpur near Bateswar, which is situated on the right bank of the Jumna in the Agra district.⁷⁹¹

Sovīra—a country

Sovīra is mentioned together with Sindhu with Vībhaya as its capital (See Sindhu Sovīra)

It is identified with modern Sind.⁷⁹²

Subbhabhūmi

It is stated that the country of Lādha was divided into Vajjabhūmi and Subbhabhūmi (See Lādha)

It may be identified with Singhbhum in Bengal.⁷⁹³

⁷⁸¹ *Āra Nir*, 324

⁷⁸² *Uttarā Tī*, 4, p. 78a

⁷⁸³ *Bṛh Bhā* I, 2506

⁷⁸⁴ *Āra Cū*, p. 406

⁷⁸⁵ *Vya Bhā* b. 239 ff

⁷⁸⁶ *Avadāna*, II 476 (vs. 13 ff)

⁷⁸⁷ *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. 13, p. 65

⁷⁸⁸ *Āra Cū*, p. 45 f

⁷⁸⁹ *Kalpā Tī*, 6, p. 171 a.

⁷⁹⁰ *Āra Nir* 1289, *Āra Cū* II, p. 193

⁷⁹¹ *Prācīna tirthmālā*, Pt. I, Intro., p. 38, *Gazetteer of Agra*, pp. 137, 236.

⁷⁹² Jayachand Vidyalankar, *Bhārat Bhūmi aur uske mūlādi*, p. 37n.

⁷⁹³ *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. XII, p. 529.

Subhoma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Vāluyagāma and proceeded to Succhittā.⁷⁹⁴

Its exact location is not known.

Succhittā—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Subhoma and proceeded to Malaya. Next time he journeyed to this place from Sumangala and proceeded to Pālaya.⁷⁹⁵

It is not identifiable.

Sudamasanapura—a city

This town was situated in Avantī.⁷⁹⁶

Its exact location is not known.

Suggiva—a city

It is mentioned that king Balabhadra ruled here.⁷⁹⁷

Its exact situation is not known.

Sughosa—a city

This town is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra. There was a garden here named Devaramaṇa with the shrine of Virasena.⁷⁹⁸

It is not identified.

Sumangalagāma—a village

It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Kosambī and proceeded to Pālayagāma.⁷⁹⁹

Its location is not known.

Sumanomukha—a city

It is mentioned that the walls of this city were made of mud.⁸⁰⁰

It is not identified.

⁷⁹⁴ See Supra, p. 260

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid. *Āa. An.* 523.

⁷⁹⁶ *Uttarā Tī.* 9, p. 136 ff., also see *Āa. An.* 1293.

⁷⁹⁷ *Uttarā Sū.* 19, 14.

⁷⁹⁸ *Vivā.* II, 8, p. 64-1.

⁷⁹⁹ See Supra, p. 260.

⁸⁰⁰ *Bṛh. Bhā.* V1., 1. 1123.

Sumsumārapura or Susumārapura—a city

It is stated that Mahāvira arrived here from Vesāli and proceeded to Bhogapura.⁸⁰¹ The sage Vārattaka is said to have journeyed here from Vārattapura.⁸⁰²

Susumārapura is identified with a hilly place near Chunar in Mirzapur district. According to Pali literature, it is the capital of Bhagga country.⁸⁰³

Supatthapura—a city

This town was situated on the bank of the Ganges.⁸⁰⁴

It may be identified with Pratiṣṭhānpur, also known as Poyaṇapura, near Jhansi in Allahabad district.

Sunabhapura—a city

It is mentioned that after crossing the Ganges, Mahāvira arrived here from Seyaviyā and proceeded to Thūnā.⁸⁰⁵

Its situation is not known.

Sūrasena—a country

Sūrasena was the capital of Mahurā, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries.

Sūrasena was located immediately to the south of the Kuru and to the east of the Matsya country.⁸⁰⁶

Surattha—a kingdom

It is said that from the time of Samprati the country of Surattha along with Andhra, Diavida, Mahānāstra and Kudukka, was opened for the preaching of the Jain monks (see Andha).

Surattha is included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Bālavai as the capital.

It is mentioned that Kālaka Ācārya brought here ninety six kings from Pārasakūla (see Hindugadesa) and accordingly this country was divided into ninety six *mandalas*.⁸⁰⁷ Surattha was a centre of trade and was visited by the merchants frequently.⁸⁰⁸

⁸⁰¹ See Supra p 260, also See *Bhag* 3 2

⁸⁰² *Āra cū*, II, p 199 f

⁸⁰³ *Majjhima* p 61n, by Rahula Sāṅkṛtyayana, *Samantapāsādikā*, IV 862; *Majjhima* I, p 332

⁸⁰⁴ *Ita* 9, p 49 1, p 11

⁸⁰⁵ See Supra p 257.

⁸⁰⁶ *C A I G*, p 706.

⁸⁰⁷ *Brh Bhā* Vr., I, 943.

⁸⁰⁸ *Das cū*, I, p. 40.

A grass-cutting wooden instrument known as *kuliya*, was in use in Suratt̥ha. It measured two hands and had iron nails fixed at the end with an iron plate attached to it ⁸⁰⁹ It is said that the corn *kangu* was available in this country in plenty and rice was eaten in its absence ⁸¹⁰

Suratt̥ha comprises modern Kathiawar and other portions of Gujerat ⁸¹¹

Sūodaya—a city

The town was located in Veyaddha Indadhanu is mentioned as the lord of Vijāharas of the town ⁸¹²

Its site is not known.

Suttivai or Suttimatī—a city

Suttivai was the capital of Cedi, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries

It is the Suktimatī or Śuktisahvaya of the *Mahābhārata*. The *Mahābhārata* also mentions a river by the name of Śuktimatī, which is said to break through the Kolāhala hills and flow by the ancient kingdom of Cedi Pargitar identifies the river with the modern Ken and places Śuktimatī near the modern town of Banda ⁸¹³

Suvannabhūmi—a country

It is stated that Suvannabhūmi was visited by Usabha (See Adamba) and also by Ajja Kālaga, the latter is said to have arrived here to see his grand-disciple from Ujjeni ⁸¹⁴ Suvannabhūmi and Sihala dīva are cited as examples of *āsandīna dīva* which did not overflow by periodical sea-tide ⁸¹⁵ Cārudatta is said to have reached here in goat's skin (*ajena = iastiyena*) ⁸¹⁶

According to the *Vasudevahindī*, it was situated near the mountain Veyaddha ⁸¹⁷

Suvannabhūmi is identical with lower Burma, Pegu and Moulmein districts ⁸¹⁸

⁸⁰⁹ *Visi cū*, p 53 (MSS)

⁸¹⁰ *Ibid* 2, p 129 (MSS)

⁸¹¹ *C I G I*, p 697, *G E B*, p 38

⁸¹² *Uttarā* 18 p 247

⁸¹³ *G D* p 196

⁸¹⁴ *Āra cū*, II, p 25

⁸¹⁵ *Ācā cū*, p 224.

⁸¹⁶ *Sūya Tī*, I 11, p 196

⁸¹⁷ p 149.

⁸¹⁸ *G. E. B*, p. 70.

Supannakhalaya—a village

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra travelled here from Kollāka and proceeded to Bambhanagāma ⁸¹⁹

Its situation is not known

Supannavālyū— a river

It is stated that this river flowed between Dakkhinavācāla and Uttaravācāla (See Dakkhinavācāla) ⁸²⁰

Its exact situation is unknown.

Tagarā—a city

It is said that this town was visited by Rāhacārya⁸²¹; his pupils arrived from Ujjain

Tagarā is identified with Tera, a village in Osmanabad district of Hyderabad State situated to the north-east on the Tirna river,⁸²² twelve miles north-east of Osmanabad

Takkhasilā—a city

Takkhasilā was the capital of Bahali and is said to have been frequented by Usabha. When Bāhubali was informed about Usabha's arrival he visited the place next morning but then Usabha had already left. When Bāhubali could not see the Master he felt much grieved. He saw the prints of the Master's feet, honoured them and put over them a jewelled *dhammacakka* so that no one may walk on those foot prints ⁸²³ (See also Bahali, *Dhammacakkabhūmikā*)

Takkasilā or Taxila was the capital city of Gandhāra kingdom. It is frequently mentioned as a centre of education in the Jātakas. It lay two thousand leagues from Benares, and has been identified with the ruins near Shahdheri twelve miles from Rawalpindi in the Punjab ⁸²⁴

Tāmalitti—a city

Tāmalitti was the capital of Vanga which was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. Tāmalī Moriyaputta is stated to be a resident of this town. ⁸²⁵

⁸¹⁹ See Supra, p. 258

⁸²⁰ Hemavālukā is mentioned in the *Kāthāvat*, Vol VII, ch. cvm, p. 65.

⁸²¹ *Uttarā Tī* 2 p. 25 a, also *ibid*, 2, p. 20a, *Marana* 489 p. 129 a, *Yya. Bhā* 3 339.

⁸²² *G D* p. 200 cf *hu Sū* 130, p. 137. See also *Karakanducaria*, IV, VI

⁸²³ *Āva cū*, p. 180f, *Āva Nir.*, 322, also *T. S. P.*, p. 186. See also *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara ch. 101.

⁸²⁴ *C A G I*, p. 681, *G. E. B.*, p. 52.

⁸²⁵ *Bhag* 3 1.

Tāmalitti is cited as an example of *donamuha* where goods were carried by land as well as by water.⁸²⁶ It was well-known for cloth and is mentioned along with Gauda and Sindhu⁸²⁷ (See also Konkana).

Tāmalitti was a great river-port town of the time. It is identified with modern Tamruk, situated on the bank of the Rupanaravan.⁸²⁸

Tambāya—a settlement

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra travelled here from Jambukhandā and proceeded to Kūviya Sannivesa.⁸²⁹

It has not been identified.

Tankana—a country

It was a non-Āryan country. It is referred to in the *Sūyagaḍaṅga*⁸³⁰ as well as in the *Bhagavatī*.⁸³¹

It is said that the Tankana *mlecchas* lived in Uttarāvahā and went to Dakkhināvahā for trade taking with them gold, ivory and other saleable commodities. Since they did not follow the language of the southern country, they collected their goods in piles and laid their hands on them. They did not lift their hands from the articles until they got a suitable price for their goods.⁸³²

Tankana is mentioned in the *Brhatkathākośa*.⁸³³ There was a mountain here of the same name. Rudradatta and Cārudatta are said to have killed two goats on this mountain. They entered into their skin and were taken by the greedy Bherunda birds to the Ratnadvīpa.

The tanganas were a mountain tribe and are mentioned often in the *Mahābhārata*. They inhabited a large kingdom ruled over by Subāhu which was in the middle portion of the Himalayas.⁸³⁴

Teyalipura—a city

It is mentioned that king Kanagaraha ruled here.⁸³⁵

It is not identifiable.

⁸²⁶ *Brh Bhā.* I. 1090.

⁸²⁷ *Uja Bhā.* 7. 32

⁸²⁸ *C 4 G I.*, p. 732. For different names and discussion about Tāmralipti see Sylvain Lévi, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian*, p. 118 f.

⁸²⁹ See *Supra* p. 258.

⁸³⁰ 3. 3. 18

⁸³¹ 3. 2

⁸³² *Āra cū*, p. 120

⁸³³ 93. 146.

⁸³⁴ II. 29. 44, III. 142. 24 ff; See also Dr. Motichand's article in the *J. U. P. H S.*, Vol. XVII, Pt. I, p. 35.

⁸³⁵ *Nāyā.* 14, p. 147 ff.

(1) *Thūnā—a settlement*

It is mentioned that Mahāvīra arrived here from Surabhīpura and proceeded to Rāyagīha.⁸³⁶

Sthūnā is mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūrī*. The *Udāna* (VII.9) places Sthūnā in the country of Mallas to the⁸³⁷ north-west of Patna on the right bank of the Gandakī.⁸³⁷

(2) *Thūnā—a country*

This country was situated in the west of Sāketa. Mahāvīra allowed his monks to traverse up to Thūnā to the west of Sāketa (See Sāketa). The Jain monks were allowed to wear costly garments in this country, but it is said that their fringes should be removed (See Sindhu).

It is identified with Thaneshwar.⁸³⁸

Tigīrkhī—a city

It is mentioned that king Jiyasattu ruled here.⁸³⁹

Its site is not known.

Timisaguhā—a cave

This cave was located in the mountain Veyaḍḍha and is mentioned along with Khandappavāya.⁸⁴⁰

- Its location is not known.

Toranaura—a city

This city was situated on the Veyaḍḍha mountain.⁸⁴¹

Its exact situation is not known.

Tosali—a city

It seems that Tosali was a centre of the Jains in ancient days where there was a marvellous image of God Jina guarded by king Tosalika.⁸⁴² It is said that Mahāvīra arrived here from Hatthisisa and proceeded to Mosali. He returned to Tosali again and set out for Siddhatthapura. Mahāvīra was tied up here seven times and was thus caused many griev-
ances.⁸⁴³

⁸³⁶ See Supra, p. 277.

⁸³⁷ The Geographical contents of *Mahāmāyūrī*, by Dr. Sylvain Lévi, translated by V. S. Agtawala, *J. U P H S*, Vol. XV, pt. II.

⁸³⁸ *C A G I* p. xlvii, l. n 2.

⁸³⁹ *Vuā* II, 9, p. 64-2.

⁸⁴⁰ *Jambu Sū.*, 12.

⁸⁴¹ *Utanā. Tī.*, 9, p. 143.

⁸⁴² *Jyā. Bhā* 6, 115 ff.

⁸⁴³ See Supra, p. 260.

Tosali is mentioned along with Koṅkaṇa where people were fond of eating fruits and vegetables, and where livelihood was earned by selling fruits and flowers.³⁴¹ There was plenty of water in this country and so the corn was grown here by rivers even though there were no rains. It is mentioned that sometimes due to heavy rains, the crops failed in this country and in that case the Jain monks were allowed to live on palm-fruits which grew here in abundance.³⁴²

There was a large number of she-buffaloes in Tosali which attacked people with their hoofs and mouths and it is stated that ācārya Tosali was killed here by a buffalo.³⁴³

This country was known for its lakes (*tilodaka*).³⁴⁴

According to Dr. Sylvain Lévi, Tosali was situated in the district of Cuttack, in Orissa, and the present village Dhauli stands on a site near to or identical with that of Tosali.³⁴⁵

Tumbavana—a stillerant

Tumbavana Sannivesa was situated in Avanti.³⁴⁶ It is stated to be the birthplace of Vajrasvāmin.³⁴⁷

Its exact situation is not known.

(1) *Tuṅgiya—a stillerant*

Tuṅgiya Sannivesa was located in Kosambi.³⁴⁸

(2) *Tuṅgiya—a mountain*

Rāma Baladeva is said to have practised penance on this mountain (See Kosambārappa). This mountain is also referred to in the commentary of the *Caṇḍīyāna*.³⁴⁹

It may be identified with modern Mangitungi about 80 miles from Nasik.

(3) *Tuṅgiya—a city*

Tuṅgiyā is mentioned as a home of a number of *śaṅkrapāśagav*, and was visited by the disciples of Pāsa.³⁵⁰

³⁴¹ *Prth. Bhū* 1 1289, *Viśva-dharmā*

³⁴² *Prth.* 1, 1000 E.

³⁴³ *Āra. vi.*, p. 247

³⁴⁴ *Prth. Bhū* 2 3422.

³⁴⁵ See now the discussion, *En-Armen and Pre-Dhauli in India*, pp. 673-72, translated by Ruggie.

³⁴⁶ *Āra. vi.*, p. 390

³⁴⁷ *Āra. Jñā.*, 164.

³⁴⁸ *Prth.* 626.

³⁴⁹ 32, p. 38.

³⁵⁰ *Bhag.* 2-5.

The Jain pilgrims identify Tūṅgiya with the town of Bihar. Probably it may be identified with modern Tungi situated two miles from Bihar.⁸⁶⁴

Turukka—a country

Turukka is mentioned in the *Orāṇiya*⁸⁵⁵ and other Jain texts. It was a substance used for incense and is mentioned with *kālāguru*, *kundaṇukka* etc. *Turukka* is either Liquidambar Orientalis (*śīhalaka*, vernacularly *śilāśasa*), or Schreberia Swietenoides (Sanskrit *ghantapātala*) or the resin of Pinus Longifolia (Sanskrit *śrīvāsa*).⁸⁵⁶

Turukki is included among the eighteen scripts.⁸⁵⁷

Turushka is identified with Eastern Turkestan.⁸⁵⁸

Turuminī—a city

It is mentioned that Sasaya and Bhasaya, the two monks arrived here with their sister Sukumāliya from Vanavāsī.⁸⁵⁹

It is not identified.

Uccānagara—a city

Uccānūgarī is known as a *sākhā* of the Jain śramanas.⁸⁶⁰

(See also Varanā)

Uddandapura—a city

This town is said to have been visited by Gosāla.⁸⁶¹

This is identified with the town of Bihar in Patna district. Bihar was also called Dandapura or Udandapura. It was known as Dandapura as a number of *dandins* (religious mendicants) collected here and made this land their headquarters.⁸⁶²

Ujjayanta or Ujjinta—a mountain

It is stated that Aṅkthanemi attained salvation on this mountain.⁸⁶³ This mountain is mentioned as a place of renunciation in general.⁸⁶⁴ There were water-falls⁸⁶⁵ on this mountain and people used to celebrate

⁸⁵⁴ *Pācuna lūthamālā* Pt. I, p. 16 introduction.

⁸⁵⁵ p. 8.

⁸⁵⁶ Barnett *Antagada*, p. 3n.

⁸⁵⁷ *Vīśeṣa Bhā* 5. 464.

⁸⁵⁸ *G. D.*, p. 207.

⁸⁵⁹ *Brh. Bhā* 1. 5275 ff.

⁸⁶⁰ *Kalpa Sū*, 8, p. 232.

⁸⁶¹ *Bhag*, 15.

⁸⁶² *Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, p. 78.

⁸⁶³ *Ā. A. Yu.*, 307, *Kalpa. Sū*, 174, p. 182.

⁸⁶⁴ *Ogh.* 119, p. 60.

⁸⁶⁵ *Brh. Bhā*, 1. 1. 2022.

here feasts every year. Ujjayanta and Vebhāra are referred to as mountains⁸⁶⁶ where sports were held. (See also Girinagara ; Hatthikappa ; Nāyakhaṇḍa).

The name Ujjayanta is mentioned in both of the Girnar inscriptions of Rudradāma and Skandagupta. It is only another name for the Girnar hill that rises above the old city of Junagadh.⁸⁶⁷ Ujjayanta was also known as Revaya. (See Revaya).

Ujjeṇī—a city

Ujjeṇī was situated in Dakkhināvalia in Avantī. It was also known as Kunālanayara⁸⁶⁸ since it was given to the prince Kunāla for viceroyalty.

Ujjeṇī was known for the image of the living lord, and Ajja Suhattī, a contemporary of king Sampai, is stated to have visited it.⁸⁶⁹ Ujjeṇī was also visited by ācārya Caṇḍarudda,⁸⁷⁰ Bhaddaya Gutta, Ajjarakhiya⁸⁷¹ and Ajjāsāḍha.⁸⁷²

Ujjeṇī was a centre of commerce and we hear of the merchants of this place moving about for trade with a caravan.⁸⁷³ Ujjeṇī is mentioned along with Māhessara and Sirimāla where people of the same nature including the Brāhmanas were addicted to drink wine. (See Māhessara ; also Bhaiuyakaccha ; Mālava).

Ujjayanti is also called as Visālā, Avantī and Puspakaraṇḍinī.⁸⁷⁴ It is identified with modern Ujjain on the bank of the Sipta.⁸⁷⁵

Ujjuvāliyā—a river

This river was situated at the outskirts of the city of Jambhiyagāma (See Jambhiyagāma).

It remains unidentified.

Ulluga—a river

Ullugātira and Khedaṭṭhāma were situated on eastern and western banks of this river respectively (See Khedaṭṭhāma).

⁸⁶⁶ *Bhag. Tī.*, 7, 6.

⁸⁶⁷ *G. D.*, p. 211.

⁸⁶⁸ *Sam.* 82, p. 58.

⁸⁶⁹ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 1, 3277.

⁸⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 6, 6103f, *Uttarā Tī.* 1, p. 4.

⁸⁷¹ *J. a. c. ū.*, pp. 394, 403.

⁸⁷² *Das. ū.*, 3, p. 96.

⁸⁷³ *Āva. Cū.* II., p. 164 ; *Āva. Nir.* 1276 ; also *Das. Cū.* 1, p. 66.

⁸⁷⁴ *Abhidhāna.* IV, 42.

⁸⁷⁵ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 726.

On the eastern bank was stopping Gaṅgadeva, the grand-disciple of Mahāgiri. He used to cross the river and visited his teacher Dhana-gutta on the other bank.⁸⁷⁶

Its exact situation is not known.

Ullugāṭīra—a city

This city was situated on the bank of the river Ullugā and was visited by Mahāvīra.⁸⁷⁷ (See Ullugā).

It is not identified

Unnāga—a settlement

It is said that after crossing a forest, Mahāvīra arrived here from Puṣṭimāla and proceeded to Gobhūmi.⁸⁷⁸ Unnāta is mentioned in the *Vaḥbhārata* (Sabbh. 27. 5).

Its location is not known

Ushabhapura—a city

It is mentioned that this town was visited by Mahāvīra.⁸⁷⁹ Tisagutta proceeded to Āmalakappā from here.⁸⁸⁰

According to the tradition, Ushabhapura is another name for Rāyagiha (See Rāyagiha).

Usuṇḍā—a city

This town was located in Kuru.⁸⁸¹

Its exact location is not known.

Uttarāpaha—Northern division of India

Various customs and practices of this country are recorded in the Jain texts. It is said that there was severe cold in this country and people having insufficient clothes kept themselves warm by burning fuel.⁸⁸² Even heat was unbearable here and there was a constant rainfall in this country,⁸⁸³ accompanied by snow.⁸⁸⁴

It is stated that people in this country had their meals at night and so, if a monk, due to famine etc., was obliged to travel here, he had to follow the same practice.⁸⁸⁵

⁸⁷⁶ *Uttarā Tī*, 3 p 71a

⁸⁷⁷ *Bha.* 16. 5

⁸⁷⁸ See *Supra* p 259. *Īta Tī* p 284 a

⁸⁷⁹ *Uttā* II 2 p 64

⁸⁸⁰ *Iha* 7. 87

⁸⁸¹ *Uttarā Su*, 14, also *Uttā* II, p 64.

⁸⁸² *Visi cū*, Pī p 59

⁸⁸³ *Ibid*, 2 p 26 (MSS).

⁸⁸⁴ *Das cū*, p 276

⁸⁸⁵ *Visi u*, Pī, p 139.

Corn was cultivated here by wells,⁸⁸⁶ and barley-meals was a common food in this country. It was customary here to burn the old grass fields so that the new grass may grow in its place.⁸⁸⁷

As in Dakkhināvaha, a maternal uncle's daughter was not allowed to marry in this country (See Dakkhināvaha).

Uttarāpatha was known for *dhammacakka*⁸⁸⁸ (religious wheel) and was visited by Varasāmī. It is said that at that time a famine had broken out in this country and all roads were blocked.⁸⁸⁹ Uttarāpatha was also frequented by the sage Divāyana, who reached here from Bārava.⁸⁹⁰ Uttarāpatha was known for its horses.⁸⁹¹

Originally, two great trade routes both Uttarāpatha and Dakkhināpatha lent their names to the regions through which they passed. It is in this sense that the districts of Kamsa and Uttaramadhurā, which lay on the northern high road, are included in Uttarāpatha and that Avanti, which lay on the southern high road, is included in Dakkhināpatha.⁸⁹²

Uttaravācāla

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Dakkhinavācāla and proceeded to Seyaviyā. (See Dakkhinavācāla)

Its exact situation is not known.

Vācāla

(See Dakkhinavācāla)

Vaccha (Matsya)—a kingdom

Vaccha or Matsya was included among the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Vairāda as its capital.

The Matsya country comprises the modern territory of Alwar. The capital of Matsya country was Virātanagara or Vairāta, so called because it was the capital of Virāta, the king of Matsya.⁸⁹³

Vacchabhūmi (Valsa)—a kingdom

Vaccha was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Kosambī as its capital. It is said that Ajjāsādhā and his pupils sojourned in this country.⁸⁹⁴

⁸⁸⁶ *Brh Bhā* \ r 1 1230, *Asi Gū*, Pi p 46

⁸⁸⁷ *Āta Cū* II p 297

⁸⁸⁸ *Brh Bhā* \ r 1 5824

⁸⁸⁹ *Āta Cū*, p 396

⁸⁹⁰ *Das cū*, p 41

⁸⁹¹ *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p 141, also see *Vinaya*, III, p 6,

⁸⁹² *G E B*, pp 48 ff, *P B. I*, p 367,

⁸⁹³ *C A G I*, p 702

⁸⁹⁴ *Uttarā cū*, 2, p. 87

It is described in Buddhist literature as Vamsā or Vatsā,⁸⁹⁵ and is identified with the region near about Prayag⁸⁹⁶

Vāḍahānaga—country

It is mentioned that Karakandu converted the Cāṇḍālas of Vāḍahānaga to Brahmanism⁸⁹⁷

Vāṭadhānas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 35. 8). Their country, Vāṭadhāna, was a part of the territory stretching from Pañcanada to the Ganges. They inhabited the country on the east side of Sutlej, southward from Ferozepore⁸⁹⁸

Vaddhamāna—a village

Vaddhamāna was another name for Atthiyagāma (See Atthiyagāma).

Vaddhamānapura—a city

It is mentioned that the fourteenth *Tīlhayana* received his first alms here⁸⁹⁹

This town was visited by Mahāvīra. There was a garden here named Vijayavaddhamāna with the shrine of Manibhadda *Jakkha*⁹⁰⁰

Vaddhamānapura is mentioned in the *Dīpavamsa*. Dr. Law identifies it with modern Buidwan⁹⁰¹

Vāhalika

(See *Bāhala*).

Vaidisa—a city

It is mentioned that there was a sandalwood idol of Mahāvīra in Vaidisa which was visited by Mahāgiri. This town was also visited by Suhatthi⁹⁰²

Vaidisa and Mahurā are mentioned as manufacturing centres of cloths⁹⁰³. Vaidisa is included with Sindhu, where the holy scripture *Pannatti* was not to be studied⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁵ *Kanhadīpāyana Jātaka* (IV, p. 28)

⁸⁹⁶ *C A G I*, p. 709

⁸⁹⁷ *Uttarā Tī*, 9, p. 134

⁸⁹⁸ Pargitar, *Mārkendeya Pūrāṇa*, p. 312. Also see Dr. Motichand's article *Geographical and Economic studies in the Mahābhārata*, *J U P H. S.*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II, pp. 37 f.

⁸⁹⁹ *Ā. a. Nir* 324

⁹⁰⁰ *Iti* 10, p. 56

⁹⁰¹ *G. E. B.*, p. 69. Also see *G. D.*, p. 25.

⁹⁰² *Ā. a. Nir*, 1278

⁹⁰³ *Ā. a. Tī*, p. 307, Haribhadra

⁹⁰⁴ *Sūva. cū.*, p. 20.

Vedisa is mentioned in Bharhut inscriptions. According to Cunningham, Vedisa is the old name of Besanagar, a ruined city situated in the fork of the Betwa river and the Betwa within two miles of Bhilsa.⁹⁰⁵

Vanāḍa, Vnāḍa or Verāḍa—a city

Virāḍa was the capital of Matsya or Vaccha, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is stated that the Koravas were stupefied (*thambhaya*) here by Ajjuna.⁹⁰⁶

Vairāṭa was the abode of the five Pāṇḍavas during their twelve years' exile. The country was also famous for the valour of the people. It is identified with Bairat in Jaipur state.⁹⁰⁷

Vajja—a country

This country was included as one of the sixteen *Janapadas*.⁹⁰⁸

The tribes of the Vajjis included according to Cunningham and Prof Rhys Davids, *atthakulas* or eight confederate clans among whom the Videhas, the Vajjis themselves, Licchavis and the Jñātrikas were the most important. The Vajjis like the Licchavis are often associated with the city of Vesālī, which was not only the capital of Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy.⁹⁰⁹

The country of Vajji is roughly equivalent to the north of Darbhanga and the adjacent Nepal Terai.⁹¹⁰

Vajjabhūmi

Vajjabhūmi was a part of Lāḍha, a non-Āryan country, where Mahāvīra is stated to have undergone extreme pains. The inhabitants of this place, on account of taking coarse meals, were of furious nature, who set dogs upon Mahāvīra to bite him. The Lord is stated to have arrived here from Rāyagīha and proceeded to Siddhatthapura⁹¹¹ (See Lāḍha).

It may be identified with modern Birbhum.

Valabhī—a city

It is mentioned that Jain monks assembled here and put the Jain canons in order.⁹¹²

⁹⁰⁵ G E B, p 35

⁹⁰⁶ *Sūya. cū*, p 375

⁹⁰⁷ *J U P H S*, Vol XV, Pt II, p 31

⁹⁰⁸ The *Bhagavatī* (7.9) refers to the great battle that took place between Kūṇva and Cēdaga. Mahāvīra predicted that Vajjividehaputta would win and the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala would be defeated. Abhavadeva explains the word *vajji* in the sense of Indra (*vajri*=*Indrah*) which is incorrect.

⁹⁰⁹ G E B, p 12

⁹¹⁰ *C.A.G.J.*, p. 718

⁹¹¹ See *Supra*, p 260.

⁹¹² See *Supra*, Section I.

Valabhī or Balabhī included the whole of peninsula and the district of Broach and Surat. Valabhī is represented by the ruins at Wala, eighteen miles north-east of Bhavnagar.⁹¹⁸

Vāḥṣyagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvīra arrived here from Pedhalagāma and proceeded to Subhoma.⁹¹⁴

Its exact situation is not known.

Vanavāsī—a city

It is said that Jīyasattu, the grandson of Jarākumāra, ruled here.⁹¹⁵

Banavāsī is referred to as a place where Asoka sent his missionaries. It was one of the capitals of the Kadambas. Banavāsī lay on the banks of the Varadā river, in Sirsi Taluka, North Kanara district.⁹¹⁶

Vāṅga or Banga—a country

Vāṅga was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Tāmalitti as its capital. It was included among the sixteen countries.

Vāṅga is identical with modern Eastern Bengal. It did not stand as a name for the entire province as it does now.⁹¹⁷

Vāṇiyagāma—a city

Vāṇiyagāma was visited by Mahāvīra very frequently,⁹¹⁸ and he is said to have passed twelve rainy seasons in Vesālī and this place.⁹¹⁹

There were many adherents of Mahāvīra in Vāṇiyagāma, Ānanda being chief amongst them.⁹²⁰

Vāṇiyagāma is identified with Baniya, a village near Basarah in Muzaffarpur.⁹²¹

Varadā—a river

It is stated on the bank of this river the word 'hale' was used in addressing people.⁹²²

Varadā is referred to in the *Vasudevahindī*.⁹²³

⁹¹⁸ C. I G I, p. 697.

⁹¹⁴ See Supra, p. 260.

⁹¹⁵ *Brh. Bhā.* 4. 5255 f; *Nir. cū.* 8, p. 302; also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, VI 9. 58.

⁹¹⁶ C. I G I, p. 744.

⁹¹⁷ C. E B, p. 68.

⁹¹⁸ See *Ma. An.* 496, also *Daśa.* 5, p. 141; *Trā.* 2, p. 12.

⁹¹⁹ See Supra, p. 261.

⁹²⁰ *Ud.* 1, also *Bhag.* 11. 11; 18. 10.

⁹²¹ *G. D.*, p. 107.

⁹²² *Daś. Cū.*, p. 250.

⁹²³ P. 89f.

Varadā is the river of Southern India, a tributary to the Tungabhadra.⁹²⁴

Varadāma—a holy place

Varadāma was counted among the holy places (See Khandappavāya ; Magadha : Pabhāsa)

Varadāma is mentioned as a holy place in the *Mahābhārata* (III 80. 65) ; it was situated near Dvārakā

Varanā or Varunā—a country

It was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Accha as its capital (See Accha). Vārana (Cāraṇa ?) is mentioned as a *gaṇa* of the Jain *Sramanas* in the *Kūlpasūtra* (8, p. 230).

Varanā was known by the name of Uccānagara which is identical with the modern town of Bulandashahar in U P.⁹²⁵ The dictionary *Fan Fan yu* has preserved an account that the monk Fa-chung, during the course of his travels in India (124-153), passed by the town of Varuna in his journey from Nagarahāra to Vaidisa.⁹²⁶

Even now Bulandashahar is known as Baran

Vārāṇasī—a city

Vārāṇasī was the capital of Kāśī, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It was included among the ten capitals.

Vārāṇasī was the birthplace of the seventh and the twenty third *Tīlthayaras*.⁹²⁷ Vārāṇasī was visited by Mahāvīra, who is said to have arrived here from Kosambi and proceeded to Rāyagīha.⁹²⁸ It was also frequented by Gosāla.⁹²⁹ The *Vānapatītha* mendicants are stated to have put up here on the bank of the Ganges.⁹³⁰

In the Buddhist world Kapilavatthu, Bārāṇasī and Kusināra were three places of pilgrimage.⁹³¹

It is identified with modern Benares

Vārattapura—a city

It is stated that monk Dharmaghoṣa travelled to this place from Rāyagīha.⁹³²

It is not identified.

⁹²⁴ *Imp. Gaz. Vol. XIII*, p. 463.

⁹²⁵ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, 1892, p. 379.

⁹²⁶ The Geog. contents of the *Mahāmāyūri*, Dr. Sylvain Levi, *Trans.* by V. S. Agrawala, *Journal, U. P. II. S.*, Vol. XV, Pt. II. *Vārana* is also mentioned in the *Mahābhā* (XIV. 71. 2).

⁹²⁷ *Āva. Nir.*, 382, 384 and 1302.

⁹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 518.

⁹²⁹ *Bhag.* 15.

⁹³⁰ *Niryā.* 3. 3.

⁹³¹ *Digha.* Vol. II, *Mahāparinirvāṇasūttā*.

⁹³² *Āva. sū.*, II, p. 199, *Piṇḍa. Tī.*, 628, p. 169.

(1) *Vasantapura—a village*

This village was situated in Magadha.⁹³³

It may be identified with the village Basantapur in Purnea district.⁹³⁴

(2) *Vasantapura—a city*

It is said that king Jiyasattu ruled here with his queen Dhārini;⁹³⁵ a congregation (*gaccha*) of the monks is stated to have been moving about in this town.⁹³⁶

It is not identifiable.

Vatā—a country

(See *Māsa*)

Vatthagā—a river

This river flowed between Kosambī and Ujjenī. Girimukha was a mountain on the bank of this river (See *Girimukha*,⁹³⁷ also *Elakacchapura*).

Probably *Vatthagā* and *Vettavati* are identical and may be identified with *Betwa*, a river in Bundelkhand which rises in Bhopal State.⁹³⁸

Vayagāma—a village

It is stated that Mahāvira arrived here from Siddhatthapura and proceeded to Ālambhiyā.⁹³⁹

It is not identifiable.

Vebhāragiri—a mountain

This mountain lay at the outskirts of Rāyagiha near Nālandā.⁹⁴⁰ A detailed description of *Vebhāra* is given in the *Nāyādhammakahā*,⁹⁴¹ where queen Dhārini is said to have gone to accomplish her pregnancy longing. Various monks and ascetics are described to have practised penance and achieved their goal here.⁹⁴² Near this mountain was situated the spring known as Mahātavovatirappabha (See *Mahātavovatirappabha*).

According to the *Siddhatthakalpa*, the eleven *gaṇadharas* submitted to *pīḍopagamana* and attained salvation here.⁹⁴³

It is one of the five hills of Rājagṛha.⁹⁴⁴

⁹³³ *Sūya Nir.* II. 6. 190f.

⁹³⁴ See *District Gaz., Purnea*, p. 185. XXVI, 1911.

⁹³⁵ *Ogh. Nr.* 449, p. 158. *Ā.ā. cū*, p. 534.

⁹³⁶ *Amu Su* Ii, p. 14 (Hau.).

⁹³⁷ *Marana*, 475, p. 128a, also *Ā.ā. cū*, II, p. 100.

⁹³⁸ *Imp. Gaz.* Vol. II, p. 334.

⁹³⁹ See *Supra*, p. 260.

⁹⁴⁰ *Bhag.* 2. 5; 3. 4.

⁹⁴¹ 1, pp. 10, 18.

⁹⁴² *Marāṇa* 444, p. 126a; *Uttarā. cū.*, p. 57.

⁹⁴³ p. 22.

⁹⁴⁴ *C.A.G.I.*, p. 530.

Vesāli—a city

Kundapura, a suburb of Vesāli, was the birthplace of Mahāvīra, and hence he is called as Vesāliya. Vesāli was the centre of activities of Mahāvīra, who visited it frequently and passed twelve rainy seasons there.⁹⁴⁶

At the time of Buddha, Vesāli was a very large city, rich and prosperous, crowded with people with abundant food. The courtesan Ambapālī, who was famous for her beauty, helped in large measure in making the city prosperous.⁹⁴⁸

Vesāli is identical with modern Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district of Bihar.⁹⁴⁷

Vetariṇī—a river

This river is referred to in the *Sūyagadāṅga cūṇi*⁹⁴⁸ and the *Uttarā-dhyāyana*.⁹⁴⁹

There were several rivers of this name. One in Orissa is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I 181.22). It is again identified with the river Dantura which rises near Nasik and is in the north of Bassein. It is further identified with a river in Gharwal on the road between Kedāra and Badrinātha.⁹⁵⁰

Vettavatī—a river

Cārudatta is said to have crossed this river by the cane creeper.⁹⁵¹

From the Jātakas we learn that the city of Vettavatī was on the banks of the river of Vettavatī. It is the river Betwa in the kingdom of Bhopal, an affluent of the Jumna, on which stands Bhulsa or the ancient Vidiśā.⁹⁵²

Veyālī—a village

It is referred to in the *Avaiyaka cūṇi*.⁹⁵³

Its location is not known.

Veyaddhagiri—a mountain

It is said that the mountain of Veyaddha lay near the mountain of Gandhamādanavakkhāra in Avaravideha⁹⁵⁴ and is said to have been frequented by the *Vijāharas*.⁹⁵⁵

⁹⁴⁶ See Supra, p. 261 f.

⁹⁴⁷ *Mahāvagga*, p. 268.

⁹⁴⁸ Law, *G. Essays*, pp. 17 f., *C.A.G.I.*, p. 307.

⁹⁴⁹ p. 159.

⁹⁵⁰ 19.59, also see *Mayjhima*, III, p. 185; *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 53.20.

⁹⁵¹ *G.E.B.*, p. 40.

⁹⁵² *Sūya. cū.*, p. 239.

⁹⁵³ *G.E.B.*, p. 40.

⁹⁵⁴ II, p. 94.

⁹⁵⁵ *Avā. cū.*, p. 165.

⁹⁵⁶ Cf. *Uttarā. Tī.*, 22, p. 277.

According to Hemacandra's *Tisastisalakāpurusacarita*,⁹⁵⁶ Vaitādhya mountain was four hundred miles long touching the rivers Gangā and Sindhu on either side. It was given as dominion to Nami and Vinami by Dharanendia, the protecting deity of the first *Tirthankara*, Ādinātha. Nami occupied the southern Vaitādhya and founded fifty cities including Jayantī and Rathantūpurakravāla and Vinami occupied the northern Vaitādhya and similarly founded another fifty towns.

It is not identifiable

Veyavaī—a river

This river flowed near the village Atthiyagāma (See Atthiyagāma). It is perhaps the same as Gandak⁹⁵⁷

Vibhāsā—a river

This river was one of the great tributaries of the Sindhu.⁹⁵⁸

It is the same as Vipāśa of the *Mahābhārata* (I 193 6) and is identified with Bias.⁹⁵⁹

Vibhela or Vebhela—a settlement

This Sannivesa was situated at the foot of the Vinjagiri.⁹⁶⁰ It is not identified.

Vidarbha—a country

This country is referred to in the *Suyagadaṅga cūrṇi*.⁹⁶¹

Vidarbha corresponds to the modern Berar.⁹⁶²

Videha—a country

It was one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries with Mithilā as its capital

Tisālā, the mother of Mahāvīra, was known as Videhadinnā, a native of Videha⁹⁶³ Similarly, Kūnika was known as Videhaputta, the son of Cellanā, a native of Videha⁹⁶⁴

Videha is identical with ancient Tribhukti, modern Tirhut.⁹⁶⁵

Vidisā—a river

It is said that the city Vaidisa was located near this river.⁹⁶⁶

Vidisā is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 9. 22).

It is identified with the river Bes near Bhilsa.⁹⁶⁷

⁹⁵⁶ p 173 ff

⁹⁵⁷ Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II, p. 9.

⁹⁵⁸ See Supra, p. 276

⁹⁵⁹ *G E B*, p. 38

⁹⁶⁰ *Bhag*, 3 2, also *Nityā* 3 4

⁹⁶¹ p. 240

⁹⁶² *G D*, p. 38

⁹⁶³ *Kalpa Sū*, 5. 109.

⁹⁶⁴ *Bhag* 7 9

⁹⁶⁵ *G E B*, p. 30, cf *Vaidha*, p. 32.

⁹⁶⁶ *Amu sū*, 30, p. 137.

⁹⁶⁷ *G E B*, p. 35.

Vibhaya—a city

This city was the capital of Sindhu Sovira, one of the twenty five and a half Āryan countries. It is also known as Kumbhakārapakkheva (See Kumbhakārapakkheva)

It may be identified with Bhera in the Punjab. (See Kumbhā-kārapakkheva)

Vijayapura—a city

It is mentioned that the fifth *Tilthayara* received his first alms here ⁹⁶⁸
This city is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra ⁹⁶⁹

Probably it may be identified with Vijayanagara which is situated on the bank of the Ganges in southern Bengal ⁹⁷⁰

Vijayavaddhamāna—a city

This town was situated in south-east of Sayaduvāra. It extended over five hundred villages over which the district-officer Ikkāi ruled. (See Sayaduvāra)

Its situation is not known

Vinītā—a city

It is mentioned that at the time of the coronation ceremony of Usabha, the citizens sprinkled water over his feet. The Indra remarked at that time that the citizens were well behaved (*vinītā*) and hence this city came to be known as Vinītā ⁹⁷¹. Vinītā was the birthplace of the first and the fourth *Tilthayaras* ⁹⁷²

According to the commentary on the *Āvaśyaka*, ⁹⁷³ Vinītā was another name for Avodhyā.

Viñjha—a mountain

This mountain lay on the southern bank of the Ganges ⁹⁷⁴. The Vindhya forest was noted for its elephants ⁹⁷⁵

It is the same as the Vindhya range. The celebrated temple of Vinduvāsini is situated on a part of the hills near Mirzapur. ⁹⁷⁶

Vīraṇhāna

This place was situated at a distance of twelve *yojanas* from Ujjeni on the way to Bennāyaḍa. ⁹⁷⁷

Its exact situation is not known.

⁹⁶⁸ *Āva Nir*, 323

⁹⁶⁹ *Vinā* II, 4 p. 64

⁹⁷⁰ *G D* p. 36

⁹⁷¹ *Āva Nir* 200.

⁹⁷² *Ind*, 382

⁹⁷³ p. 244a See also *T S P.*, p. 149 f.

⁹⁷⁴ *Nāyā*, I, p. 37.

⁹⁷⁵ *Pinda Nir*, *Ti*, 83, p. 31.

⁹⁷⁶ *G D*, p. 37.

⁹⁷⁷ *Uttarā Ti*, 4, p. 62.

Vūṇḍa—a city

The twenty first *Tutthayara* received his first alms here.⁹⁷⁸ This town is said to have been visited by Mahāvīra.⁹⁷⁹

Its precise situation remains unknown.

Viśāhā—a city

Mahāvīra is said to have visited this town.⁹⁸⁰

Cunningham identifies it with Ayodhyā.⁹⁸¹

Vitatthā—a river

This river was one of the great tributaries of the Sindhu.⁹⁸²

The Pali name of Vitattha is Vitamsa. It is the river Jhelum.⁹⁸³

Viula—a mountain

The mountain Viula lay in Rāyagiha. It was considered a holy place where a number of monks practised penance and are stated to have attained liberation.⁹⁸⁴

According to Pali literature, Vepulla is one of the five peaks near Rājagiha; this was the highest of them.⁹⁸⁵ It is also known as Pācīnavamsa, Vankaka and Supassa.⁹⁸⁶

978 *Āra Nir*, 325.

979 *Vivā*, II, 3, p. 64.

980 *Bhag* 18. 2.

981 *C A G I*, p. 460.

982 See *Supra*, p. 276.

983 *G E B*, p. 55.

984 *Nāṇa*, I, p. 45 f; *Bhag*. 2. 1, *Anta*. 6, pp. 39, 42 f.

985 *Samyutta* I, p. 67.

986 *Ibid*, II, p. 190 f.

II

This section consists of the list of the non-Āryan countries mentioned in the Jain texts, which includes mainly the list of non-Āryan tribes and the foreign female slaves. As already referred to, these lists have become so corrupt that it is very difficult to identify the place-names and the names of the tribes. For instance, Ariavāga has changed into Akkhāge, Cullala into Villala, Maccha into Vaccha and Cina has disappeared altogether or its name is canceled under that of another people. However, we have tried to identify the place-names wherever possible.¹

Abhāsīya

Abhāsīs were known to the *Mahābhārata* (VIII. 91. 10)

Its location is not identified.

*Ambalā*²

Ambastha is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā* (14. 7)

According to Dr. Pargitar, the Ambasthas occupied the country between Ambala and the Sutlej with the Sivis on their east and south and the Trigartas on their north-west.³

Aṇakkha (or *Nakkha*) ?

Its exact situation remains unknown.

Andha

(See *Supra*).

Ārabaka

The maid-servants Ārabakīs were brought from here (see also *Āṅga*)

It is mentioned in Alexander's invasion on the river Arabios in southern Baluchistan.⁴

Āroṣa or *Harasa* ?

If it is Kārūṣa, it may correspond to the country of Baghelkhand.⁵

Ayyala or *Ajjhala* or *jalla*

Its site is unknown

Babbara

The maid-servants Babbarīs were brought from this country (also see *Āṅga*).

¹ The following texts may be studied for references: *Bhag.* 3. 2, *Panha*, 1, p. 13a, *Panna* 1. 37, *Sūya Tī*, 5. 1, p. 122a, *Uttarā Tī*, 10, p. 181a, *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, p. 445a, also *Nāyā* 1, p. 21, *Rāya Sū*, 210, *Orā Sū*, 33, *Jambu. Sū* 43, p. 185. *Nisī cū*, 8, p. 523

² In the *Pannavanā* (1, p. 37) Ambaṭṭhas etc. however, included among the Āryans

³ *Mārka Purāṇa*, p. 379, also see McCrindle's *Invasion of India by Alexander*, p. 166 n. Also *Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures*, 1918, p. 158

⁴ McCrindle's *The Invasion of India*, p. 167.

⁵ *Bharat bhūmī aur uske mizāī*, p. 205,

The Epics and the Purānas mention the Barbaras as a northern or north-western people. The country of the Barbaras was in north-west frontier of India, and it stretched up to the Arabian sea.⁶ It is the Barbaricum or Barbaricon emporium mentioned in the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.⁷

Bāhalika

(See *Bāhālī*).

Bandhuya

Its exact situation is not known.

Bausa or *Paosa*

The maid-servants, known as Bausis, were brought from here. It cannot be identified.

Bhadaga

The Bhadrakas appear to have been situated on the west bank of the Jumna, somewhere between Delhi and Mathura.⁸

Bhilla

Bhil was a pre-Āryan race inhabiting the Vindhya, Satpura and the Satmala or the Ajanta Hills. The Bhils were the chief of the large group of tribes that at one time held most of the country now distributed among the provinces of Mewar, Malwa, Khandesh and Gujerat.⁹

Bhuttua

Probably it may be identified with Bhotiyas (from Bhot, the corrupt form of Bod or Tibet), who are of Tibetan origin.¹⁰

Cilāya or *Cilāyaloga*

The maid-servants known as Cilātikās were brought from here (See also *Anga*).

The Cilāyas were also known by the name of Āvāda. They resided in the north and possessed of a large number of mansions, conches, seats, vehicles, slaves, cattle and much gold and silver. They were rich, arrogant, powerful and fiery and proficient in the art of fighting. They are said to have fought with Bharata and defeated his forces.¹¹

The place near Assam and Sylhet was called the country of Kirāta. Its capital was Tripura which is identical with modern Tipara.¹²

⁶ C. I. G. I., p. 693

⁷ Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 92

⁸ Paigatai *Māhānādyā*, p. 309

⁹ *Imp. Gaz.teen*, Under 'Bhil', see also *The Tribes and Castes of the G. P. of India*, by Russel, and *Muralal* Vol. 2, pp. 278 ff; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol. I, Pt. III, pp. 51 ff.

¹⁰ *Imp. Gaz.*, II

¹¹ *Jambu*, 59, p. 231.

¹² *G. D.*, p. 100.

Cillala

Perhaps it may be the same as Cilāya.

Cīna

Cīna was known for soft cloth known as *cīnāmsuya* ¹³

Cīna comprised the country of Tibet along with the whole range of Himalayas. In the *Mahābhārata* they are always spoken of with respect and admiration ¹⁴

Cucūlika or *Sūyali*

Cūlikas or Sūlikas are mentioned in the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* as a people through whose country flowed the river Cakshu or perhaps Oxus ; if so, the Sūlikas would be a people on the Oxus in Turkestan. ¹⁵

Cuñcuka

It is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (XIII. 146. 17) as well as the *Bṛhatsamhitā* ¹⁶

According to Sylvain Lévi, this country is situated near Gazipur, he identifies it with Cenchu of Hiuen Tsang. ¹⁷

Damila (*Dravīḍa*)

(See Supra)

Dhorukina

The maid-servants known as Dhorukinī were brought from this country

Its situation is not known

Domba

The Dombas are mentioned among despised class in the Jain texts. ¹⁸

The Dombas are mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* ¹⁹ It was a caste of degraded musicians and may be regarded as representing early inhabitants of northern India. ²⁰

Dombalaga

It may be the same as Domba

Gandhavāha or *Gandhahārāga* or *Gandhāra*.

Gandhārakas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. ²¹ (See also Gandhāra).

¹³ *Bṛh Bhā.*, 2 3662, *Anu Śā.*, 37, p. 30.

¹⁴ Pargitar, *Mārkandeya*, p. 319.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 323

¹⁶ 14 18.

¹⁷ *Mémoires Sylvain Lévi* pp 242-3, Paris, 1937.

¹⁸ *Vya Dhā* 3 92, *Vist cū* 11, p. 747.

¹⁹ Vol I, V. 359, 389-396

²⁰ *Census India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt. I, p. 364.

²¹ Sorenson, *Index to Mahābhārata*, p. 291.

Gayakanna

Its exact situation is not known.

Godā

If it is Gonda, it may be identified with Gond, the principal tribe of the Dravidian family, and perhaps the most important of the non-Āryan forest tribe in India. The Gonds are found in a large proportion in the Central Provinces.²²

Godhota or *Godhodamha* or *Godhāz*

The Godhas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.²³

Hayakanna

Its location is not identifiable.

Hayamuha or *Tutugamukha*

Asvamukhas are mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa* as dwelling north of the Himalayas.²⁴

Hūna

Hūnas were known for their oppression.²⁵

Hūnas are mentioned as an outside people to the north along with Cīnas, etc. In the *Raghuvamśa*, they are placed to the northmost part of the Indus.²⁶

Isāna

The maid-servants known as Isāniyās were brought from here. Its location is not known.

Jalla or *Ajjahala*

(See Ayvala)

Javana

(See Supra)

Kāka or *Kāya*

The Kākas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.²⁷
(See Supra).

Kamboya

(See Supra).

²² See Russel and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, Vol III, p. 41 ff; *Census of India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt III, pp 75 ff

²³ Sorenson *ibid*, p 309

²⁴ Pargitar, *Mārk* p 368

²⁵ *Āva cū.*, II p 248.

²⁶ Pargitar, *Mārkandeya*, p. 379.

²⁷ VI 9. 64

Kanaka

Kanaka is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*.²⁸ Dey identifies the region of Kanaka with Travancore.²⁹

Kekaya

(See Supra)

Khasamuha

It remains unidentified.

Khasa

The Khasas are identical with the present Khākha tribe to which most of the petty chiefs in the Vitasta valley, below Kashmir and in the neighbouring hills, belong.³⁰

Khāsiya

Khasis are mentioned as an aboriginal tribe in Assam³¹ and the Kumaun Division

Kōṇa

Its location cannot be traced.

Konkanaga

(See supra under Konkana).

Kuhuna

Kuhaka Kuhuka or Kuhu are mentioned in the *Māhānāḍya Purāṇa* as a people on the line of the Indus.³²

Kulakkha

The Kulatthas are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*³³ and in *Markandeya Purāṇa* as a people of the north of India.³⁴

Lāsika or Lhāsiya

The female slaves known as Lāsikas were brought from here.

Can this tribe be identified with the Nasikyas of the *Purāṇas*? They were the people of ancient Nāsika.³⁵

Lausa or Laosa

The maid-servants known as Lausikās were brought from here. It is not identifiable.

²⁸ 14. 21

²⁹ G D, p 88

³⁰ *Rājataraṅgi* Vol II. A Stein, p 430

³¹ See *Imp Gaz* under Khasi, *Census of India*, 1931, Vol I, Pt III, pp 24 ff.

³² P. 324.

³³ VI. 9. 66.

³⁴ Pargitar, *Mārk.*, p. 375.

³⁵ *Law. Tribes*, p. 179.

Maggara or *Mahuara*

The Margaras are mentioned in the *Bṛhatsamhitā*⁸⁶ and the Mardrakas in the *Mahābhārata*.⁸⁷

Malaya

Along with Sauvīras and Saindhavas, the *Kūrma Purāṇa* (x. vii 10) mentions the Hūnas (or Kūnas) and Malayas (or Śalvas)⁸⁸

Marahatta

(See Supra)

Maruya

(See Supra).

Māsa or *Pāsa*

It cannot be identified.

Meda

Meda is described as a tribe of the *mlecchas* which used to hunt animals day and night with bow and arrow.³⁹

Meda is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the name of a low caste.⁴⁰ They were the sea-faring people of the Makīān coast.⁴¹

Minḍhiyamuha

Its exact situation remains unknown.

Moṇḍha

Mundas were a large Dravidian tribe in Chota Nagpur.⁴²

Murunda

The maid-servants known as Murundīs were brought from here. Hemacandra gives Lampāka as another name for Murunda. Murunda is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Cunningham suggests that perhaps Murundas are the same as Mundas, one of the aboriginal tribes of East India.⁴³

Dr. Stein Konow holds that Murunda is the later form of a Śaka meaning 'lord' or 'master'; the term Śaka-Murunda possibly stands, therefore, for these Śaka lords or chieftains who were ruling in the regions of Surāstra and Ujjain at the time of Samudragupta.⁴⁴

86

14 18

87 Sorenson, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

88 *Māhābhārata* P, p. 315

89 *Bih. Blā* 1 2766

40 *Index to Mahābhārata* p. 477

41 H. Risley, *The People of India, Calcutta*, 1908, p. 141.

42 Paigitar, *Mārk Purāṇa*, p. 329

43 C.A.G.I., p. 582.

44 *Lau, Tribe*, p. 94 n.

Muṭṭhya

Can they be identified with Mūtibas of the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa*, who are mentioned along with the Andhras, Pulindas and Śavaras. Perhaps they were located in the south.⁴⁵

Nehura or Nedura

Its exact situation is unidentifiable.

Niṇṇaga

Niṇṇaiyā is included among the eighteen kinds of *livas* described in the *Samavāyāṅga* (See Supra).

Its location is not known.

Pakkanya or Pakkanaya

The Pakkaniyas were the maid-servants brought from this country.

Pakkaniyas are perhaps the same as the Pareikanioi of Herodotus. This is also implied as a counter example to Praskanva in Sūtra (6. 1. 153) and is stated by the Kāśīkā to have been the name of a country. The Pareikanioi, who are said to have formed a part of the empire of Darius, may be identified as the ancient inhabitants of modern Ferghana. Geographically Ferghana is situated immediately to the north of Pamir or ancient Kamboja.⁴⁶

Pakkhali, Pukkhali or Pakkani

The maid-servants, known as Pakkanis, were also brought from here. This country was famous for fine horses. According to Haribhadra, Pakkhali is the same as Vāhlika.⁴⁷

Pallhava

(See Supra.)

Pārasa

(See Supra.)

Pulinda

The maid-servants known as Pulindis were brought from here. Pulindī was also known as a script. (See Supra).

According to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (IV. 22), the kingdom of the Pulindas was situated amidst the Vindhya on the route which goes from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayini.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 173

⁴⁶ Dr. V. S. Agrawala *J U P H S*, Vol. 16, pt. I, p. 28.

⁴⁷ *Das. Ti.*, 6.

⁴⁸ See Sylvain Lévi, *Pre-Aryan and Dravidian in India*, pp. 88-91.

Rāma, Roma, Romasu or Romaya or Romaka or Romapāsa or Rumā usaya

Roma was known for clean (*amila*) cloth, and *rumā* salt.⁴⁹

Romaka is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. H. E. Wilson identifies Ruma with Sāmbhar, and as *rauma* means "salt," it is probable that the term may have been applied to the Sāmbhar lake in Rajputana, as well as to the Salt-Range of hills in the Punjab.⁵⁰

Ramathu

Ramathas are also mentioned in the *Mahābha.* (II. 36. 12)

According to Dr. Sylvain Lévi, Ramatha should be located between Ghazni (Jāguda) and Wakhan (Vokkāna). Like Jāguda, Ramatha was *par excellence* the country producing *hingu* (asafoetida).⁵¹

Ruru or Bharu or Bhamariya

Its location is not known

Sabara

The maid-servants known as Sabarīs were brought from here.

The Śavaras and Pulindas are described in the *Purāṇas* and the *Mahābhārata* as the inhabitants of Deccan. They are usually identified with the Suarī of Pliny and the Sabarac of Ptolemy, and are probably represented by the Savaralu or the Sauras of the Vizagapatnam Hills and the Savaris of the Gwalior territory.⁵²

Saga

Sagrety, including Turkestan in Central Asia, is the country of the Śakas. According to the Greek geographers, the Śakas lived to the east of Sogdiana now called the Pamir, the country between Bokhara and Samarkand. According to Strabo, the country lying to the east of the Caspian Sea was called Scythia.⁵³

Sīhala

See *Supra*.

Tankana

(See *Supra*).

Tittiya

Tantuvikas are mentioned in the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁵⁴ as well as the *Mahābhārata*.⁵⁵

⁴⁹ *Nīl cū* 7, p. 107, *Das cū* 3, p. 115

⁵⁰ *C. A. G. I.*, p. 181

⁵¹ *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, p. 40

⁵² *P. H. A. I.*, p. 79.

⁵³ *G. D.*, p. 172

⁵⁴ CXIII 49. Pargitar, *Mārk. Purāṇa*, p. 338.

⁵⁵ VI. 50-51.

Uḍḍa

It is same as Odra or Orissa. According to the *Brahmapurāṇa*, Odra extended northwards to Vraja maṇḍala or Jajpur.⁵⁸

Vokkasa

Vokkasa or Bokkasa is included among the mixed castes. An offspring of Nisāda father and Ambatṭha mother was called a Bokkssa.⁵⁷

Vokkṇa or Pokkṇa

Pakkṇa is referred to in the *Bṛhatkoṣa Bhāṣya*.⁵⁸

Vokkāṇa is mentioned in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*⁵⁹ as well as in the *Divyāvadāna*.⁶⁰

According to Dr. Sylvain Lévi, Vokkāṇa is identified with Wakhan.⁶¹

⁵⁸ G. D., p. 42.

⁵⁷ *Ācā Vir.* 26; *Manu.* X. 18

⁵⁸ 3. 4523.

⁵⁹ 14. 20.

⁶⁰ XXXVII, p. 580

⁶¹ *J. U.P.H.S.*, Vol. XV, Pt. II, p. 40.

SECTION VI

SOME IMPORTANT KINGS AND DYNASTIES

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I SIXTY THREE GREAT MEN

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CHAPTER II KINGS AND RULERS

INTRODUCTION

It may be noted that the chronological side of the Jain Canons is very weak and so a systematic chronological framework cannot be expected from such a class of work. As a matter of fact, the Jain texts are full of legendary traditions interspersed with loose facts here and there, which were narrated by the religious teachers to enliven their sermons and to illustrate their doctrines. Like Buddhist kings and monarchs, here also we notice the kings and emperors renouncing the world and attaining salvation on some mountain after severe penance. Very often we meet king Jiyasattu in these legends which seems to be a common designation of kings like Bambhadatta of the Buddhists or the epithet Devānāmpiya of a later age.

Jain texts mention a number of kings and rulers who were contemporaries of Mahāvira, but it should be noted that except for a few well-known kings such as Śrenika, Kūnika, Pradyota and Udayana, none of them is identified. We know nothing even about such a powerful king as Cetaka, who was followed of eighteen republican kings of Kāśi and Kosala and a staunch follower of Jain religion. Similarly, nothing is heard about Dadhivāhana of Campā, Dasannabhadda of Dasanna and Udāyana (Rudrāyana of the Buddhists) of Vīribhaya so well-known in the Jain Canons. The last mentioned king is described as one of the eight chief kings¹ ordained by Lord Mahāvira himself. In the same way other contemporary kings² of Mahāvira are unidentified so far, and their historicity is in absolute darkness.

Regarding the kings and princes, another point which should be noted is that most of the notable rulers are equally claimed by Jains and Buddhists³ as followers of their respective faith. This only proves that the rulers in ancient India showed uniform courtesy towards religious teachers of different sects, and people in general were not so sectarian as we not do in later ages.⁴

Wherever possible with the help derived from Brahmanic and Buddhist traditions, we have tried to arrange the loose and varied facts embodied in the Jain Canons. As in the previous chapter, in the absence of chronology, we have felt it advisable to arrange the kings in alphabetical order along with their descriptions as given in the Jain Canons.

¹ The other kings were Eneyaka, Virangaya, Virayasa, Sañjaya, Seya, Śrivaśana Sankha (*Thā* 8 621). Besides, Dasannabhadda (*Āra cū* . p. 476) and Pasannacanda (*ibid* . p. 455f) are mentioned among other rulers who joined the ascetic order of Mahāvira.

² Some of these kings are Adinasattu (*Vivā* . II 1, p. 59), Hatthivāla (*Kalpa sū* 5 123), Mittanandi (*Vivā* . II, 10 p. 64-2), Sridāma (*Vivā* . 6, p. 36), Soriyadatta (*Vivā* . 8, p. 45f), Vāsavadatta (*Vivā* . II p. 64) and Vijaya (*Vivā* . I, p. 2).

³ Cf. for instance that Seniya Bimbisāra of Magadha up to the day of his death was given to the praises of Buddha, (*Digh* II p. 202). Similarly it is mentioned that Abhavarājakumāra asked Buddha to accept him as his disciple and embraced the Master's faith, Abhavarājakumārasutta *Majjhima*. In the same way Ananda is said to have preached his sermons to Udayana and his queens (*Cullavagga*, XI 1 13).

⁴ Cf. the equal reception given to Thāvaccāputta, a Jain monk, and the mendicant Suya by the citizens of Sogandhiyā (*Nāyā* 5 p. 73).

CHAPTER I

THE SIXTY THREE GREAT MEN .

According to Jains, there are two cycles (*kalpa*) each having two eras, the *Avasarpinī* and *Utsarpinī*. In the former, *dharma* goes on decreasing until in the end chaos and confusion reign over the earth, whereas in the latter there is an evergrowing evolution of *dharma*. Each of these eras are further divided into six ages (*kālas*), viz., (1) *Susamāsusamā* (the period of great happiness), (2) *Susamā* (the period of happiness), (3) *Susamādusamā* (the period of happiness and sorrow), (4) *Dusamāsusamā* (the period of sorrow and happiness), (5) *Dusamā* (the period of sorrow) and (6) *Dusamādusamā* (the period of great sorrow).

The first age *Susamāsusamā* is described as the happiest age when the children born were always twins, a boy and a girl, and their parents died immediately after their birth. In this millennial age all needs were supplied by the ten desire-yielding trees (*kalpavṛksas*). The worst of all is said to have been the last age, named *Dusamādusamā*. It is stated that during this period terrific storms would blow, there would be dust all over, the clouds would shower poisonous water and except the mountain, Veyaddha, and the rivers Gaugā and Sindhu, everything else would perish and the whole earth would be blazing with fire. The people would live during this period in the caves would catch fish and tortoises and would satisfy their hunger with flesh and dead bodies.¹

THE TWENTY FOUR TĪRTHAṆKARAS

The earliest reference to the twenty four *Tīrthaṅkaras* is made in the *Samavāya*, *Kalpasūtra* and the *Āvaśyaka Nirjukti*.² It is mentioned that Usabha was born in the third age while the remaining twenty three *Tīrthaṅkaras*, eleven *Cakravartins*, nine *Baladevas*, and nine *Vāsudevas* and *Prativāsudevas* in the fourth.

Usabha, who is known as the first king, the first monk, the first *Jina* and the first *Tīrthaṅkara*, is said to have been born in Ikkhāgabdhūmi (Ayodhyā) in the house of Nābhi by his queen Marudevī. It is stated that when Usabha was born, Indra approached king Nābhi with a sugarcane and Usabha stretched his hand to take it, and thus was formed the dynasty of Ikkhāgu.

¹ See *Jambu. Sū.* 18-40.

² They are Usabha Ajīya, Sambhava Abhinandana, Sumai, Paumappabha, Supāsa, Candappaha, Suvihī, Pupphadanta, Siyala, Sejjamsa, Vāsopujja, Vimāla, Ananta, Dhamma, Santi, Kunthu, Ara, Malli, Munisuvvaya, Nami, Ariṭṭhanemi, Pāsa and Vaddhamāna, *Sama. Sū.* 24, *Kalp.* chs. 6 and 7; *Āva. Nir.*-369ff, also cf. Schubring, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

In course of time, Usabha married his own sisters, Sumangalā and Sunandā. The former bore a twin, named Bharata and Bambhī and the latter another pair named Bāhubali and Sundarī. When Usabha ascended the throne of Vinitā, he is said to have formed four corporations (*ganas*), viz., Uggas, Bhogas, Rāinnas and Khattiyas.

It is mentioned that during that period people ate uncooked roots and Usabha taught them cooking in earthen vessels. At this time arose the potters, blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, and hairbers. Further, Usabha is said to have taught alphabets to Bāhinī, arithmetic to Sundarī, *rūpakamma* (sculpture) to Bharata and *uttakamma* (painting) to Bāhubali. Thus came into existence the seventy-two arts for men, sixty-four for women and one hundred general arts (*sippa*). It was during this period that the *Nāgayañña*, the *Indriyamañña*, the institution of marriage, and the building of the *thūbhas* (mounds) as memorials to the dead were promulgated.

Usabha is said to have reigned for countless number of years, and then retired in favour of Bharata, who was declared as the first universal monarch of Vinitā. After taking to the ascetic life, Usabha is said to have travelled through a number of places. He is said to have passed through the countries of Bahali, Adamba and Illā and reached Hatthināpura where he was offered sugarcane by Sejjanasa, the grandson of Bāhubali. Usabha is said to have attained omniscience in Purimatūla in the garden of Sagadamuha and attained salvation on the mountain Atthāvaya.³

Mallī is said to have been the nineteenth *Tīrthankara* of the Jains. It should be noticed that according to the Svetāmbaras, she was a female and according to the Digambaras a male. It is stated that the kings Padibuddhi of Kosala, Candacchōya of Anga, Sankha of Kāśī, Ruppī of Kunāla, Adinasattu of Kuru and Jivasattu of Pañcāla waged war against Kumbhaga, the father of Mallī.⁴

Nami, who was known as the royal sage (*nāyatisi*), was the twentieth *Tīrthankara*. He was the son of Mayanarchā by Jugabāhu, who was stabbed to death by his brother. At that time Mayanarchā was pregnant. She fled away out of fear and delivered her child in the forest. Here the child was picked up by king Paumaraha of Mithilā, who handed it over to his queen. In course of time, the king renounced the world and Nami was anointed on the throne. After sometime Nami also joined the ascetic order.⁵ Nami is described as a contemporary of Karakandu, Dumuha and Naggai, who are referred to as four *Pratyekabuddhas*. All of them are said to have renounced the world and reached Khippatthiya.⁶

³ *Jambhu Sū* 2 30-33. *Kalpa Sū* 7 205-228. *Āta Nir* 150ff. *Āta. cū.* pp 135-182. *Vasu* pp 157-167, 185. also *T S P.* pp 100 ff.

⁴ *Āyā* 8.

⁵ *Uttarā. Sū* 9.

⁶ *Ibid* 18. 46. Nami is identified with Janaka, the Brahmanic philosopher king of the *Mahābhārata*, who is known as Mahājanaka II in the *Jātakas*. According to the *Rāmāyana* and the *Purānas*, Nami was the founder of the royal family of Mithilā (*P.B.I.*, pp. 48ff. *P.H.A.I.*, p. 45, also *Caraka* 26, p. 666).

Nemi or Aritthanemi was the twenty second *Tīrthankara*. He was the son of king Samuddavijaya of Soriyapura by his queen Sivā. Kanha Vāsudeva is mentioned as Aritthanemi's cousin (see Kanha). It is said that Aritthanemi was to be married to Rāyamaī, the daughter of Uggase-na. When he set out in his chariot for marriage, he heard the pathetic groans of the cattle which were kept together to be slaughtered for the dishes of the guests. Aritthanemi felt very unhappy at this and immediately renounced the world. He proceeded to the garden, Saḥasambavaṇa, on the mountain Revaya and having practised asceticism, attained salvation. Rāyamaī also is said to have followed the foot-steps of her lord and attained salvation.⁷

Then we come to Pārsva, the twenty third *Tīrthankara*. He was born in Benares and attained salvation at Sammeya.⁸

Mahāvīra, also known as Vaddhamāna or Nāyaputta,⁹ was the last *Tīrthankara* of the Jains. He was the son of Siddhattha by his queen Tisālā and was born on the thirteenth day of the bright half of the moon in the month of *caitra*, in Khatṭiyakundaggāma. Siddhattha, the father of Mahāvīra, also known as Sejjamsa or Jasamsa, belonged to the Kāsava *gotta*. Mahāvīra's mother, Trisālā, belonged to the Vasittha *gotta* and was also known as Videhadinnā or Pīkārīnī. Supāsa is described as Mahāvīra's paternal brother, Nandivaddhana his elder brother, Sudamsanā his sister, Jasoyā of the Kodinna *gotta* his wife, and Piyadam-sanā, his daughter. It is mentioned that Anojjā was given to Jamālī, who gave birth to Sesavaī, also known as Jasavaī.¹⁰

Mahāvīra renounced the world when he was thirty years old. It is said that for a little more than a year Mahāvīra went about with a robe and afterwards wandered naked. Leading a life of severe asceticism for over twelve years, he is said to have attained omniscience on the bank of the Ujjuvālīyā outside the city of Jambhiyagāma. Mahāvīra spent his last rainy season in Pāvā in the office of the survey-ministers (*rajjuga-sabhā*) of the king Hatthivāla and died on the fifteenth day of dark half of *kārtika* at the age of seventy two. The night Mahāvīra died, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kosala are said to have observed *posaha* and made an illumination. At the time of his death Mahāvīra is said to have preached fifty five discourses on the result of good deeds, the same number on the result of bad deeds and thirty six discourses on unasked questions.¹¹

⁷ *Uttarā* 22

⁸ See Section I, ch. I.

⁹ For other names see Schubring, *op cit.*, p. 26 f.

¹⁰ *Kalpa, Sū* 5. According to the Digambaras, however Mahāvīra was never conceived by Devānandā, he remained a bachelor and when he renounced the world his parents were living. (See Jināsena's *Harīamsa Prārā* ch II). However of that the same work (36 f) mentions the *viāhamangala* of Vira with Yasodā.

¹¹ See *Kalpa, sū.*, chs., 1-5, *sū* 1-148, also Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, pp. 24-44. For the life of Mahāvīra see Jagdish Chandra's *Vardhamāna Mahāvīra*, Allahabad 1946.

The remaining *Tīrthāṅkaras* were born in Ayodhyā, Hastināpura, Mithilā, Campā and other places, and a majority of them attained salvation at Sammeya.¹²

THE TWELVE CAKRAVARTINS

Then we come to the *Cakravartins* or universal monarchs, the earliest reference to whom is made in the *Samavāyāṅga*¹³ Bharata was the first universal monarch and he was the son of Usabha by Summagalā. Bharata is said to have started on his conquests with his 'cakra' jewel and conquered the holy places such as Magadha in the east of Jambudvīpa, Varadāma in the south, and Pabhāsa in the west, and the goddess Sindhu, the Veyaddha and Timisaguhā. Then he crossed the great river Sindhu by the 'camma' jewel and conquered the countries of Simhala, Babbara, Anga, Cilāya, Javanadīva, Ārabaka, Romaka, Alasanda, the *mlecchas* known as Pikkhura, Kālamuha and Jonaka, the *mlecchas* residing on the southern direction of the Veyaddha, and the region from south-west direction up to the Sindhusāgara, and finally the most beautiful land of Kaccha. Then Bharata is said to have marched through the Timisaguhā and ordered his general to open its southern gate. Then Bharata is stated to have crossed the rivers named Ummaggajalā and Nimaggajalā and defeated the Cilāyas known as Āvāda, who were dwelling in the northern half of Bharaha and were rich, arrogant, powerful, fiery, like demons on earth. Then he conquered Culla Himavanta and proceeded to Usabhakūda mountain where with his 'lāgaṇī' jewel Bharata wrote down his name stating that he was the first universal monarch. Then he proceeded to the north of the Veyaddha mountain where Nami and Vinami, the *Vidhyādhara* kings, offered him the 'woman' jewel, viz., Subhaddā. Then Bharata conquered the river Gangā and proceeded to the cave of Khandappavāya situated on the western bank of the river Gangā, and ordered his general to open the northern gate of the cave. Here Bharata found out the nine treasures.

Thus attended by the fourteen jewels Bharata returned to Vinitā where his coronation ceremony was performed with great pomp and splendour. After Bharata had seated himself on the throne, he asked his ninety-eight brothers either to serve him or quit the country, whereupon they renounced the world and joined the ascetic order under Usabha. Then Bharata sent an envoy to Takhasilā where his brother Bāhubali was ruling and asked him to obey his commands. At this a battle took place between Bharata and Bāhubali when the latter abdicated his kingdom and joined the ascetic order. In course of time, Bharata too

¹² For references see *Āra Nir* 382 ff., *Uttarā Sū* 9, *Uttarā Ti* 18, pp 244 ff., *Nāgā* 8, *Kalpa Sū* 6170-184, *Vasu* pp 360, 361, 340 ff., 346 ff.

¹³ They are Bharaha, Sagara, Maghava, Sanakkimāra, Santu, Kunthu Ara, Subhema, Mahāpauma, Harisena, Jaya and Bambhadatta, *Sū* 12, also *Āra Nir* 374f., *Thā*, 10-718.

renounced the world and attained salvation at Atthāvaya. It is said that it was from Bharata that India is said to have derived its name Bhārahavāssa (Bhāratavarsa).¹⁴

Like Bharata, Sagara also is said to have set out on his conquests and being attended by the fourteen jewels, became the lord of six divisions of Bharaha. He was married and his queens are said to have given birth to a large number of sons. Once with the permission of Sagara, Janhukumāra, the eldest son with his younger brothers, set out on the journey of the earth, and in course of time, reached the mountain Atthāvaya. Here they saw the shrine erected by lord Bharata and decided to dig up a moat around the mountain for the protection of the shrine. They took the 'staff' jewel and began to dig up the earth. At this time the homes of the Nāgas were split open and the Nāgas being terrified, approached their king Jalanappaha, who was enraged and hurried away to Sagara's sons. But Janhu pacified him saying that they had no intention of giving them trouble and they were digging up a moat for the protection of the shrine. The moat was ready, but it would not look proper without water. So Janhukumāra took the 'staff' jewel again and splitting the Ganges, brought her water into the moat. The water reached the homes of the Nāgas and Jalanappaha was seized with wrath again and he dispatched poison-eyed, big-hooded serpents to the sons of Sagara, who burnt them to ashes immediately.

It is stated further that some time after, the people residing near Atthāvaya approached Sagara and reported that the Gaṅgā had begun to flood the surrounding villages. Sagara summoned his grandson, Bhagiraha, and asked him to proceed to Atthāvaya and to draw the water of the Ganges to the eastern ocean. It was done and Bhagiraha returned and made a report to his grandfather, who renounced the world and joined the ascetic order.¹⁵

Sanakkumāra was the fourth *Cakravartī*. He was the son of king Āsasena by his queen Sahadevī. He belonged to the Kuru family and ruled over Hatthināpura. Sanakkumāra attained salvation at the mountain Sammeya.¹⁶

Subhoma was the eighth *Cakravartī* and the son of Kattavīriya, who is mentioned as the son of king Anantavīriya of Hatthināpura. Renuka's (Jamadaggi's consort) sister was the queen of Anantavīriya. Once Jamadaggi gave Renukā *bambhanacaru* and her sister *khattiyacaru* to eat, but the former exchanged it with the latter. In course of time, Renukā gave birth to Rāma and her sister to Kattavīriya. Later on, Rāma is said to have killed Anantavīriya and Kattavīriya was annoin-

¹⁴ *Jambū sū*, 341-71. *Āśa cū* pp 182-223, *Uttarā Tī* 18, pp 232 a f, *Vasu*, pp. 186 ff; also Schubring, *op cit*, p 191. Also see *Mahābhārata* I. 101.

¹⁵ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, pp 233a ff. *Vasu*, pp 300, 304 f, also cf *Mahābhā* III. 105 ff; *Rāmāyana* I. 38 ff, *Culavamsa* lxxxvii 34.

¹⁶ Sanakkumāra is also mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (III. 188 24; I. 69.24); also see *Dīgha*, II, pp 210 ff.

ted on the throne. He died at the hands of Rāma and after his death his consort Tārū delivered Subhoma. Then to take revenge on Rāma, who was a Brāhmana, Subhoma slew him and was satisfied after slaying Brahmanas off the earth twenty one times.¹⁷

Bambhadutta, the last *Cakravartī*, was the son of Bambha by Cūlanī, who had alliances with the kings such as Diha of Kosala, Kadava of Kāśī, Kanerudatta of Gayapura and Pupphacūla of Campā. After Bambha's death, king Diha is said to have managed the affairs of the kingdom of Kampillapura. Later on, a battle ensued between Bambhadatta and king Diha in which the former was killed by the latter.¹⁸

The remaining *Cakravartins* were born in Hatthināpura, Kampillapura, Rājagaha, and Sāvattihī, and as usual renounced their kingdom and with the exception of a few, attained salvation at Sammeva.¹⁹

Then there were nine *Baladevas*,²⁰ nine *Vāsudevas*²¹ and *Prativāsudevas*,²² the earliest reference to whom is made in *Āyaya Bhāṣya*.²³ It is mentioned that the *Baladevas* and the *Vāsudevas* were always born as brothers and the latter were the rivals of the *Prativāsudevas*.²⁴ For example, Rāma and Lakṣmana the two brothers, were born as *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva* respectively; the latter slew Ravana, the *Prativāsudeva*. Similarly, Rāma Baladeva and Kṛṣṇa were born as the last *Baladeva* and *Vāsudeva* respectively; the latter slew Jarāsandha, the last *Prativāsudeva*.²⁵

¹⁷ *Āva cū*, p. 520; *Vasu.*, pp. 235-40. See also *Mahābhā* III.117 f; XII. 48; *Rāmāyana*, I 74-77.

¹⁸ *Uttarā Tī*, 13, p. 187 a ff. For Brahmadatta see also the *Mahāumagga Jāṭaka*, the *Suṣṇavaṇṇavadattā* and the *Rāmāyana* (I.33, 18 ff).

¹⁹ See *Uttarā Tī*, 13, pp. 187 ff, 236a-249, *Vasu.*, pp. 128-131, 233-240, 340-343, 346-348.

²⁰ They are Ayala, Vijaya, Bhadda, Suppabha, Sudamsana, Ānanda, Nandana, Pauma and Rāma.

²¹ They are Tivitttha, Divittthu, Sayambhū, Purisuttama, Purisasiha, Purisapundarīya, Datta, Nārāyana and Kanha.

²² They are Asaggiva, Tāraga, Meraga, Mahukedhava, Nisumbha, Baḷi, Paharāya, Ravana and Jarāsandha.

²³ 41 ff.

²⁴ See *Vasu.* pp. 240-245, 310-315, 319, *Uttarā Tī*, 18, 255a.

²⁵ For Kṛṣṇa legends, see *Vasudevahundi*: *Uttarā. Sū.* 22.

CHAPTER II

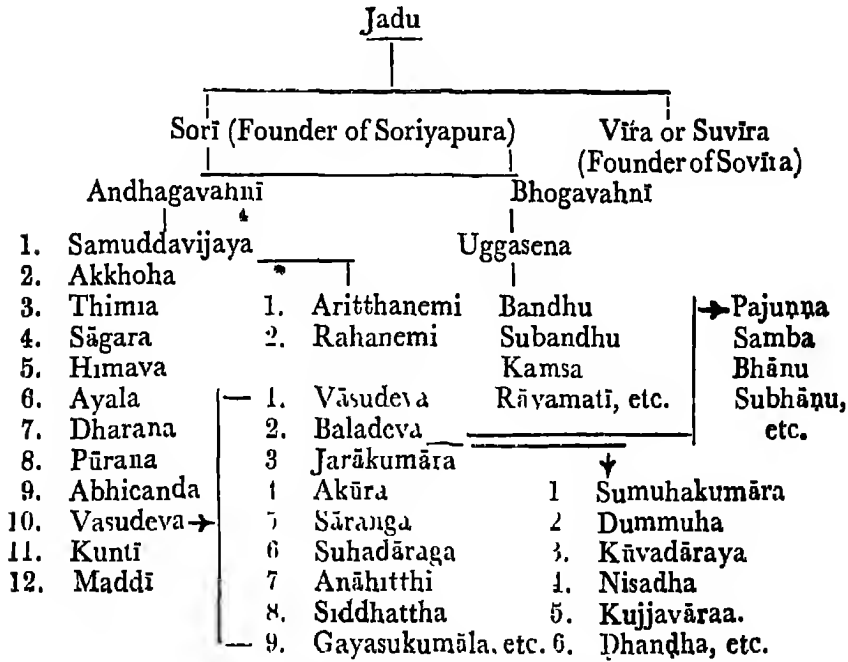
KINGS AND RULERS

The following is the alphabetical list of some important kings and rulers, together with their descriptions as given in the Jain Canons.

Andhagavahnī

It is mentioned that king Andhagavahnī¹ was the lord of Soriya-pura²; he also reigned in Bāravaī (see under Bāravaī).

The following is the geneological tree of the Yādava clan according to the Jain tradition³ :—



¹ For other traditions regarding Andhaka-Vīraṇi see *Vedic Index*, II, pp. 280f and *P. H. A. I.*, p. 118, also *Ghāṭa Jātaka* (No. 154).

² *Kalpa* *Tī* 6, p. 171

³ *Vasū* pp. 77, 78 ff. 110 f, 157 f; *Uttarā* *Tī*, 22 1 ff 2 pp. 37, 39, 45a; *Anta*, 3, pp. 8, 22; *Kalpa*, *Tī* 6, pp. 172-178, *Nirayā* 5

⁴ It should be noted that Haribhadra identifies Andhagavahnī with Samuddavijaya, the father of Aritthanemi and Rahanemi (*Das*, 208. *Tī.*), although in *Uttarā*, (22.4) Aritthanemi is described as the son of Samuddavijaya.

Asoga

Candagutta is mentioned as the first king of the Mauryan dynasty. His son was Bindusāra and his grand-son was Asoga. They all ruled over Pāṇaliputta. The Mauryan dynasty is compared with a barley grain which is thick in the middle and thin at both ends. It is stated that Chandragupta was less powerful in army and equipment. Bindusāra was more powerful than his predecessor and Asoga still more, whereas Samprati is described as the greatest of all. After Samprati the Mauryan dynasty began to decline.⁵

Balamitta

It is said that Balamitta and Bhānumitta were two brothers, the former was ruling over Ujjenī. It is said that Balabhānu, the sister's son of Balamitta, was ordained by Kālaka ācārya as a result of which Kālaka had to quit the town. According to another tradition, Balamitta and Bhānumitta were the sons of Kālaka's sister.⁶

Bhambhasāra, Bhimbhasāra or Seniya

King Bhambhasāra or better known as Seniya finds an important place in the Jain Canons. It is said that during the reign of king Pasenai, the city of Kusaggapura was a frequent prey to fires. Once through the carelessness of the cook, the king's palace caught fire when all the princes left the house in a confusion. At this time prince Seniya took a drum (*bhambhā*) and came out and since then he came to be known as Bhambhasāra.⁷

Seniya was a contemporary of Mahāvīra and is said to have asked a number of questions to the Teacher which are recorded in the sacred books of the Jains. Seniya is referred to as "lion of kings" (*rājasīha*) in the *Uttarādīyayaṇa Sūtra*,⁸ and is said to have belonged to the Vāhiya clan.⁹

HIS QUEENS

The Antagadadasāo¹⁰ gives the following names of twenty three queens¹¹ of Seniya: Nandā, Nandamā, Nanduttarā, Nandasaniyā, Maruyā, Sumariyā, Mahamaruyā, Marudevā, Bhaddā, Subhaddā.

⁵ *Bṛh Bhā* 1 3278 f. For other traditions regarding Aśoka see *P H A I*, pp. 4, 249 also, Law, some-ancient Indian kings, *Buddhist studies*, pp. 205 ff.

⁶ *Nisī cū*, 10, p. 630 ff. For the identity of Balamitta and Vikramāditya, see *Vīra Nirvāna* and Jain Kāl Gananā, *N P*, p. 141.

⁷ *Āva cū*, II, p. 158. cf. *Paramatthadīpanī*, the com. on the *Udāna*, p. 104 where it is said Seniya possessed a great army or he belonged to the Seniya gōtta and so he was known as Seniya. He was called Bimbisāra because he was of golden (*bimbi*) colour.

⁸ 20 58.

⁹ *Āva. cū.* II, p. 165.

¹⁰ 7, p. 43 f.

¹¹ According to Buddhist literature, Seniya had five hundred queens (*Mahāvagga*, VIII.1.15).

Sujātā, Sumanā, Bhūyadinnā, Kālī, Sukālī, Mahākālī, Kanhā, Sukanhā, Mahākanhā, Virakanhā, Rāmakanhā, Pūsenakanhā and Mahāsenakanhā.

It is said that Seniya had all the virtues of a prince, but his father would not give him the kingdom, so Seniya was frightened and fled away to the city of Bennāyadā, where he married Nandā, the daughter of a merchant. In course of time, Nandā or Sunandā became pregnant, and Seniya left for Rāyagiha. Later on, Sunandā's father took her to Seniya where she gave birth to Abhaya, who, later on, was appointed as a Prime Minister to Seniya.¹² Dhārīnī was another queen of Seniya, who gave birth to Meghakumāra. Prince Abhayakumara was present at the time of Meghakumāra's birth.¹³ Cellanā was the third queen of Seniya. It is mentioned that Cellanā was the youngest of the seven daughters of king Cedaga of Vesālī, who was kidnapped by Seniya secretly. Abhayakumāra was present at the time of this secret escapade.¹⁴ Apagatagandhū is mentioned as still another queen of Seniya.¹⁵

HIS SONS

According to the *Avasyaka cūṛṇi*, Seniya had a number of sons.¹⁶ The *Anuttaravavāya sutta*¹⁷ records the following ten names of his sons: Jālī, Mayālī, Uvayālī, Purīsasena, Vārīsa, Dīhadanta, Latthadanta, Vehalla, Vehāyasa and Abhayakumāra. Out of these the first seven were born of Dhārīnī, Vehalla and Vehāyasa, also known as Halla and Vihalla, of Cellanā, and Abhayakumāra of Nandā.¹⁸ The same work records the following thirteen names of Seniya's sons: Dīhasena, Mahāsena, Latthadanta, Gūḍhadanta, Suddhadanta, Halla, Duma, Dumāsena, Mahādumasena, Sīhasena, Mahāsīhasena and Punnasena. All of them are said to have joined the ascetic order and attained salvation.¹⁹ Kāla, Sukāla, Mahākāla, Kanha, Sukanha, Mahākanha, Virakanha, Rāmakanha, Senakanha and Mahāsenakanha²⁰ are mentioned as other sons of Seniya by the queens Kālī, Sukālī, Mahākālī, etc. mentioned

¹² *Avā cū*, p. 516. *A. A. Tī.* Harī, p. 417a. Nandā or Sunandā of the Jains may be identified with Ambapālī of the Buddhists. Abhayakumāra was her illegitimate son by king Bimbisāra (*Vinayaśāstru* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda Gilgit Manuscript, Vol. III, pt. 2, pp. 20 f). According to another tradition, Abhaya was the son of Padumavatī, a courtesan of Ujjeni, the com. on the *Therīgāthā*, pp. 39-41.

¹³ *Nāyā* 1.

¹⁴ *Avā cū* II, p. 165 f. Cellanā, also known as Vaidhī, and her elder sister Sujetthā of the Jains are identical with Celā and Upacelā of the Buddhist tradition. Both were the daughters of Sīmha, the commander-in-chief of the Licchavis and the nieces of Gona, the chief minister of Bimbisāra. For the full story, see *Vinayaśāstru* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp. 12 f. In Pali literature Kosalādevī (*Jātaka*, III, p. 12 f) and Khemā (*Mahāvaṃsa-purāṇi*, the com. on the *Anguttara* I, p. 342) are mentioned as other queens of Seniya. The former is said to have been the mother of Kūṃka, otherwise known as Ajatashatru.

¹⁵ *Nisī cū*, Pt. I, p. 16.

¹⁶ II, p. 167.

¹⁷ 1.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Ch. II.

²⁰ *Niryā*. 1.

above. It is mentioned that these ten princes fought in a battle with Kūnika against Cedaga.³¹ Nandisena and Kūniya are said to have been other sons of Seniya. We are not told much about the former except that he controlled Secanaka, the pet elephant of his father.³² Later on, he joined the ascetic order.³³ Kūniya, Halla and Vihalla were born of Cellanā, Kūniya being the eldest. There was a great war between Kūniya and his younger brothers.³⁴ Halla and Vihalla entered the ascetic order under Mahāvira.³⁵

About Abhaya, it is said that once he asked Mahāvira, "who will be the last royal sage." The latter declared "The last royal saint is king Uddāyana and after him the crowned kings will not take a vow." Thereupon, prince Abhaya, fearing that his taking a vow would be impeded, refused to accept the throne. Once king Seniya went with queen Cellanā to worship Mahāvira. When they were coming back, queen Cellanā saw a great hermit standing in a meditation and enduring the torture of cold. The queen felt very sorry for the hermit. She went and slept at night in her bed. In course of the night, her hand slipped out of her blanket and became cold. She was immediately reminded of the hermit and wondered how would he get through the night. The king heard her speech and became doubtful about her chastity. Next morning Seniya ordered Abhaya to burn down the harem, and himself went to Mahāvira to ask whether queen Cellanā was the wife of one or many. Mahāvira replied that she was devoted to only one husband and he explained what had happened. The king returned to the palace full of remorse. In the meantime, prince Abhaya set on fire an empty elephant stable and went to worship the J'na. Later on, Abhaya renounced the world and joined the order, and Seniya made up his mind to give the kingdom to Kūniya.³⁶

It seems Seniya also had daughters. We are told in the *Āvasayaka cūṛṇi*³⁷ that he married one of his daughters to the son of Kayapunna of Rāyagiha, who is said to have saved his pet elephant Secanaka from the jaws of a crocodile. The same work also mentions a sister of king Seniya, Senā by name. She was given to a *Vijjāhara* in marriage, but she was killed by the *Vijjāhara*. Senā had given birth to a daughter who was sent to Seniya after the death of her mother and was given to Abhaya-kumāra in marriage.³⁸

³¹ Pauma, Mahāpauma, Bhadda, Subhadda, Mahābhadda, Paumasena, Paumagumma, Nalinigumma, Ānanda and Nandapa are mentioned as the ten sons of Kāla, Sukāla, etc. (*ibid* 2)

³² *Āva cū* II, p. 171.

³³ *Ibid*, p. 559.

³⁴ See under 'Kūniya'.

³⁵ *Āva cū*, II, p. 174.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 114 f.

³⁷ P. 468.

³⁸ II, p. 180. According to the Buddhist tradition, Seniya Bimbisāra ruled for fifty two years (*Mahāvamsa* II, 28 f). For a full account, see Law's *some ancient Indian kings*, *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 186 ff.

Bhesaga (Bhīsmaka)

It is said that Bhesaga ruled at Kundinī. His son Rukmin (or Ruppī) along with the king Candacchāya of Anga, Paṇibuddhi of Sāgeya, Saukha of Kāśī, Adinasattu of Kuru and Jīyasattu of Pañcāla,²⁹ was invited to Kampillapura to attend the marriage of Doṇa. Rukmiṇī was the sister of Rukmin who was given to Śiśupāla in marriage, but Kaṇha Vāsudeva kidnapped her (see Koḍinna).

Bhoga (Bhogarāja)

Bhogas are enumerated with Ugra, Rājanya, Ksatriya, Jñāta, Kaurava and Iksvāku. The Bhogas held the position of a *guru*.³⁰ According to the *Dasaveyāliya cūrm*, Bhoga was a particular class of the Khatṭiyas, and Ugrasena is said to have been born in this class.³¹ In the *Dasaveyāliya sutta*,³² Rājimatī calls herself the daughter of Bhogarāja and Haribhadra. Sūri in his commentary identifies Bhogarāja with Ugrasena.

Candagutta

According to the Jain tradition, Candagutta was the son of a daughter of the chief of a village of peacock-tamers (*moraṇṇasaga*), which belonged to the Nandas.³³ It is said that when Cānakya was insulted by the last Nanda in Pāṭaliputta, he went to this village and took charge of Candagutta. Candagutta grew and in course of time, Cānakya, together with the boy, laid siege to the city of Pāṭaliputta but was vanquished by the army of Nanda. Nanda's horsemen pursued Cānakya and Candagutta, who were forced to run away. Later on Cānakya went to Himavantakūṭa and entered into an alliance with the king Pavvaya,³⁴ promising him half of Nanda's country if he would aid him to subdue Nanda. They waged war against Nanda in which he lost and consequently was allowed to leave his kingdom, carrying with him all that he could place in one car. Accordingly he put his two wives and a daughter in his carriage and loading it with some treasure he drove off. While Nanda was going, his daughter saw Candagutta and fell in love with him, whereupon Nanda allowed her to go and marry Candagutta. But when she was getting into Candagutta's chariot, nine spokes of the wheel broke. Candagutta would have turned her out, but Cānakya

²⁹ *Nāyā* 8.³⁰ *Bṛh Bhā Vr*, I 3265.³¹ P 88.³² 2 8.³³ The Buddhist tradition also testifies the connection between Moriya (Maurya) and *mora* (peacock). It is said that the city which the Mauryas founded had buildings of blue stone like the neck of the peacocks, *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, p 180. Aelian informs us that the tame peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra (*P H A I*, p 216).³⁴ Compare the Buddhist account in the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, pp. 181 ff, according to which Pabbata was an heir of Dhanananda, the last Nanda.

prevented him saying that the new dynasty would flourish for nine generations. Later on, the kingdom of Nanda was divided between Candagutta and Pavvaya. when the latter, along with his slave also took the 'poisonous' girl (*visakannā*). Pavvaya enjoyed with her and in course of time died, and thus Candagutta got possession of both kingdoms.

But Cānakya was not satisfied with this. He wanted to exterminate the entire family of Nanda. One day he saw a weaver, named Naladāma, who was burning out the holes of ants (*makkoda*). Being questioned, the weaver answered that his son had a bite from an ant and so he would destroy their whole species. Cānakya was pleased to find out such a person of resolute mind and he employed him to destroy the family of Nanda. Thus Cānakya was successful in overthrowing the Nanda dynasty and anointing Candragupta on the throne of Pāṭaliputta.³⁵ We are told in the commentary on the *Bṛhatkalpa Bhāṣya* that when Candragupta ascended the throne some Kṣātriyas did not obey his commands, because he was the son of a peacock-tamer. When Cānakya knew this, he started incognito as a *Kūrpātika* and by burning out the whole village to ashes, punished the offenders.³⁶

A Jain tradition related in the *Rājavalīkāt*he observes that Candragupta was a Jain and that, when a great famine occurred, he abdicated in favour of his son, Śiṃhasena, and repaired to Mysore where he died. Two inscriptions on the north bank of the Kāverī near Srīngapatam of about 900 A. D., describe the summit of the Kalbappu Hill, i.e. Candragiri as marked by the foot-prints of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta *Munipati* (Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the inscriptions*, pp. 3-4).³⁷ However, it should be noted that the earliest literary form of this tradition is found in the *Bṛhatkathākośa* (131) by Harisena, dating from about A. D. 931, according to which Bhadrabāhu had the king Candragupta as his disciple.

Cedaga

Cedaga³⁸ belonged to the Haihaya clan and was a ruler of Vesālī. He was the most eminent among the Licchavi princes and an influential leader of eighteen confederate kings (*ganarājā*) of Kāśī and Kosala, who were his vassals. Cedaga's sister, Tisālā, was the mother of Mahāvīra and his seven daughters are said to have been given in marriage to various kings and rulers. His daughter Pabhāvatī was given to Uddāyana of Vīribhaya, Paumāvatī to Dadhivāhana of Campā, Migāvatī to

³⁵ *Uttarā Tī* pp. 57 ff; *Āśa. cū*, 563 f. Also cf. the tradition recorded in the *Kathāsarīsāgara*, Vol. I, Bk. II, ch. V.

³⁶ 1. 2489, *Pinda Bhā* 44 ff. p. 142. For other tradition regarding Chandragupta, see *P.H.A.I.*, pp. 216, 295, 242n.

³⁷ *P.H.A.I.*, p. 241 f.

³⁸ According to the *Bṛhatkathākośa* (55-165), Keka was Cedaga's father and Yaśomati his mother.

Sayāniya of Kosambī, Sivā to Pajjoja of Ujjenī, and Jetthā to Nandivaddhana of Kundaggāma; Sujjetthā renounced the world and the youngest Cellanā married Seniya of Rāyagīha.³⁹

It is mentioned that after Abhaya renounced the world, king Seniya gave a pair of divine garments (*devadūsaṃyugala*) to Nandā, and his famous elephant, Seyanaga, and a huge necklace of eighteen strings to his twin sons, Halla and Vihalla. It is said that the value of the elephant and the necklace was as much as the whole kingdom of the king. It is stated that Kūniya, the eldest son of Seniya, after usurping his father's throne, at the instigation of his wife, Paumāvai, demanded from his younger brothers the return of both gifts. On this Halla and Vihalla demanded half of the kingdom, which was refused to them. Thereupon Halla and Vihalla fled away to their grand-father, Cetaka, in Vesālī. Kūnika sent an embassy to Cetaka asking him to hand over his younger brothers with the gifts, but the latter refused to do so, saying that if Kūnika was prepared to give half of his kingdom, then only some settlement could be made. Thus having failed peacefully to obtain the extradition of the fugitives, Kūnika waged war against his grand-father, Cetaka.

Kūnika made preparations to attack Vesālī with a huge army together with the ten princes viz, Kāla, Sukāla, etc., and passing through Videha, reached Vesālī. On the other side Cedaga called together the nine Licchavis and nine Mallakīs, i.e. the eighteen confederate kings of Kāsī and Kosala, and asked them whether they would satisfy Kūnika's demand or go to war with him, when the latter course was adopted.

King Cedaga was a skilful archer and he never missed his aim. But since he was a *sāvaga* he had taken a vow not to shoot more than an arrow a day. When Cedaga killed ten princes, viz, Kāla, Sukāla, etc. within ten days, Kūnika's mind was distracted with fear. Later on, he is said to have made use of two wonderful engines of war, mentioned before.

The eighteen confederate kings returned to their cities and Cedaga to Vesālī. Kūnika laid siege to Vesālī and waited for the city to fall. Thus much time passed, but still Kūnika could not succeed. Halla and Vihalla joined the order under Mahāvīra. Later on, Kūnika is said to have brought the courtesan, Māgahiyā, and the ascetic Kūlavālaya together, which brought about the fall of the city of Vesālī. No sooner this was done, than Kūniya entered into the city and destroyed it. King Cedaga is said to have suspended an iron image (*lohapadīmā*) in his neck and plunged into a well. The citizens of Vesālī are said to have been carried away to Nepāla (*Nemālavattinam*) by Mahissara.⁴⁰

³⁹ According to the *Bṛhatkathākośa* (97-36), Cetaka's queen was Subhadra, who gave birth to seven daughters.

⁴⁰ *Niryā* I; *Āva Cū* II, pp 164-174, *Bhag.* 7-9, *Īśa Bhā* 10-535 f. For the Buddhist tradition regarding the war between king Ajātasattu and the Licchavis, see *Digha*, *Mahā-parinibbāṇasutta*, and its Com.

Dadhivāhana

It is mentioned that king Dadhivāhana ruled at Campā with his queen Paumāvai. It is said that when the queen was pregnant, she went to sport in a forest on an elephant along with the king. But the elephant ran away into the forest, when the king caught hold of the branch of a banyan tree and the queen was carried away to a far off place, whence she reached Dantapura and entered the ascetic order. In course of time, the queen Paumāvai delivered Karakandu, who ascended the throne of Kāñcanaura and later on waged war against his father, Dadhivāhana. At this time the nun Paumāvati is said to have appeared on the scene and prevented bloodshed. Later on, Dadhivāhana transferred his kingdom to his son and entered the ascetic order.⁴¹

Another reference to Dadhivāhana is made in the *Itihasa Niryukti*. When king Sayāniya of Kosambi invaded Campā, a great confusion arose and Vasumatī, the daughter of Dadhivāhana, and her mother Dhārini fell into the hands of a royal officer (*uttīya*), who wanted to make Dhārini his wife. Later on, both were brought to Kosambi where Dhārini died and her daughter Vasumatī was sold to a merchant, Dhanavaṇa. After some time the merchant's wife, Mūlā, became jealous of her and having cut her hair, put her into custody. Vasumatī or better known as Candanā, is said to have offered food to Mahāvīra and joined his rank as a nun.⁴²

Damadanta

It is said that Damadanta ruled at Hatthisīsa. Damadanta and the Pāṇḍavas of Hatthināura were not on good terms with each other. Once when the former went to visit the king Jarāsandha of Rāyagiha, the Pāṇḍavas are said to have plundered and burnt the city of Hatthisīsa. Later on, Damadanta besieged Hatthināura and the Pāṇḍavas shut themselves in their palaces in fear.⁴³

Damaghosa

It is mentioned that Sisupāla was the son of Damaghosa, who was invited to attend the marriage of Dovaī in Kampillapura. He was ruling in Suttivai with his five hundred brothers.⁴⁴ Maddī, the daughter of Andhagavahnī, was the mother of Sisupāla.⁴⁵

Danḍagi

It is stated that Danḍagi ruled at Kumbhakāṇakaḍa. He married the daughter of Khandaga of Campā (see under Danḍakāraṇṇa, Section V)

⁴¹ *Āva Cū*, II, p. 205 ff; *Uttarā. Tī.* 9, p. 132a.

⁴² *Āva Nir.*, 520 f; *Āva. Tī.*, p. 294 f;

⁴³ *Āva cū* p. 492.

⁴⁴ *Nāyā.* 8. p. 178.

⁴⁵ *Sūya.* p. 79.

Dandakī is indential with Daṇḍakya of Kauṭilya and Daṇḍaka of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*.⁴⁵

Dasāra

The ten Dasāra kings are mentioned as the sons of Andhagavahṇī ; Samuddavijaya was the chief amongst all (see Andhagavahṇī). It is said that first they were reigning in Mathurā but from fear of Jarā-sandha, migrated to Bāravai and began to rule there.⁴⁷ It is mentioned that the description of the Dasāra kings was given in the fourth chapter of the *Bandhadasā*, which is now lost.⁴⁸

Dhruvasena

Dhruvasena ruled at Ānandapura. It is said that when his son died, after 980 or 993 years of Mahāvīra's death the *Kalpasūtra* was recited.⁴⁹

Dhundhumāra

It is said that Dhundhumāra ruled at Sumsumārapura. His daughter Angāravattī was an adherent of the Jain faith. It is stated that in order to get her, Pajjova laid seige to the city.⁵⁰

Dīha

Dīha ruled at Kosala. In Pali literature he is represented as Dīghati.⁵¹ (See Bambha).

Dummuha or Jaya

It is mentioned that king Dummuha, otherwise known as Jaya, who was born in the Hari family, ruled at Kampillapura. Once a great diadem (*maṭṭamauda*) was unearthed from the ground, which was put by the king on his head. By its magic power the king is said to have become two-faced (*dummaṭṭha*), and hence he came to be known as Dummuha. It is said that Pajjova had an eye on this diadem and so he demanded it, but Dummuha replied that if Pajjova was prepared to part with his elephant, Nagagiri, his chariot, Aggibhīru, his spouse, Sivā and his letter-carrier, Lohajangha, then only he would part with his diadem. On this, Pajjova declared war against Dummuha, in which the former lost and was taken prisoner. Pajjova was brought to Kampillapura where he fell in love with the princess, Mayanamañjarī, and married her.

⁴⁵ P. B. I., p. 57 ff.

⁴⁷ *Das. cū*, p. 41, Dasārahas are mentioned as a group of Khattiyas (*Samyutta*, II, p. 266f). According to Buddhaghosa, they were so called because they took one-tenth of the corn (*Com.* II, p. 167), also see *Mahābhārata* (II-40 5).

⁴⁸ *Thā.* 10-755

⁴⁹ *Kalpa. Tī*, p. 8a.

⁵⁰ *Āva. Cū.*, II, p. 199 f.

⁵¹ See *Mahāvagga*, pp. 342 ff.

It is said that once there was a great festival in honour of Indra in Kampillapura. Dummuha beheld the banner of Indra falling down and thenceforth he renounced the world.⁵²

Duvaya

It is mentioned that Duvaya ruled at Kampillapura. He sent invitations to various kings and rulers requesting them to attend the *sayaṁvara* of Dovaī⁵³

According to the *Mahābhārata*, Drupada was the king of Pāñcālas, son of Pṛṣṭu and the father of Dhṛṣṭadyumna, Sīkhaṇḍin, Draupadī, etc.⁵⁴

Gaddabhilla

It is said that Gaddabhilla, the father of Vikramāditya, ruled at Ujjenī. He abducted the sister of Kālakācārya, who proceeded to Pārasakūla (Persia) and returned with ninety six kings (*sāha*), and declared war against Gaddabhilla. The kings of Lāta, who were also insulted by Gaddabhilla, are said to have joined them. In this war, Gaddabhilla lost and the kings from Persia were placed on the throne of Ujjenī (See under Hindugadesa)

It is said that after some years, Gaddabhilla's son, the glorious Vikramāditya, repelled the invaders and re-established the throne of his ancestors. According to a Jain tradition, the rule of Gaddabhilla lasted for thirteen years and that of the Śakas for four years.⁵⁵

Jarākumāra

Jarākumāra is described as an elder brother of Kanha Vāsudeva. When the five Pāṇdavas renounced the throne of Pāṇḍu Mahurā they anointed Jarākumāra as a king.⁵⁶ Jarākumāra is also said to be a ruler of Vanavāsī where he ruled with the princes Sasaa and Bhasaa (see under Vanavāsī, Section V)

Jarāsandha

It is said that Jarāsandha ruled at Rāyagiha; his son Sahadeva was invited to attend the marriage of Dovaī in Kampillapura (see supra)

We are told in the *Vasudevahindā*⁵⁷ that Jarāsandha was a very powerful king of Rāyagiha. He was the son of Viyaddaha (Sanskrit Brhadra-tha) and many *sāmānta* kings paid him respect. Kālindasenā was his chief

⁵² *Uttarā Tī* 9, p. 135f, of the cause of his renunciation according to the Buddhists, see *Kumbhakāra Jātaka*. For other traditions, see also *P B I*, p. 48, *P H A I* pp. 61, 70, 114.

⁵³ *Nāyā* 8 p. 178.

⁵⁴ Index to the *Mahābhārata*, p. 269 f.

⁵⁵ C. J. Shah, *Jainism in North India*, pp. 28, 188.

⁵⁶ *Uttarā Tī*, 2, p. 42a.

⁵⁷ Pp. 80, 247, 306, 365, 369.

queen and his daughter Indasenā was given in marriage to Jiyasattu of Vasan'apura. Another of his daughters, Jivayasā, was given in marriage to Kamsa⁵⁸. He attended the *śyāmanā* of Rohini where a fight took place. Later on, the prophecy of Amutta came to be true and Jaiāsandha was killed at the hands of Vāsudeva Kanha⁵⁹.

Jiyasattu

Jiyasattu (the conqueror of enemies) seems to have been a common designation of kings like the epithet Devānāmpīya of the later age. Like Bambhadatta of the Buddhists, Jiyasattu is known as a generic name, and is represented as a ruler of a number of cities. It seems that Jiyasattu (also Jitārī⁶⁰ or Hatasattu⁶¹) was also known by the name of Kākavanna or Kākajangha.⁶² He is described as a ruler of a large number of cities —

- | | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (i) Acalapura ⁶³ | (ii) Aojhā ⁶⁴ |
| (iii) Ālabhiyā ⁶⁵ | (iv) Āmalakappā ⁶⁶ |
| (v) Bhaddilapura ⁶⁷ | (vi) Campā ⁶⁸ |
| (vii) Chhattagā ⁶⁹ | (viii) Lohggālā ⁷⁰ |
| (ix) Mahurā ⁷¹ | (x) Kākandī ⁷² |
| (xi) Kampillapura ⁷³ | (xii) Khupattthiya ⁷⁴ |
| (xiii) Sāvattthī ⁷⁵ | (xiv) Migakoṭṭhaya ⁷⁶ |
| (xv) Mihilā ⁷⁷ | (xvi) Pālaliputta |

It is mentioned that king Jiyasattu besieged the city of Ujjenī and as a result of which the king of Ujjenī died and the city was captured by the enemy. The king of Ujjenī had four *sāvoga* servants. One of them applied oil to one foot of Jiyasattu and challenged any one

⁵⁸ *Kalpa Tī*, 6, p. 173.

⁵⁹ *Aho ci Sūya cū*, p. 340. For the Vedic tradition, see *P H A I*, p. 96. *I I H T*, p. 282.

⁶⁰ *Nirī cū*, p. 745.

⁶¹ *Uttarā cū* 2, p. 78, *Vasu*, p. 115.

⁶² *Āva Cū*, p. 510, *Abhidhānakosa*, according to the *Vasu* (p. 63), Kākajangha was reigning in Tosali.

⁶³ *Uttarā Cū*, p. 62.

⁶⁴ *Uttarā Tī*, 18, p. 233a.

⁶⁵ *Uvā* 5.

⁶⁶ *Nāyā* II, p. 226.

⁶⁷ *Anta*, 3, p. 7 f.

⁶⁸ *Uvā* 2, p. 22, *Nāyā*, 12, p. 135.

⁶⁹ *Āva. Nir.* 450.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 490.

⁷¹ *Āva Tī*, p. 504a.

⁷² *Anta*, 3, p. 61 *Anutt.* p. 61.

⁷³ *Uvā* 6, p. 43.

⁷⁴ *Āva, Nir.* 1318, *Āva. cū.* II, p. 153; *Pṛṣṭa Nir.*, 80 p. 30, *Gacch. Vr.* p. 115a.

⁷⁵ *Rāya. sū.* 146.

⁷⁶ *Āva. cū.*, p. 519.

⁷⁷ *Sū. Sū.* 1.

who was equal to him in doing so to the other. Jīyasattu felt a burning sensation and it is said that since then he turned black and came to be known as Kākavanṣa⁷⁸

- (xvii) Polāsapura⁷⁹
- (xix) Poyaṇapura⁸¹
- (xxi) Tigiñchi⁸³
- (xxiii) Vanavāsi⁸⁶
- (xxv) Vāṇiyagāma⁸⁷

- (xviii) Pañcāla⁸⁰
- (xx) Savvaobhadda⁸²
- (xxii) Ujjeni⁸⁴
- (xxiv) Vāṇārasi⁸⁶
- (xxvi) Vasantapura⁸⁸

Kaṁsa

Kaṁsa was the son of king Uggaseṇa of Mahurā. It is said that at the time of Kaṁsa's conception, his mother had a chronic longing to eat the flesh of her husband. The child was taken to be unlucky and as soon as he was born, he was kept in a box and was floated in the Jumna; later on, he was picked up by the merchant Soriya, who handed him over to king Jarāsandha of Rāvaṇa. Jarāsandha gave him his daughter Jivayāsā in marriage. In course of time, Kaṁsa grew up and came to Mathurā. He made Uggaseṇa prisoner and began to rule over the kingdom of Mathurā.

It is said that once Jivayāsā, placing Devaki on her shoulders, was dancing with pride. At that time she saw the ascetic Atimuktakumāra, the younger brother of Kaṁsa, and invited him to play with them. At this Atimuktakumāra predicted that the seventh son of Devaki would slay Kaṁsa. It is said that Kaṁsa asked for seven issues from Vasudeva, the husband of Devaki. Kaṁsa had already killed six sons of Devaki but when the seventh one was born, Vasudeva quickly exchanged him with the daughter of Jasoyā, the wife of Nanda. In course of time, Kaṁsa Vasudeva grew up and he killed Kaṁsa⁸⁹ (see Andhagavahni; Kaṇha).

When Jarāsandha heard of the death of his son-in-law, he got very angry with the Yādavas. Thereupon Samudravijaya, Kṛṣṇa, Balabhadra, Nemikumāra, Ugrasena, etc. and many other Yādavas are said to have

⁷⁸ *Āva Cū* p. 540; also *Abhidhānarājendrakosa*, under "Kākavāṅgha". According to the Purāṇas, Śiśunāga was succeeded by his son Kākavarṇa, and according to the Ceylonese chronicles, by his son Kālāsoka. According to Professor Jacobi, Geiger and Bhandarkar, Kālāsoka and Kākavarṇa are identical. Bāna in his *Harṣacarita* gives a curious legend concerning the death of Kākavarṇa (Kālāsoka). It is stated that Kākavarṇa Śiśunāga was taken somewhere in an artificial aerial car and was murdered in the vicinity of his city with a dagger thrust into his throat (*P H A. I.*, p. 180 f., Pradhan, *op cit.*, p. 223f.

⁷⁹ *Uvā*, 7.

⁸⁰ *Nāyā*, 8, p. 108.

⁸¹ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 6, 6198 f.

⁸² *Vivā*, 5, p. 33.

⁸³ *Ibid.* II, 9, p. 64-2.

⁸⁴ *Āva. Nir.*, 1274; *Uttarā Tī* 4, p. 78a.

⁸⁵ *Bṛh. Bhā.* 4, 5255 f.

⁸⁶ *Uvā*, p. 32.

⁸⁷ *Uvā*, I, p. 4; Jīyasattu mentioned here is identified by both Drs. Hoernle and Barnett with Cedaga of Vesālī, *Uvā* p. 6.

⁸⁸ *Ogh. Nir.*, 450, p. 158 a, *Āva. cū.* p. 534.

⁸⁹ *Vasu.* p. 368f; *Kalpa. Tī*, 6, p. 173 ff.

migrated to the west of Mathurā, where Satyabhāmā, the wife of Kṛṣṇa, gave birth to Bhānu and Bhramara, and founded the city of Dwārakā. Later on, Jarāsandha marched to Dwārakā and was killed by Kṛṣṇa.⁹⁰

Kaṇha

Kanha or Kanha Vāsudeva and Baladeva were the sons of Vasudeva by Devakī and Rohini respectively. Jarākumāra is mentioned as another son of Vasudeva, who was the cause of Kanha's death.⁹¹ It is mentioned that as predicted by Aimuttakumāra, Devakī, the mother of Kanha, gave birth to eight sons, out of whom six were exchanged for the still-born children of Sulasā of Bhaddilapura by Harinegamesī.⁹² The seventh was Kanha Vāsudeva and the last and the youngest was Gayasukumāla, who is said to have renounced the world before he married.⁹³ Kanha Vāsudeva ruled over Bāravai together with many princes and chiefs.⁹⁴

HIS QUEENS

According to the *Nāyādharmakalā*, Kanha had a large number of queens,⁹⁵ but his eight chief queens are mentioned in particular. His first queen was Saccabhāmā, who was the daughter of Uggasena and who bore Bhānu and Subhānu. Then we have Paumāvati, the daughter of Rudhira (Hirannanābha, according to the commentary of the *Panhavāgaṇa*, 4, p. 88). Gorī, the daughter of Meru of Viibhaya, Gandhārī, the daughter of Naggai of Pokkhalāvai, Lakkhanā, the daughter of Hiranualoma of Simhaladīva, Susīmā the daughter of Ratthavadhana of Arakkhuri, Jāmbavai, the daughter of Jamavanta of Jambavanta, who bore Samba, and Ruppini the daughter of Bhcsaga of Kundinipura of Viyabbha, who bore Pajjunna.⁹⁶

These queens are said to have been ordained by Aritthanemi, who was the cousin of Kanha Vāsudeva, and who was very dear to the Yādavas. Before Aritthanemi joined the ascetic order there was an "arm-battle" (*bāhuuddha*) between him and Kanha in which the latter is said to have lost. Later on, Kanha became jealous of Aritthanemi lest he might overpower him and usurp his kingdom.⁹⁷

In course of time, Aritthanemi renounced the world and prophesied the destruction of Bāravai at the hands of sage Divāyana. Hearing this, princes Pajjunna, Nisadhasuya, Sāraṇa, Samba and others and queen Ruppini (according to *Antagaḍa*, Paumāvai) together with many princesses

⁹⁰ *Kalpa. Tī.* 6, p. 176. ff.; for the Vedic tradition see *P. H. A. I.*, p. 119.

⁹¹ *Uttarā. Tī.* 2, pp. 36 a ff.

⁹² However, according to another tradition, her six children were killed by Kamsa (see under Kamsa).

⁹³ *Anta* 3.

⁹⁴ *Nāyā. 5* p. 68.

⁹⁵ *5*, p. 68.

⁹⁶ *Vasu.* pp. 78f, 82, 94, 98, *Thā.*, 8-626.

⁹⁷ *Uttarā. Tī.*, 22, pp. 278 ff.

joined the order under Aritthanemi. It is said that in course of time, the prophecy came to be true. Kanha and Bala together with Rohinī, Devaī and their father, Vasudeva, went to a place of safety. After some time Kanha was shot dead by the arrow of Jarākumāra.⁹⁸

Karakaṇḍu (see *Dadhivāhana*)

Kunāla

Kunāla is described as the son of Asoga. The city of Ujjenī was given to him as viceroyalty (*kumārabhutti*). It is said that, when prince Kunāla was a little more than eight years, king Asoga sent a message asking the prince to commence his studies (*adhiyatām kumārāḥ*). But as the luck would have it, Kunāla's step-mother put a dot on "a" which changed "*adhiyatām*" into "*andhiyatām*," and now the message was changed into "let the prince be made blind" (*andhiyatām kumārāḥ*). After perusing the letter, Kunāla thought that the royal commands from the Maurya dynasty must not be disobeyed and he stoutly put out his eyesight with a red hot iron rod and he lost his sight for ever. It is mentioned that in course of time, the blind Kunāla came to the court of Asoga, disguised as a minstrel and gave a musical performance from behind the curtain. Asoga was very pleased and promised Kunāla to give him anything that he might ask for. Kunāla begged for a *kākanī* which in the Kṣatriya language denoted the sovereignty of the kingdom. Later on, when Kunāla's identity was disclosed to the king, he questioned him as to what he would do with it as he was unfit to carry on the work of government. Thereupon Kunāla replied that a son was born to him only recently (*samṃat*) and it was for him that he wanted kingdom. Asoga granted him his request.⁹⁹

Kūnika

Kūnika, also known as Asokacanda, Vajjividehaputta or Videhaputta, was the son of king Seniya by Cellanā. It is said that when Kūnika was born, he was cast on a dung-hill outside the city, where his little finger (*kāṇaṅguli*) was wounded by the tail of a cock and since then he came to be known as Kūnika.

According to another tradition, after his birth Kūnika was cast in a garden named asogavaniyā which became illuminated and hence Kūnika came to be known as Asogavanacanda or Asogacanda.¹⁰⁰ The third epithet of Kūnika was Videhaputta. He was so called because his mother Cellanā belonged to the country of Videha.¹⁰¹ A detailed

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 37 ff., for the Buddhist tradition, see *Ghata Jātaka*, also *P. B. I.* p. 23.

⁹⁹ *Bṛh. Bhā. Pī.* 292 ff., 1. 3275 f., *Nisī cū*, p. 437, 5, 87 (MSS). For Buddhist tradition, see Law, *G. Essays*, p. 44 f.

¹⁰⁰ *Āva. cū*, II, p. 160.

¹⁰¹ *Bhag. Tī.* 7.9, The Buddhist Nikāyas also call Ajātasatru by the name of Vedehiputta. Buddhaghosa, however, resolves "*vedehi*" into *veda-śha*, *vedana śhati* or intellectual effort (The com. on the *Dīgha*, I P. 139).

description of king Kūnika's pilgrimage to Mahāvira is given in the *Ovāya*.¹⁰² It is mentioned that at the time of Kūnika's conception, there arose in Cellanā a chronic longing to eat the flesh from her husband's belly. In course of time, when Kūnika was born, he was cast on a dung-hill as stated above, by the maid-servants of Cellanā. But when Seniya came to know of this, he got angry and brought the child back.¹⁰³

In course of time, when Kūniya grew up, he wanted to kill his father and rule over the kingdom himself. So he called the ten princes, viz. Kāla, etc. and discussed with them the plan to divide the kingdom into eleven parts. It is mentioned that one day Kūniya arrested his father, and putting him into a prison installed himself on the throne. He ordered his servants to give Seniya one hundred lashes, every morning and evening. Cellanā was not allowed to have any interview with her husband and even food and drink was stopped to him. Later, when Cellanā was allowed to see her husband, she concealed beans (*kumīṣa*) in her hairs, besmeared them with wine and visited Seniya. Inside the prison she is said to have washed her hairs a hundred times with water which turned into wine, and it is said that owing to the strength given him by the wine, the king was able to endure the whipping.¹⁰⁴

It is said that once when Kūniya went to touch the feet of his mother, she related to him an incident of his childhood, when his little finger was torn off by the tail of a cock, and to cure the intense pain caused by this, his father held this finger in his mouth and sucked its pus and blood.¹⁰⁵ When Kūniya heard this he was full of remorse at the treatment given to his father, and he immediately started with a hatchet in his hand to set his father free. But, thinking that Kūniya might put him to death by some painful contrivance, Seniya swallowed the poison known as *tālapūda* and died. When Kūniya came to know about this sad coincidence, he felt very sad and being unable to endure his sorrow, shifted his capital to Campā.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² *Sū*, 6, p. 20

¹⁰³ According to the Jātaka, the longing was to drink blood from the right knee of king Bimbisāra (see the com. on the *Dīgha* I, p. 133f.)

¹⁰⁴ *Niryā* I, *Āva. cū*, II, p. 171. According to the Buddhists, Ajātasatru kept his father in Tāpanageha and only his mother was allowed to interview him. First she carried food in her hairs, then in her golden sandles. Later on, she applied scented water on her body which was licked by the king. But this too was stopped. Later on, Ajātasatru ordered his servants to tear off his father's feet and bake them in salt and oil on fire. Consequently the king died. At this time a messenger brought the news of a son's birth. Ajātasatru was very much pleased to hear this and ordered to set his father at liberty. But he was no more, the com. on the *Dīgha* I, p. 135 ff.

¹⁰⁵ According to the *Āva. cū* (II, p. 171) once it so happened that when Kūniya was taking his food, his child's urine fell into his dishes, but without taking any notice of it, Kūniya went on taking his food. Afterwards he asked his mother, who was sitting nearby, "Mother, did anybody ever love his son so much?" Then his mother narrated him the story of his childhood. Also of the com. on the *Dīgha*, I, p. 138. For the Buddhist account of Ajātasatru, see Law's some Ancient Indian kings, *Buddhist Studies*, pp. 195 ff.

¹⁰⁶ *Niryā*, I; *Āva. cū*, II, p. 171.

Paumāvai was the queen of Kūniya, who gave birth to Udāyi; Udāyi ruled over Pādaliṭṭa.¹⁰⁷ Dhārīṇī was another of his queens.¹⁰⁸ Then Subhadrā and others are mentioned as other queens of Kūnika.¹⁰⁹

Licchavi

Licchavis are mentioned along with the Mallakis in the Jain Canons. The *Sūyagadāṅga*¹¹⁰ refers to the clan of Licchavis. Licchavis and Mallakis of Kāśi and Kosala are said to have fought with Ceḍaga against Kūnika (see Ceḍaga). The nine Licchavis and nine Mallakis were among those who observed fast and instituted an illumination on the fifteenth day of the new moon.¹¹¹

Mallakī

The *Ovāiya Sutta* mentions the Mallakis, along with the Ugras, the Bhogas, the Ksatriyas and the Licchavis, who are said to have gone to receive Mahāvira in Campa.¹¹² According to the *Sūyagadāṅga cūrṇi*,¹¹³ the Mallas had a strong unity among themselves and it is said that when some forlorn Malla died they disposed of him, and gave protection to the poor people of their caste.

Mayūrāṅka

King Mayūrāṅka is said to have issued the *dīnāra* coin inscribed with his name.¹¹⁴

Mūladeva

Mūladeva is described as a prince of Pādaliṭṭa, who arrived at Ujjeni and lived with the harlot Devadattā. Later on, he left the city and in course of time, became the ruler of Benṇāyaḍa. He was known as Vikkamarāya.¹¹⁵

Murunda

(1) It is said that Murunda ruled at Kusumapura,¹¹⁶ he is said to have sent his envoy to Purusapura.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁷ *Niryā* 1, *Āva. cū.* II, p. 179.

¹⁰⁸ *Ovā Sū*, 7, p. 23

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 33 p. 144

¹¹⁰ 1 13 10, also *cūm*, p. 315. For the Buddhist origin, see the com. on the *Khuddakapāṭha*, pp. 58-60, also *Dīgha*, II, p. 73 f. For some interesting social customs among Licchavis, see *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp. 5-18, also see *P. H. A. I.*, pp. 103 ff.

¹¹¹ *Kalpa sū* 128

¹¹² *Sū* 27.

¹¹³ p. 28, also *Nisī cū* 8 p. 521. For Buddhist tradition regarding Mallas, see *Dīgha*. II, pp. 146 f., *Mahāsudassana Jātaka*, 1, p. 391

¹¹⁴ *Nisī cū.*, 11, p. 843

¹¹⁵ *Uttarā. cū.*, 4, p. 118.

¹¹⁶ *Bṛh. Bhā* 3 4123 f.

¹¹⁷ *Bṛh. Bhā*. 4-5625.

(2) Another Murunda was a contemporary of Pādālitāsūrī, who is mentioned to have cured the king of the terrible headache he was suffering from, and was ruling over Paṭṭhāna.¹¹⁸

Sten Konow tells us that Murunda is a Saka word, meaning lord.¹¹⁹

Naggai

(1) Naggai, otherwise known as Siharaha, ruled at Pundavaddhana in Gandhāra. It is mentioned that once the king Siharaha invaded a mountain and married a beautiful maiden, who was residing there in a palace. The king used to go to the mountain every fifth day to visit his spouse and hence he came to be known as Naggai (*jamhā nage āu*). In course of time, the king is said to have built a charming city on the mountain where he erected the Jain temples and ruled with justice. Later on Naggai renounced the world and attained final emancipation.¹²⁰

(2) Another Naggai is stated to be the ruler of Puruṣapura.¹²¹

Nahavāhana

It is stated that Nahavāhana and Sālivāhana were contemporaries. The former was rich in treasure and the latter was equipped with a powerful army. It is said that Sālivāhana besieged the city of Bharuvakaccha every year where Nahavāhana ruled. Nahavāhana gave away rewards of hundred thousands to his servants who brought the hands or heads of any number of the enemy's soldiers. This caused a great havoc in the enemy's camp and thus Sālivāhana used to return to Paṭṭhāna. Once Sālivāhana made a conspiracy with his minister. He apparently insulted his minister and banished him. The minister reached Bharuvakaccha and was appointed as the minister of Nahavāhana. In course of time, he spent some of his minister's wealth in building temples, mounds, ponds, lakes and trenches and some in making ornaments for the queens. Now the minister sent a secret message to Sālivāhana who invaded the city and got possession of Bharuvakaccha.¹²²

It is said that once the queen Jumbāvalī wanted to listen to the poetry of Vairabhūti, who was a very good singer. The teacher was invited to the harem but the queen was disappointed on seeing his ugly face.¹²³

Nanda

It has already been said that when king Udāyi died without any heir, a barber boy (*nāṭyavadīsa*) ascended the throne of Pādāliputta and was known as the first Nanda.¹²⁴ But it is mentioned that the Dan-

¹¹⁸ *Pīṇo Nir.*, 498

¹¹⁹ See *Supra*, under Murunda, section V

¹²⁰ *Uttarā Tī*, 9, pp. 141 ff. Naggai is also mentioned in the *Jāṭaka* (III p. 277, 281); also *Mhā' hā* VII 4-6

¹²¹ *Āc cū*, II, p. 208, also cf. *Uttarā Tī*, p. 78

¹²² *Āc Nir.*, 299, *Āc cū* II, p. 200 f

¹²³ *Vya Bhā* 3 58 f, p. 14 f. For Nabhivāhana or Nabhapāna, see *P H A I* p. 405f.

¹²⁴ It happened sixty years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, (*Silav* VI 23.-243). Nanda and his descendants continued to rule Magadha till the last Nanda king was deposed by Cāṇakya 165 years after the death of Mahāvīra (*ibid* 339).

das, Bhaḍas and Bhoyagas, taking him to be a slave-boy, would not pay him honour. At this Nḥāviyadāsa got angry and executed some and took others prisoners.

Kappaka, the son of Kavila, was his minister (*kumārāmalaka*). Once Nanda got angry with his minister and ordered him and his family to be cast into a well. When the vassal kings heard that Kappaka was no more, they besieged the city of Pāḍaliputta and reduced it to great distress. Later on, Kappaka was set free and was taken out of the well and the enemy fled away in panic.

Mahāpaduma was the ninth Nanda, who made Sagaḍāla his minister. Sagaḍāla was a descendant of Kappaka. He had two sons, named Thūlabhadda and Siriya, and seven daughters, namely Jakkhā, Jakkhadinnā, Bhūyā, Bhūyadinnā, Senā, Venā and Renā.¹²⁶

Paesī

King Paesī, who is mentioned as an impious king, ruled at Seyaviyā in the country of Kegaṇaddha. Once he sent gifts to his vassal king Jiyasattu, who was ruling over Sāvatti.¹²⁶

The *Rāyapaseṇiya sutta* records a dialogue between Kesī and Paesī, when the latter, being influenced by the teachings of the former, became a *samanovāsaga*. Since then the king became indifferent towards his kingdom and was poisoned by his queen Sūriyakantā.¹²⁷

Pajjoya

Pajjoya or Caṇḍapajjoya was a powerful ruler of Ujjeni, who was known as the lord of Avantī (Avantipati). He married Sivā, one of the seven daughters of Ceḍaga of Vesālī, and who was considered one of the four jewels of Pajjoya. King Pajjoya had two sons, named Gopāla and Pālaka.¹²⁸ Khaṇḍakamma is mentioned as a minister of Pajjoya.

¹²⁶ *Āsa. cū* pp. 181 ff; also *Kaṭṭhāsaniṭṭhāgarā* Vol I, ch. IV. For Buddhist tradition of the Nandas, see *Mahāvamsa Tikā* V-15, also *P. H. A. I.* pp. 187 f for the Vedic tradition.

¹²⁶ *Rāya. sū.*, 142 ff; also see *Digha, Pāyāsisutta*.

¹²⁷ *Sū.* 162-204.

¹²⁸ The following is the genealogical tree:—
Pajjoya

Gopāla

Pālaka

Avantivardhana

Rāṣṭravardhana

Avantisena

Maniprabha

(*Āsa. Nir.* 1282; also see *Pratyjñā. T.*, *Kaṭṭhāsaniṭṭhāgarā* Vol I; II, p. 87 ff)

PAJJOYA AND ABHAYA

King Pajjoya is said to have fought a number of battles. Once he invaded Rāyagiha, when Abhayakumāra is said to have foiled him intelligently. It is said that Abhaya buried iron jars full of *ḍināras* at a place where the enemy would encamp round the city. When Pajjoya besieged the city, Abhaya sent him a messenger saying that Seniya had already bought over his allies, who would hand him (Pajjoya) over to Seniya, bound hand and foot. If he did not believe it he should dig up the camping ground and see if his confederates had not received the gold. Pajjoya discovered the money and was confused. He was routed by Seniya's army and returned to Ujjenī.¹²⁹

When Pajjoya reached Ujjenī, he was told how he had been deceived by Abhaya. Thereupon Pajjoya decided to fetch him from Rāyagiha. A courtesan set out with seven other women to Rāyagiha, where she pretended to be a chaste widow devoted to the Jain faith. One day they met Abhaya in a Jain temple and invited him to a feast when he was made drunk and was carried to Ujjenī in a horse-chariot. Abhaya lived in the court of Pajjoya for a long time and did his ministerial work.

Now Abhaya wanted to return home. But before going he took a vow that, as he had been brought by religious deceit (*dhammacchalena*), he would throw himself into the flames, if he did not avenge himself by taking Pajjoya tied to a bed and crying, through the streets of Ujjenī to Rāyagiha. Abhaya left for Rāyagiha with his wife.

After some time Abhaya returned to Ujjenī with two courtesans and began to live as a merchant. King Pajjoya saw them and was enamoured of them. He sent a female-messenger to them twice or thrice, but they drove her out angrily. Later on, they asked Pajjoya to see them on the seventh day. Abhaya also hired a man to become his brother and feign madness. He was given the name of Pajjoya. He would every-day be tied to a cot, taken to the house of a physician, although he cried aloud that he was Pajjoya. Now at the appointed time, Pajjoya met the two courtesan girls, when he was caught and was bound down to the cot and carried through the city, although he cried that he was Pajjoya. Pajjoya was thus carried away to Rāyagiha in the presence of Seniya, who came to kill him with his sword but was prevented by Abhaya. Later on, Pajjoya was honoured and was sent back to Ujjenī.¹³⁰

PAJJOYA AND SAYĀNIYA

Pajjoya also waged war against Sayāniya, the father of Udayana of Kosambī. When Pajjoya reached Kosambī, Sayāniya transferred his forces from the south bank of the Jamuna to the north bank, where the

¹²⁹ According to the *Majjhima* (III 7), Ajātaśatru, the son of Embarāzara, fortified Rājagṛha because he was afraid of an invasion of his territories by Pradyota.

¹³⁰ *Asa. ev.*, II, pp. 159-163

enemy could not reach easily. The servants of Sayāniya rode on their horses, and cut the nose and ear of the soldiers of Pajjoa. Thus Pajjoa was defeated and fled away in panic.¹³¹

It is mentioned that once a painter, who was turned out of the court of king Sayāniya, reached Ujjenī and presented a painting of queen Miyāvai to Pajjoa. Pajjoa became enamoured of her beauty and sent a messenger to Sayāniya saying that either he should hand over his queen to him or must be prepared for war. As Sayāniya would not yield, Pajjoa marched against him, and the former died of dysentery (*atisāra*).¹³²

PAJJOA AND UDDĀYANA

Another war was declared between Pajjoa and king Uddāyana of Vibhaya. It is said that Uddāyana had a sandalwood image of Mahāvira in his possession which was looked after by Devadattā, a hunchbacked slave girl. Once a *sūvaga* from Gandhāra came to worship this image in Vibhaya. He was pleased with Devadattā and gave her some magic pills. Devadattā swallowed one of them and her body was transformed to the semblance of molten gold. Then bearing Pajjoa in mind she swallowed another pill and as a result Pajjoa came hurrying with his elephant, Nalagiri, to take her away. Devadattā, who was now called Suvannagulivā, insisted on taking along the image to which Pajjoa agreed. Next morning, Uddāyana found his slave girl and the image both missing. People saw the foot-prints of Nalagiri, his urine and excrement. Thereupon Uddāyana sent a messenger to Pajjoa saying "I care nothing for the servant girl, send me the image." But Pajjoa would not give the image.

In course of time, along with his ten vassals, Uddāyana marched against Pajjoa and reached Ujjenī. A fight ensued between Uddāyana and Pajjoa in which the latter suffered a defeat. His forehead was branded with a frontlet reading 'husband of slave girl' (*dāsīpati*), and Uddāyana hastened back to his town. After some time, the day of *pajjāsana* approached and Uddāyana pardoned Pajjoa and set him at liberty. Then in order to cover the letters *dāsīpati*, Uddāyana invested him with a golden plate (*soṇṇapatta*) and gave him the realm. It is said that from that time the kings were invested with the plate, before this they were invested with the diadem (*maudabaddha*).¹³³

Pandu

It is said that Pandu ruled at Hatthināpura. He, with Kuntī, the daughter of Andhagavahinī, as his queen, was invited along with his five sons, named Julutthila, Bhīma, Ajuna, Nakula and Sahadeva, and Duj-

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

¹³² *Ān. Cū.* p. 88 f.

¹³³ *Uttarā Tī.*, 18, pp. 253 ff., *Āva. cū.*, p. 400 f.; For other traditions, see *P.H.A.I.* pp. 97, 123, 165.

jodhana, Gāngeya, Vidura, Dona, Jayaddatha, Sakuni, Kīva, and Assathāma to attend the *sayamvara* marriage of Devai in Kampillapura. The five Pāṇḍavas were chosen by her.¹³⁴

Sālivāhana (Sātavāhana)

King Sālivāhana ruled at Paithāna with his minister Kharaya. It is said that he used to invade the city of Bhairuyakaccha every year (see Nahavāna). It was at the request of Sālivāhana that Kālaka changed the day of *pañcamī* to *caturthī* for *pañjosa*.¹³⁵ (See Paithāna)

Sampati

It is mentioned that after Kunāla, Sampati came to the throne of Ujjeni. Staying in Ujjeni, he conquered the whole of Dakkhināvaha and brought all the frontier states under his subjugation. Sampati is said to be a very powerful ruler of Ujjeni and a great patron of Jain religion. He gave away charities at the four gates of the city and offered garments etc. to Jain monks. Whatever food was left after being distributed to the poor and the orphans was given to the Jain monks (because the Jain monks are not allowed to accept food from a king). Sampati paid for this food to the cooks. He was a great devotee of the *śramanas* and he glorified the "*Samana Sangha*". He called the kings of the neighbouring countries and asked them to show devotion towards *śramanas*. At the festival of *śakayattā*, he used to walk in the company of Danda, Bhada and Bhojika etc with the chariot and offered flowers, scents, ornaments, garments, and cowries. Sampati celebrated the worship of Jain image with great pomp and show, when other kings also joined him. He told his vassal kings that he did not want money, but if they considered him to be their lord, they were to pay them respect to the *śramanas*. Sampati proclaimed non-killing (*anāgāhika*) and he built temples. He trained his warriors and sent them in the disguise of Jain monks to border lands (*pacantadesa*) and thus made Andhra, Diavida, Mahānāstra, Kudukka, Sūāstra and other countries suitable for the movement of Jain monks.¹³⁶

In the words of Smith, "Sampati is reputed to have been zealous in promoting the cause of Jainism as Asoka had been in propagating the religion of Buddha."¹³⁷

Udayana

Udayana,¹³⁸ who was the grandson of Sāhasānīya and the son of Sayānīya, ruled at Kosambi.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ *Nāyā*, 16 for the Buddhist tradition, see *Kunāla Jātaka* (No. 536). When the child was born, the king adopted her as his own daughter. That is why Devai is called 'Dvcpitika' in Buddhist literature (Malalasekara, *op cit*, under 'Kanhā').

¹³⁵ Also see *Caturimsati*, p. 15, p. 136 ff, *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, I, p. 17, also see *Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 29-31.

¹³⁶ *Bṛh Bhā* 1 3278-3280, *Nisī cū*, 15, p. 1115 f. also cf *Sihavāralīcarita*, XI.

¹³⁷ *Oxford History of India*, p. 117, also cf *P. H. A. I.*, p. 291.

¹³⁸ According to the Buddhists, Udena's mother when pregnant was carried off by a monster bird and deposited on a tree near the residence of Allakappa. The child was born at the time of a storm (*utu*), hence he came to be known Udena; *Dhammapada A. I.*, p. 165, also cf *Kathāsartisāgara*, Vol. I, Bk. II, ch. IX, pp. 94-102.

¹³⁹ *Bhag.* 12 2.

UDAYANA AND PAJJOYA

It is said that when Sayāniya died of dysentery, Udayana was very young and so the responsibility of governing the kingdom fell on the shoulders of queen Migāvatī. At this time king Pajjoya repeated his old demand¹⁴⁰ and asked Migāvatī to marry him. But the latter tactfully requested him to permit her to defer her decision till her son grew old enough to govern the kingdom independently, and suggested to Pajjoya to make the city stronger in the meantime by means of fortification and storing grains, etc. Pajjoya returned to Ujjenī. In course of time, Lord Mahāvīra reached Kosambī and Migāvatī went to pay reverence to the Teacher. She wanted to join his order and so she asked Pajjoya for permission which the latter could not refuse in the presence of an assembly where Mahāvīra also was present. Migāvatī entrusted Udayana to the care of Pajjoya and along with eight queens of Pajjoya, namely, Angāravatī, etc. joined the ascetic order under Mahāvīra.¹⁴¹

It is said that when Abhaya was residing in the court of Pajjoya as a minister, the king's elephant Nalagiri got loose and no one could approach him. Abhaya suggested the name of Udayana of Kosambī who was a very good musician, and said that he could bring the elephant under control by his music. Knowing that Udayana was fond of elephants, Pajjoya sent a mechanical elephant, to a forest near Kosambī carrying men inside. As soon as Udayana saw this elephant, he began to sing, and was caught hold of by the king's soldiers. Udayana was brought to Ujjenī where he was asked by Pajjoya to teach music to his daughter, Vāsavadattā.¹⁴² But Udayana was warned not to look at her as she was one-eyed, and would be ashamed if he did so. Vāsavadattā also was told that her teacher was a leper and therefore would teach her from behind the curtain. Vāsavadattā was attracted by her teacher's voice and looked for an opportunity to have a look at him. One day, she sang badly, when the teacher exclaimed angrily "Be hanged, one-eyed person." She retorted "You do not know yourself, oh leper." He knew that she was no more blind than he was a leper. He drew away the curtain and both fell in love with each other.

One day Nalagiri got loose and Udayana was asked to tame it. Udayana proposed that he and the princess would sing riding on the she-elephant, Bhadravatī.¹⁴³ The elephant was caught, but Udayana and Vāsavadattā eloped.

¹⁴⁰ See Pajjoya

¹⁴¹ *Āva. cū* p. 91 f.

¹⁴² Vāsavadattā was born of Angāravatī (*Āva. Cū* II, p. 161). It is also corroborated by *Pratijñāyugandharāyaṇa* of Bhāsa and the *Kathāsaritsāgara*; Pradyota, Udayana and Srenika—A Jain legend by Gune, *A B O I*, 1920-21.

¹⁴³ In Buddhist literature besides the she-elephant Bhaddavaukā, and Kāka, a slave, Pajjoya is said to have had three other fleet-footed conveyances: two mares, Celakanni and Muñjakeni and an elephant Nalagiri. About the she-elephant Bhaddavati, it is said that she could travel fifteen leagues in a day. Udayana made use of her in his elopement with Vāsavadattā. At first the king paid her great honour, but when she grew old she was neglected, *Dhammapada A. I*, p. 196 f.

According to another tradition, however when the elephant was brought under control, king Pajjoya went to his pleasure-garden. This opportunity was seized by Jogandharāyana, Udayana's minister, who had come to Ujjeni with the vow of carrying away the princess for king Udayana. He filled four jars with the urine¹⁴⁴ and together with Kañcanamālā, the maid-servant of Pajjoya, Vasanta, the elephant-driver, Ghosavanti, the *īnū*, Udayana and Vāsavadattā ran away from Ujjeni riding on the she-elephant, Bhadravati. King Pajjoya ordered his servants to chase them on Nalagiri. But when Nalagiri got near them one jar of urine was smashed near the approaching elephant, who was held up. In the meantime they travelled twenty five *yojanas*. When Nalagiri approached, again the same trick was played. By smashing three jars, Udayana and his party travelled seventy five *yojanas* and reached the city of Kosambī.¹⁴⁵

Uddāyana (Udāyana)

Udāyana was a very powerful monarch of Sindhu Sovira. It is said that Udāyana ruled at sixteen *jaropadas*, viz., Sindhu sovira, etc. and sixty three cities, viz., Vibhaya, etc., and he was the lord of the ten crowned (*maudabaddha*) kings, viz., Mahāsena, etc. Udāyana was a devotee of the *Tāvasas*. His queen Pabhāvai gave birth to Abhūtikumāra. It is mentioned that once Udāyana thought of paying a visit to Mahāvira, who was in Campā at that time. It is said that the latter knew his thoughts and came down to Vibhaya in order to ordain him. Udāyana anointed Kesikumāra, his sister's son, on the throne and joined the order under Mahāvira.¹⁴⁶ Uddāyana came to be known as a royal sage (*rājarisi*) and was the last king to renounce the kingdom with a crown on his head. After him no king was allowed to renounce the world wearing the crown.¹⁴⁷

It is mentioned that at the behaviour of his father, Abhūtikumāra felt very much disappointed. He went to king Kūnika in Campā and began to live there.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ According to Buddhists, Udayana took bags of gold and silver coin and when pursued, opened first a sack of gold and then one of silver. See the story *Dhammapada A I*, pp 191 ff. For the full account, see Law's *Some Ancient Indian Kings*, *Buddhist Studies*, pp 214 ff.

¹⁴⁵ *Āva Cū.* II, p 160. ff, for other traditions, see *Svapnavāsavadattā*, *Mātanga Jātaka*, *Kathā-saritsāgara*, *P. H. A. I* p 164 f, *I H Q*, 1930, pp 678-700.

¹⁴⁶ *Bhag.* 13.6.

¹⁴⁷ *Āva. Cū.*, II, p. 171f.

¹⁴⁸ *Bhag.* 13.6.

Udāyana was sojourning in Vībhaṇa when he was poisoned by his sister's son and died.¹⁴⁹

Udāyi

When Kūnika died, his son Udāyi ascended the throne of Campā. But on account of his father's death he would not like to stay in Campā and so he founded a new capital on the bank of the Ganges which came to be known as Pādaliṣṭa.¹⁵⁰ Here he is said to have built a Jain temple.

It is said that once a vassal king of Udāyi committed some offence as a result of which he was dethroned. At this the son of this king made up his mind to take revenge on Udāyi. He went to Ujjeni and related the story of his distress to the king of Ujjeni, who promised to assist him in his errand. Later, the disguised prince went to Pādaliṣṭa and joined the ascetic order as a novice. It is said that once, together with other monks, he went to the king's palace for religious discourses, and at night when all were asleep, he took a pair of iron scissors (*kanṭhalonakattikā*), and hit the king at his head. It is said that in order to save religion from disgrace, king Udāyi cut off his head and died.¹

Usuyāra

King Usuyāra ruled in the city of Usuyāra, situated in Kuru.¹²⁵¹
King Usuyāra may be identified with Esukārī of the *Haṭṭhāpālā*⁵
*Jātaka*¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ *Āva. cū*, II, p. 36. Cf. *Divyāvadāna* (ch. xxxvii). According to the Buddhists, king Rudrāyana was reigning in Roruka with his queen Candraprabhā, Sikkhandi was his prince. It is said that an image of Buddha was sent by king Bimbisāra to king Udāyana to acquaint him with Buddhist religion. In course of time, Candraprabhā joined the order and died. Later on, Rudrāyana also followed her. The Buddhist writers do not mention anything about the sister's son of Rudrāyana and so here the prince Sikkhandi succeeds his father. It is mentioned that king Sikkhandi was misguided by his wicked ministers. When Rudrāyana knew of this, he came back to give advice to his son, when a plot was hatched up and the monk Uddāyana was put to death. See also Munī Jai vijayaji's article in *P. H. A. I.* p. 204 ff.

¹⁵⁰ According to the *Vāyu Purāṇa* Udāyi built the city of Kusumapura in the fourth year of his reign (*P. H. A. I.*, p. 76).

¹⁵¹ *Āva. Cū*, II, pp. 179f. Udāyibhadda is also mentioned in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivāda, pp. 42 f., also see *P. H. A. I.* pp. 175 ff. for purāṇic tradition.

¹⁵² *Uttarā Sū*, 14, *Vivā*, II, p. 64.

¹⁵³ *IV*, pp. 473 ff.

RETROSPECT

1 It is admitted now that the history of Jainism begins from the advent of Pārśvanātha and not from Mahāvīra as was popularly supposed by scholars. Pārśva was a powerful religious teacher who flourished towards the end of the ninth century B. C., 250 years before Mahāvīra. It was he who for the first time founded the four orders in the Jain community.

Unlike Buddhism the strength of Jainism lay in the mass of lay followers, which helped in the survival of the Jain religion. Another cause of its survival was its rigid conservatism which kept it free from Tāntrika developments, unlike its sister religion Buddhism. This conservatism of holding fast to their original institutions and doctrines did not allow any change in essentials of religion and hence the religious life of the Jain community even now is substantially the same as it was two thousand years ago. The new rituals and practices of Vaisnavism, saivism and other sects could not create any allurements and so Jainism lost its importance in the south where it had once gained dominance. Jain religion has maintained its old spirit and even now it exercises its hold on an influential community in India.

The Jain Canons, on which the present work is based do not belong to one particular period. They were compiled and redacted thrice between 4th century B. C. to 5th century A. D. The object of the thesis is to present the social materials embodied in the Jain *Sūtras* and exegetical literature and therefore the basis of the presentation is not in chronological order.

The period of the commentaries which varies from the first century to the seventeenth century A. D. could not be mixed up with the *Sūtra* period. But since the commentaries preserve a good deal of old traditions and without them the *Īgamas* could not be properly understood, the material embodied in them is utilised in the present work. However, the material embodied in the Jain Canon is pretty old and may be compared with the Buddhist *Suttas* and other works of the early period before the Christian era.

2 We have seen that the country was divided into small principalities which were either governed by the king or had republican constitutions. Generally, the kings were autocrats and the judicial arrangements were not sound and efficient. Very often innocent persons were charged and sent for execution. Various offences such as robbery, adultery, murder were prevalent and most severe punishments were inflicted on the culprits. Prison-life was very hard. The *rājadhānī* or the capital city was the seat of government. There were big cities with busy markets and the villages which populated with the teeming millions of India.

3 The economic condition of the people was not bad. The country was rich and prosperous, flourished in trade and commerce. Yet the condition of the general masses cannot be said to have been ideal. There was sufficient to eat and sufficient to fulfil their simple needs. People were luxury-loving and were fond of ornaments, clothes, wreaths, flowers, perfumes, music, dancing, dramas and singing. The rich people possessed palatial buildings, married several women, paid large fees to courtesans, went out surrounded by servants and attendants in a gorgeous procession accompanied by damsels. The middle class people too lived a life of luxury and made magnificent donations to the order. The condition of poor people was deplorable. They had to earn their livelihood with great difficulty. They suffered most at the hands of money-lenders and from famines resulting from draught and pestilence.

4 There was caste system and society was divided into Ksatriyas, Brāhmanas, Vaisvas and Śūdras. A Śūdra had the most degraded position in the society. The family was the primary cell of social organism. There was the joint family system, and the head of the family was respected most. The position of women cannot be described as satisfactory, although the Jain prophets allowed them equality with men and permitted them to attain *Mokṣa*. Arts and sciences were manifold and people acquired efficiency in fine arts such as music, painting and sculpture. The secular sciences such as mathematics, astronomy and astrology and the science of archery and architecture flourished. There were religious mendicants belonging to various orders who played an important part in moulding the material as well as the spiritual life of the people. People believed in magic and a variety of superstitions. There were sports and amusements and various ceremonies held by the common-folk; funeral rites were observed with pomp.

5 During the life time of Mahāvīra, the spread of Jainism was limited, and Jain monks did not seem generally to have crossed the boundaries towards east of Śāketa beyond Anga-Magadha, towards south beyond Kosambī, towards west beyond Thūnā and towards the north beyond Kuṣālā, which corresponds to the tract of a portion of modern Bihar, eastern United Provinces, and a part of western U. P. But later on, at the time of Sampati, who was a devout Jain, this geographical limit was changed and the Jain monks could traverse as far as Sindhu, Suvira and Surāstra in west, Kalinga in the east, Dravida, Āndhra and Goorg (Kudukka) in the south and some part of the eastern Punjab. It seems that Jain monks because of restrictions of food etc. never left the shores of India and went abroad like the Buddhist monks, and even Mahāvīra did not go beyond Bihar, north-western Bengal and a part of the eastern United Provinces, his visit to Sindhu, Suvira and other parts of India seems to be doubtful.

As far as possible the geographical names have been identified, yet unfortunately a bulk of them remain unidentified, particularly the small villages in Bihar, where Mahāvīra toured during his ascetic life.

The Jain canons, besides giving information about the Āryan countries, give a list of many non-Āryan countries probably thereby meaning that Jainism had not penetrated into those countries. In these lists some of the countries, peoples and the *Janapadas* are recognisable, but unfortunately the traditional lists have become very corrupt through the centuries of their transmission. The author has, however, made an attempt to collate the lists occurring in various texts in order to find out the correct names.

6. It should be borne in mind that the historical material in the Jain canons is so scanty that hardly any history in the real sense of the word could be written; hence this chapter should not be treated as purely historical. Herein simply an attempt has been made to put together the historical material preserved in the Jain Canons. A number of kings and rulers are mentioned in the Jain Canons, most of whom seem to be fictitious. They go to a religious teacher, attend his religious sermons, renounce the world and obtain salvation on some mountain. Even the kings who are described as contemporaries of Mahāvīra seem to be quite legendary. Except for a few notable kings such as Srenika, Ajātaśatru, Pradyota and Udavana history has not given any clue to them so far. Regarding kings and rulers, another point which should be noted is that most of the well-known rulers are claimed by both Jains and Buddhists as their own. In fact, they showed equal regard towards religious teachers of different sects and hence it is very difficult to say that they belonged to a particular faith.

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